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JULY

1896.

ANNALS
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PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY.

There has at last appeared an American work on the Principles of Sociology,* written by one who holds the chair of sociology in one of the leading universities of the country. Heretofore, so far as I am aware, only two works (exclusive of articles and reviews) containing the word sociology in their titles have been issued in America. One of these appeared thirteen years ago, and though even larger than the present one, did not profess to deal with the whole subject, but only with one of its most advanced phases. The other work, emanating from the same institution as this one, treats of sociology from the standpoint of statistics.

The present work purports to cover the whole ground of sociological science and is adapted for use as a text-book in the higher institutions of learning. Issuing as it does from one of the greatest publishing houses of the world representing the reading public of both hemispheres, there can be no

*"The Principles of Sociology. An Analysis of the Phenomena of Association and of Social Organization." By FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS, M. A., Professor of Sociology in Columbia University in the City of New York. Pp. 476. Price \$3.00. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

doubt that it will command the attention of serious people everywhere.

The book has been anxiously waited for during many months, so that its arrival is no surprise. Speculation as to its contents has been rife among those most interested, and not a few have freely expressed their estimate of its merits in advance. Some have felt sure that it would present an entirely new system hitherto undreamed of in anyone's philosophy, while all expected a great display of originality at least, whatever might be the grounds of justification therefor. It is safe to say that nearly all guessed wrong, as the eminently sober and practical treatise before us is as far as possible removed from a *coup de théâtre*. Neither will it be the target at which some perhaps have hoped to hurl the lance of criticism. It cannot be called a brilliant effort. The genius it displays is of the kind described by Carlyle as consisting of an unlimited capacity for work—the *attention suivie* of Helvetius and the *longue patience* of Buffon. It is certainly a laborious, and, it should be added, an important and valuable book. The author has worked for others and seems to have made good use of exceptional opportunities. It is furthermore a careful work, painstaking and faithful in just those dry and unattractive appointments that almost everyone shuns and neglects. Every chapter seems to have been worked over and over until made as perfect as circumstances would permit, and no amount of rummaging among musty volumes has been deemed too great if only one more fact could thereby be added to the bulky evidence.

Some one has said that the number of times a book will be read depends on the number of times it has been written. This hyperbole well expresses the truth that the books that live are those upon which the greatest labor and research have been bestowed. Those impatient and feverish productions that only contain crude and undigested thoughts, that quote at random or from memory if at all, and that merely

spin the web that is secreted from the brains of their writers, have no permanent value, make no deep impression upon their readers, are skimmed over as carelessly as they were written, and are shoved aside and forgotten along with the very names of their authors. But, assuming that the theme is worth the labor, those works that are elaborated with care, toil, and patience, that embody much well-directed research, and that not merely contain the thought but leave behind it a luminous trail to mark the steps in the protracted quest—such works are immortal, since it is through them that the present is cemented to the past and the structure of human knowledge is slowly and laboriously reared. It is in this latter class, if I mistake not, that Professor Giddings' "Principles of Sociology" is destined to be placed.

Such being the general character of the work, it certainly deserves a respectful treatment, and I would not have anyone mistake such strictures as I shall make upon other aspects of it, whether special or general, for a lack of appreciation of the thoroughly scientific spirit that has presided over its preparation. It is a remarkably even book, denoting a continuous purpose throughout. The style is dignified and strong, and is free from anything that tends to divert the reader's attention from the matter and fix it on the manner, thereby correspondingly diminishing the force of the idea. Although manifestly intended for use as a text-book for advanced students, the subject is not needlessly staked off into a multitude of subordinate parts, often supposed necessary to help students to think; nor is it otherwise disfigured by scholastic features so common in text-books, but which only have the effect of making them forbidding. The book is simply divided into chapters whose length depends upon the amount of treatment the several subjects require. This imparts to the work a solid and virile appearance and relieves it of that air of elementariness which often repels the serious student.

Notwithstanding all these obvious merits it cannot properly

be called an interesting book. Text-books are not usually interesting. The mere presentation of a body of established knowledge, however successfully done, rarely takes a firm hold of any but those who happen to be seeking just such a class of information. It is only bold excursions into new fields that chain the attention. Occasionally a text-book practically answers this description, but then it is devoted to some small part of a larger science. But generally the only interesting books relating to serious subjects are those of independent special investigators, who, untrammelled by pedagogic requirements, push some one of the Briarean arms of science far out into unexplored regions. The reader whom the subject interests at all will follow such an excursion with a zeal comparable to that with which accounts of analogous geographical explorations are read by adventurous youths.

The present work does not belong to this class. Although sociology is a new science, and although this is one of the few books treating of it, still there is practically nothing new in the book. It is almost exclusively a compilation, but it is a compilation by one who knows what he wants and how to secure it. The most useful work that is now done in any science is that which focalizes the scattered knowledge of others. Nor is this kind of work unscientific. Special investigators are rarely capable of classifying facts. A compilation such as this virtually amounts to a classification. It is the very making of a science out of its raw materials.

As nearly every one who would care to read this paper will have probably already read the book itself, there seems to be scarcely any justification for giving it a descriptive review. The present paper may therefore be looked upon as merely a contribution to social science, based chiefly upon certain considerations brought forward by Professor Giddings in this work.

The dual title of the book will suggest to most minds two somewhat distinct ideas. The "principles" of a science

are something besides an analysis of phenomena. Putting the contents with the title, it may be said in all truth that the former agree far better with the second title than with the first. In fact, it is difficult to see what the book has to do with the principles of sociology. It is devoted almost exclusively to the facts of association and social organization, and while it may be admitted that many of the factors leading to these results are considered, and while it cannot be denied that such factors are entitled to be called principles in the popular sense, still we look in vain anywhere in the book for any of the fundamental principles of a science of sociology, or any attempt to show that sociology is a science except as being a systematic domain of facts and phenomena. That it is a science in the sense of being a domain of natural forces and uniform laws, such as astronomy, physics and chemistry, or even as biology as now taught, or as "psychophysics," no intimation is to be found between these covers.

This, however, is nothing more than must be said of Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Sociology" so far as published. The work under review might well have been called: Elements of Sociology, omitting, as did Lord Kames in his "Elements of Criticism," the *vielsagend* definite article on the express ground of disclaiming an exhaustive treatment. With a modest title of this kind the book would be read with increasing interest and laid down with unexpected satisfaction instead of with a sense of "great expectations" unrealized.

But we are to deal with the book rather than the title, and here we find that it is not alone in the title that it imitates the great work of Mr. Spencer. The classification of topics is, it is true, very different, and there is some effort to avoid a similarity of method, but in the two most important respects the two treatises are in harmony. These are, first, in confining sociology chiefly to anthropology, and second, in adhering strictly to the "natural history method" of looking upon society as something absolutely passive, to be analyzed and dissected like the carcass of a dead animal.

To say that there is nothing new in the book is not the same as to say that there is nothing peculiarly the author's own. The details of his method and classification had all been announced by him before. Most of this is contained in his "Theory of Sociology," published nearly two years ago.* The rest is to be found in his numerous other papers and discussions. But he has here filled in the body of the matter and rounded it out with a great wealth of illustration. This is what constitutes the chief merit of the work. His classification is *une classification comme une autre*, and another would have done as well.

He professes to reject the biological view and to adopt the psychological one. In this latter he goes too far. When he says that "sociology is a psychological science" † he says too much if his words mean anything. There is only one "psychological science," and that is psychology. It is also too much to say that "all true social facts are psychical in their nature," ‡ or that "sociology is the science of the association of minds." § The truth is that sociology has a psychologic basis, *i. e.*, the forces of society are primarily psychic. He states this truth very clearly when he says that "the motive forces of political life, as of economic life, are the desires of men." || Finally, he goes too far in denying that the individual mind working for the individual's ends, entirely apart from any *consensus*, is attended with social consequences. In fact, by far the greater part of all social effects are the result of this independent action of individuals, totally regardless of everything that other individuals are doing.

Sociology is defined as "the systematic description and explanation of society viewed as a whole," or, "the general

* Supplement to the ANNALS, Vol. v. No. 1, July, 1894.

† Preface, p. v.

‡ P. 3.

§ P. 25.

|| P. 37.

science of social phenomena." * In another place † he defines it as "an explanation of social phenomena in terms of natural causation," or specifically as "an interpretation of social phenomena in terms of psychical activity, organic adjustment, natural selection, and the conservation of energy." "It is," he says, "strictly an explanatory science, fortifying induction by deduction, and referring effects to veritable causes." Supposing that he means: fortifying deduction by induction, instead of the reverse, these definitions fairly reflect his method of treatment. It is essentially "explanatory." There are thousands of facts that need to be explained, and sociology is supposed to be concerned chiefly in explaining them.

He discusses at some length the relation of sociology to the special social sciences, with a general disposition to consider it in some way distinct from any one of them and from all of them taken together, still this distinction is nowhere clearly drawn. "Sociology," he says, "is a general social science, but a general science is not necessarily a group of sciences. No doubt the word will continue to be used as a short term for the social sciences taken collectively." ‡ His final conclusion on this question is probably best summed up in the following sentence: "Therefore while sociology in the broadest sense of the word is the comprehensive science of society, coextensive with the entire field of the special social sciences, in a narrower sense, and for purposes of university study and of general exposition, it may be defined as the science of social elements and first principles." § This seems at first sight to be very different from the definitions previously quoted, but it is necessary to remember what he means by "principles," and that, as already shown, he treats the word as if synonymous with "elements."

Much space is devoted to the consideration of the several

* Pp. 5-6.

† P. 419.

‡ P. 31.

§ P. 33.

alleged unitary principles on which as many authors have essayed to explain all the facts of human association. The principal of these are Gumplowicz's doctrine of the struggle of races resulting in their forcible amalgamation, Novicow's similar doctrine of intellectual assimilation as the result of conflict, De Greef's modification of the doctrine of social contract, Tarde's principle of imitation, and Durkheim's idea of unconscious mutual coercion. This last is similar to Dr. Ross' "social control," but is probably much narrower than the latter will prove to be when fully developed. Of all these conceptions Professor Giddings lays by far the most stress on the law of imitation, which he justly regards as very fundamental and well-nigh universal. The fact, however, seems to be lost sight of that this principle has an important counterpart, and that there is an opposite, or exactly contrary principle. In fact, the principle of imitation is primarily biological, but also highly anthropological, while the opposite one is strictly sociological. It consists in a hatred or dread of imitation, an effort to avoid the ways of others and a refusal to follow any prescribed course. This *misonimeticism*, or *mimophobia*, as it may be called, is a product of intellectual development, and is based on the recognition of the law of imitation in the lower stages of progress, and on the observation that that law marks a low degree of development. To avoid yielding to it is to manifest a high degree of development. The greater the intelligence the greater will be the effort to conceal the motives to action, and the more these motives will become internal and psychical instead of external and physical. A comparison of the negro with the white race brings this out clearly, but it is scarcely less obvious from a comparison of people of the same race but of different grades of intelligence. The relative calculability of human actions depends upon it, and it accounts for both the studied emotional indifference of a class of theatre-goers and the high excellence and originality of the best mental work done by man. In great minds it

produces a true originality, but in small minds it results in a false originality which is not only not productive but is positively obstructive. It causes the valuable work done by others to be ignored and belittled and emphasis to be laid on things that are unimportant. In this way problems that have been put on the high road to solution are often set back to where they were before anything was done. This intense individuality is one of the worst impediments to intellectual progress to-day, because it is next to impossible to secure the recognition of a new principle however important. The evil is aggravated by the fact that small minds are often found in high places and great ones in low places, whereby worthy contributions are forgotten and unworthy ones exaggerated. In this last phenomenon, however, the law of imitation is also a factor, since it is deemed proper to imitate whatever emanates from a highly respectable source.

If sociology consisted in the study of this class of principles there would be scarcely any limit to the number that might be detected and illustrated. Professor Giddings gives to each of these something like its true weight, but he brings forward one of his own, which, in strict imitation of the other panacea-mongers whom he criticises, he exalts to the first rank and places at the very base of the science of sociology. Indeed, he attempts to build the superstructure chiefly on this foundation, and this probably constitutes the weakest feature of the book, although there can be no doubt that it is the source of the greater part of what is original in it. This new sociological catholicon is what the author is pleased to call the "consciousness of kind," which he defines as "a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes another conscious being as of like kind with itself."* This is not the first time that he had announced this principle. In a discussion with Dr. Patten in the *ANNALS*† he wrote:

* Preface, p. v; also, p. 17.

† Vol. v, No. 5, March, 1895, p. 750.

"I have never thought or spoken of mere physical contact, hostile or friendly, as constituting association or a society. It is association *if and only if accompanied by a consciousness on the part of each of the creatures implicated that the creatures with which it comes in contact are like itself.* This consciousness of kind is the elementary, the generic social fact; it is sympathy, fellow feeling in the literal as distinguished from the popular sense of the word." Dr. Small, in referring to this in the next number of the ANNALS,* classed the doctrine along with "other remote metaphysical categories." Nobody certainly supposed that it was destined to be rehabilitated and made the very corner-stone of the whole science of sociology.

It is this important rôle which it is made to play that alone justifies a somewhat careful examination of it. It cannot be denied that a recognition of likeness among living beings is a distinctive psychic attribute of great moment. It is the basis of much biological discussion and is partially correlated with the physical characters which constitute species. I say partially, because the phenomena of hybridity show that the correlation is not exact. It is, therefore, not the importance of the fact that is in question, but the correctness of calling it a sociological principle. The idea of its being anything new, except perhaps the particular and fairly happy form of words by which it is here designated, is simply preposterous. It is a fundamental fact of biology but not specially of sociology. Nearly every biological truth runs through the whole of the animal kingdom including man, and it would be as correct to call one of these a sociological principle as another. There are many such principles that are much more fundamental than this one. To take one that resembles it in being also of a psychic nature, we might instance reflex action. There is as much reason why this should be regarded as the primary sociological

* Vol. v, No. 6, May, 1895, p. 950.

principle as the one under consideration, and it would be even easier to follow its workings throughout society and to illustrate its developed manifestations among enlightened peoples. Professor Giddings quotes Leidy to the effect that amœbæ will devour diatoms, desmids, and rotifers, but are prevented by the consciousness of kind from devouring one another, and he concludes that "no other discrimination of sociological significance is of equal generality, and this is the conclusive proof of the truth of my contention that the consciousness of kind is the primordial subjective fact in social phenomena." * Not at all. Sentiency is the "primordial subjective fact." He proves too much. His principle is altogether too "primordial," and yet not the most primordial.

If he had pursued his investigations into the lower organisms a little farther he would have found that certain Infusoria, instead of avoiding each other, actually devour each other, *i. e.*, they mutually absorb each other by a process called conjugation. Maupas has shown that this occurs at a stage anterior to any true sexual differentiation. This is, of course, a form of reproduction, and what is called fertilization in the higher animals is a similar process, except that here there is a difference between the two kinds of cells which is called sexual. It is facts like these that have emboldened such investigators as Claude Bernard † and Ernst Haeckel ‡ to declare that reproduction is at bottom a form of nutrition. The consciousness of kind, therefore, acts here in the opposite way from what it does in the amœba. That animals recognize their likes both for purposes of attraction and repulsion cannot of course be denied. It is one of the earliest manifestations of the perceptive psychic faculty. It is only a part of the wider truth that they perceive their environment and profit by such perception. They recognize other things

* P. 107.

† *Revue scientifique*, September 26, 1874, pp. 289, 290.

‡ "*Générale Morphologie*," Vol. ii. p. 16.

also. They know their enemies. They distinguish nutritious from innutritious substances. They perceive and avoid obstacles. *

In seeking to justify his fundamental social concept Professor Giddings has displayed much ingenuity, and many of the applications made are acute and interesting, as where he makes it account for national pride and the common idea of each people that it is in some way superior, or specially "chosen," and that all others are merely "οἱ βάρβαροι"; or where he applies it to the theogonies as the principle on which each race makes its gods in its own image; likewise its application to political parties, social classes, religious sectarianism, and personal congeniality and companionableness. All these he thinks are based on a sort of intuitive perception of similarity which he identifies with the consciousness of kind. But these attempts have carried him much too far and led him to ignore the broader truth that among human beings it is the rational though dimly felt recognition of the advantageousness of association that has chiefly caused it, while in animals it has been no less its advantage, but secured through instincts developed by natural selection.†

In his chapter on the "Social Mind," based, like everything else in the book, on the "consciousness of kind," he has scarcely gone beyond the customary attempt to show that nearly everything in society presupposes a certain consensus of opinion, or at least of feeling among its members. But neither he nor any one else, so far as I am aware, has adequately set forth the essential character of this consensus. Almost always this is left out of view and attention drawn to certain mere accidents that often attend it. In order to have peace in a community it is necessary that not merely a majority, but practically all the people constituting it shall think alike on certain very fundamental subjects. Partisan

* Cf. "The Psychic Factors of Civilization," Caps xxi, xxii.

† See the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. i, January, 1896, p. 432.

strife may run high, but the questions discussed are relatively incidental. In England no one raises the question whether the British Constitution shall prevail or be set at naught, because, no matter how widely they may differ on other questions, they are all agreed on that one. In America, even in South America, the maintenance of "republican institutions," as each country understands them, forms no part of political debates. While crimes against person and property are constantly committed by a small class in every civilized nation no one seriously questions the right and duty of the state to suppress them as far as possible. Although every conceivable form of marriage may and does exist in all monogamous countries, still, the question as to what constitutes the best form of marriage is never discussed, because so nearly all agree that monogamy is the best form. And so with any number of social states and conditions that might be mentioned showing that there is what might be called a social opinion or social mind which is essential to the coherence of the social aggregate. Neither is it exactly the same as that which is meant by "public opinion," since this usually refers rather to differences than to harmony in the thoughts of men, and stands for the preponderance of opinion on one side or the other of questions that are more or less in dispute, *i. e.*, questions which society thereby admits to be debatable.

The consideration of the fundamentals above referred to, about which, for the given community, discussion is over, and which have therefore become an integral part of the mental constitution of society, is much more important to the sociologist than a study of the facts presented by mobs and panics, upon which attention is usually concentrated in discussions of "social consciousness." Professor Giddings no doubt has a vague idea of this distinction, and his quotation from Lewes is much to the point, still, I am bound to say, he has not clearly brought out this "principle." His characterization of tradition as social memory is excellent,

and there are many other good things in this important but unduly foreshortened chapter.

In keeping with his general method, as above described, he has, logically enough, set aside the chief consideration in connection with the "social mind." In another place,* and quite out of its natural position, he has, indeed, shown what Spencer also admitted, that government is in the long run as good as the people chose to make it, and that even despotism is virtually sustained by them and despots encouraged by manifestations of popular approval. But that the social mind, and especially the social will, are really embodied in and carried out by government, as the homologue, however crude and imperfect, of the individual brain, is nowhere stated, and we are driven to infer that he either does not accept this view or else that he has omitted one of the most fundamental of all sociological considerations.

From the standpoint of the present writer, the gravest defect of the book is, of course, the absence of any scientific basis. Science, as distinguished from isolated items of knowledge, deals with the *laws* of phenomena. The phenomena themselves are of course essential to science, but they do not alone constitute it. Laws are general expressions for the effects of natural causes operating in a uniform manner. Such causes are simply the forces, as they are called, which the given science has to deal with. In physics the forces treated are the gravitant and radiant forces, in chemistry they are mainly elective affinities, in biology they are usually called vital forces, in psychology they are nerve currents. These are all, however, merely modes of manifestation of one universal force, and may be resolved into it or transmuted into one another, but it is convenient to speak of them as so many distinct forces. If sociology is a science there must be a social force. Professor Giddings admits the existence of such a force, and a passage quoted near the beginning of this paper shows that he has a fairly clear

* Pp. 389, 390.

conception of its general nature; we also find him speaking of the "gigantic forces of the social mind."* One would have naturally supposed that anything so basic as this would be treated at full length in a work on "The Principles of Sociology." The proper place, the book being for the use of adult students, would seem to be near the beginning. We are therefore surprised to find that only a short chapter of twenty pages bears any such title, and that this is the last but one in the book. The surprise is, however, greatly heightened when we come to read this chapter. Only in the last three pages is there any allusion to social forces, and here he seems to confound them with physical forces. After remarking that "volition" (a forceless word merely implying choice) is a true cause, he goes on to say: "Therefore, while affirming the reality of sociological forces that are distinctly different from merely biological and from merely physical forces, the sociologist is careful to add that they are different only as products are different from factors, only as protoplasm is different from certain quantities of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon,"† etc. And further: "Enormous as is the social energy, it is always a definite quantity. Every unit of it has been taken up from the physical environment, and no changes of form can increase the amount. What is used in one way is absolutely withdrawn from other modes of expenditure. If the available energy of the environment is wasted or in any way diminished, the social activity also must diminish."‡ These surely are generalities that fairly scintillate. They have an intensely scientific sound. Let us examine them. In the first place there is a certain ambiguity about them. If it is merely meant that man cannot exhaust the natural resources of the earth without suffering the consequences, they are indeed true but trite. But if, as it is perhaps more charitable to assume, it is meant that the social forces are

* P. 37.

† P. 417.

‡ P. 419.

themselves a fixed quantity that cannot be increased, then the propositions are not true.

In another place* our author discourses in an apparently learned manner on the conservation of energy and the transmutation of forces. His reasoning here is much to the same effect and equally unsound, if I understand it. The whole may be treated under one. I grant that "all social energy is transmuted physical energy," and also that to a limited extent "social energies are reconverted into physical forces," but I deny the implied reciprocity and equality of these processes. It does not follow from the law of the conservation of energy. I stated the principle in 1893 in a form which I could not now improve upon: "The parallel between physics and *psychics*, as thus defined, fails at one point. While, so far as is known, there has never been any loss of psychic energy, it is certain that there has been an immense increase of it. Indeed, time was when none existed. It has developed or been evolved with all organic nature and has increased *pari passu* with the increase of mind and the development of brain. Complete analogy between the organic and inorganic forces is not reached until it is recognized that the former are derived from the latter, and that vital and psychic forces are simply additional forms of the universal force."†

To say that the social energy cannot be increased is tantamount to saying that it cannot have been introduced. This would assume that society and man had always existed, whereas we know that the human record began at about the time that the geological record proper ended, and that the human period at the very maximum estimate (500,000 years) is only about a two hundredth part of the life period of the globe (say 100,000,000 years). Society is only a local phenomenon, very restricted both in its extent and duration, and social energy is simply one of the later modes of

* Pp. 363-366.

† "The Psychic Factors of Civilization," pp. 55-56.

manifestation, of the universal energy, due to a peculiar combination of conditions. Just as mechanical energy may be converted into heat at any given point, so cosmic energy may be and has been converted into vital, psychic, and social energy wherever the conditions have been favorable for such a transmutation. This process is still going on and social energy was never so rapidly generated as at the present time. Every fresh discovery of science and every new improvement in machinery, the products of psychic activity, transfers another large quantity of cosmic energy to the domain of the social forces, there to remain, so far as any one can foresee, forever.

It is perhaps well that Professor Giddings has not attempted to any considerable extent to deal with principles, for wherever he has sought to do so he has manifested the same inability to handle them philosophically. He professes to have derived his social philosophy chiefly from Spencer, but admits that it is not to be found "in those of his books that bear sociological titles,"* and he finds them "scattered throughout the second half of the volume called 'First Principles.'" I agree that there is more real sociology there than there is in his "Principles of Sociology," and this bears about the same proportion to the latter that the treatment of sociology proper in Professor Giddings' book bears to the whole book. In this respect the two treatises are so nearly alike that the latter might be regarded as an attempt to condense the former into one volume by a sort of "horizontal reduction."

Our author makes a number of invidious comparisons between Spencer and Comte, with the customary disparaging references to the latter, made on the sociological principle of "imitation," and, like all similar ones, for the two reasons, that it is fashionable, and that he does not know any better. He has put the first edition of Comte's "Positive Philosophy" into his bibliography, and makes a few references to it,

*P. 9.

doubtless the result of successful rummaging, but nothing is more certain than that he is utterly ignorant of Comte. Otherwise he would scarcely say that "Comte used the term 'social statics' in a merely rhetorical way, as a name for social order, and 'social dynamics' as a name for progress. Mr. Spencer, more scientific, adheres to precise physical notions."* A more exact reversal of the truth could not have been formulated. Comte used social statics and social dynamics as the natural subdivisions of "social physics," and devoted three volumes (half the course) to their systematic elaboration. Of course he maintained that these subdivisions relate respectively to order and progress, for this is the truth. Spencer did in reality use the term "Social Statics" "in a merely rhetorical way," and professed to write a book on it, but the book does not treat of that subject at all. It has transpired that even this was Comte's term filtered through Mill and caught up by Spencer (without knowing the source) as a fine sounding name for a book. As regards social dynamics, I am not aware that he has ever used the expression with approval. The very idea of a scientific use of either expression seemed to be wholly new to him in 1864 when he wrote his "Reasons for Dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte," where he says: "Respecting M. Comte's application of the words *statics* and *dynamics* to social phenomena, now that I know what it is, I will only say that while I perfectly understand how, by a defensible extension of their mathematical meanings, the one may be used to indicate social *functions in balance*, and the other social *functions out of balance*, I am quite at a loss to understand how the phenomena of *structure* can be included in the one any more than in the other."† How an author who thus criticises the subdivision in question can be said to employ it in his system in a scientific sense, I am quite unable to see.

*P. 9.

†Appendix to the "Classification of the Sciences," London and New York: 1864, p. 44.

"But Comte," says Professor Giddings, "used these terms loosely. His social statics was little more than description; his social dynamics little more than history."* The first of these propositions is utterly unsupported. In his fiftieth lecture toward the end of Vol. IV he sets forth his conception of social statics, and there is not a word of descriptive sociology in that lecture, not a name of a tribe of men nor mention of a primitive custom. It deals all through with the theory as he understood it. The second of the above quoted propositions has scarcely more justification. The fifty-first lecture is entitled: "*Lois fondamentales de la dynamique sociale, ou théorie générale du progrès naturel de l'humanité.*" It contains no history but deals strictly with theory. The fifth and sixth volumes, however, which immediately follow these two lectures on the theory, do profess to be historical and to deal with the natural development of society. But what kind of history is it? Certainly not the ordinary kind, as Professor Giddings' language would imply. In fact, it presupposes an acquaintance on the part of the reader with all that commonly passes for history, and really treats of nothing but the underlying principles. It is one of the profoundest parts of this great work, and its perusal extorted from John Stuart Mill the following remark:

"These propositions having been laid down as the first principles of social dynamics, M. Comte proceeds to verify and apply them by a connected view of universal history. This survey nearly fills two large volumes, above a third of the work in all of which there is scarcely a sentence that does not add an idea. We regard it as by far his greatest achievement, except his review of the sciences, and in some respects more striking even than that. We wish it were practicable in the compass of an essay like the present, to give even a faint conception of the extraordinary merits of this historical analysis. It must be read to be appreciated.

* P. 56.

Whoever disbelieves that the philosophy of history can be made a science, should suspend his judgment until he has read these volumes of M. Comte. We do not affirm that they would certainly change his opinion; but we would strongly advise him to give them a chance." *

Comte went over this same ground again in his "*Politique Positive*," and with still greater fullness, and anyone who has read the first essay will be astonished to note the sustained originality and wealth of ideas that characterize the second. It may surprise some of the adherents of the so-called "German historical school of political economy" to be told that Comte comes much nearer to being entitled to the name of founder of that school than any German, and that this is not the claim of any of Comte's followers, but the repeated acknowledgment of many of the leading spirits of that school in Germany, such as Brentano, Knies, Schmoller, Schulze-Gävernitz, and Gustav Cohn. Both Dilthey and Bernheim have also conceded their indebtedness to Comte.

But Professor Giddings is not satisfied with the expression "social dynamics," and thinks he can improve upon it. Clinging to the etymological meaning of the word, and ignoring the universal tendency of words to specialize in meaning, he claims that all study of forces is necessarily dynamic, whether the forces are producing motion or are in equilibrium. He says:

"Dynamics is coextensive with physics and is not a division of it. It includes all studies of motion and of resistance. Statics is a division of dynamics and is not co-ordinate with it The other division of dynamics is kinetics If, then, we must have two

* "The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte." By John Stuart Mill. *Westminster Review*, Vol. lxxxiii (New Series, Vol. xxvii), April 1, 1865, pp. 396-397.— "Auguste Comte and Positivism." By John Stuart Mill, London, Trübner & Co., 1865, p. 106. (The second edition of this work, 1866, the third edition, 1882, and the American edition, J. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1866, are all printed from the same plates except the title page.)

divisions of social physics, we should designate them by terms that have some justification in sense and usage. We should not say 'social dynamics' when we mean social kinetics." *

As if startled by the erudition displayed in the above, he appends a foot-note explaining that "this discrimination is not merely formal and pedantic." It is scarcely pedantic. It is *Pickwickian*. The literal meaning of a word is not the only justification for its use. It is far more important to consider its application. The difference between kinetics and dynamics is a difference of application. It is similar to the difference between *motion* and *movement*. Doubtless they are partial synonyms, but they have different uses. History and sociology do not deal with social motions but with social movements. The former could scarcely be used except in a humorous sense. One might conceive of a case of "social kinetics," as, for example, the Army of the Potomac after the first battle of Bull Run ! Certainly kinetics is used in physics in a very different sense from dynamics, although both always imply motion. The opposite of kinetic is not static but potential. The latter also might be applied to society, according to the definition given by the boy in the physical class, who said that kinetic energy was the power of doing work, and potential energy the power of doing without work; a condition somewhat too common in society ! I am sorry that it is not possible to treat this subject seriously.

The discovery which Professor Giddings feels that he has made in announcing that statics as well as dynamics has something to do with force is worthy of being further traced. It is an accepted truth that all discoveries are reached by a series of antecedent steps leading up to them, and perhaps the trail of this one may be found. This part of the book consists in part of a criticism of a certain article in the *Political Science Quarterly* for June,

* P. 58.

1895, in which the objectionable use of the words static and dynamic was made that is here condemned. On page 219 of that same article the following sentence occurs: "Dynamic as well as static sociology deals with the social forces, *i. e.*, with social wants." It is just possible that in reading this sentence the truth may have first dawned upon him. It had of course been repeatedly stated before by the same writer, but was considered too elementary to require special treatment.

Neither was it to be expected that Professor Giddings would understand what was meant in that article by "feeling and function." That principle is not so self-evident as the other and needs to be thought out by every one for himself. If there is one principle of sociology that is more fundamental than any other that is the one, and perhaps after all the other sociological elixirs shall have been tested and assigned their true respective values, this one may gain admission to the pharmacopœia of social science.

It would never do to write a book without including a "classification of the sciences," so Professor Giddings has introduced his. Of course, too, like all the rest, it is the only true one, the others being defective or false. This feature, however, is not new, but has been published several times before during the past two years; it therefore requires no explanation. It need only be said that there are as many ways of classifying the sciences as there are purposes to be subserved thereby, and all of them may be true and useful. The present one doubtless serves some useful purpose in the author's mind. Few others, I imagine, will be able to profit by it. Comte's classification, which, as usual, he does not understand, is rejected, and Spencer's is criticised, in some points, as I think, justly. His own is somewhat ingenious and more complicated than it appears at first sight. The theory is not altogether devoid of merits. If he only could separate the abstract from the concrete sciences the system would be a good one, but this he has

utterly failed to do. He calls chemistry a concrete science and physics an abstract science, when the main difference is that the one deals with molecules and the other with masses. Or, if it be said that their material must be distinguished from their dynamic aspects (matter from force), then the answer is that both these aspects equally belong to both. The same is true of every one of his concrete sciences—astronomy, geology, biology, psychology, sociology—each deals with bodies and also with forces. The only economics that can be regarded as abstract is the “mathematical economics” which totally ignores the facts, and which most modern economists eschew. As for ethics, it is not a science at all except in so far as it is not ethics but sociology.* Politics is certainly a department of sociology, but it is not the whole of that department which deals with laws and principles, and it does not deal wholly with these.

There is some truth in the statement that the names of abstract sciences naturally take the termination *ic*, and those of concrete sciences the termination *ology*. This means that when we wish to express the uniform and systematic action of a certain class of forces we select a word with the termination *ic*; and when we wish to refer to the detailed description of a certain group of facts we select a word with the termination *ology*. It all depends upon the point of view from which we are contemplating nature. But, as a matter of fact, every material object has its properties, and these are, in their ultimate analysis, natural forces. If we contemplate the objects as manifesting these forces we have a sort of abstract idea, but if we only contemplate them as stationary and inert, we have the concrete conception. The better terms would therefore be *passive* and *active* sciences, but such terms have not yet been used. Professor Giddings’ attempt at a geometrical notation is grotesque. It is wrong

* See “The Psychic Factors of Civilization,” Cap. xvii; also, “Ethical Aspects of Social Science.” *International Journal of Ethics*, July, 1896.

side up, to begin with, but it is not of such a character that any curves can be drawn to indicate the respective fields embraced by the sciences. If this could be done it might possess a graphic value.

The fundamental defect of the whole scheme, as already remarked, is the failure to make any clear distinction between concrete and abstract sciences. The more we study the subject the clearer it becomes that there is really only one abstract science, *viz.*, mathematics, and that this is not a science in any such sense as the others, but simply the ideal toward which all aspire. The degree to which the phenomena of any science are reducible to exact mathematical treatment fixes its place in the scale. This would certainly place solar astronomy at the head, followed by physics and chemistry. Economics and politics are only subsiences under sociology. The real and important distinction, however, as already shown, is not between the sciences themselves, but between the aspects from which they are viewed. Each has the two aspects pointed out, the passive or material, and the active or dynamic, and they differ only in the degree to which the latter can be formulated. This dynamic aspect is one for all the sciences, and to call it mathematics is too broad. As it relates to force, it might be called dynamics, but that term, as we have seen, is ambiguous. It could be called physics, but that name must also stand for one of the concrete sciences. There is an intermediate term which is not open to any of these objections and which seems in other respects to be better than any of those suggested. This term is *mechanics*. Mechanics is the branch of pure mathematics which deals with force both in its dynamic and its static relations. This may be regarded as the aspect from which to view all the sciences when contemplating properties, activities, and forces generally. It is also as good a criterion of their exactness as mathematics in the broader sense. It is that part of mathematics that is referred to in making the test of exactness. Every science must have its mechanical

aspect. If it has not reached the stage at which this can be said, it is not yet a fully developed science. Mathematical astronomy is astronomical mechanics (*mécanique céleste*). Physics is mainly applied mechanics, and chemistry is molecular physics. Dynamic geology is geological mechanics. Mechanical theories in biology are latterly becoming very common and attracting wide attention. Psychophysics is the mechanics of psychology, but there is a broader "dynamics of mind,"* which I call *psychics*.† Dynamic sociology is not quite all of social mechanics. I have endeavored to indicate its whole scope in a lecture that I have several times delivered and hope soon to publish.‡

Before leaving this subject of the classification of the sciences, it may not be out of place to call the reader's attention to a comparison which I have lately instituted between the systems of Comte and Spencer,§ based on a recent communication from the latter in which his system is more clearly stated than in any of his works. In the paper presented to the Philosophical Society of Washington, of which only a brief abstract was published, I ventured to suggest an arrangement of the sciences in the order of the their degree of exactness, *i. e.*, of the extent to which their laws are capable of being formulated in mechanical terms, giving to the names a uniform termination derived from the Greek νόμος, law, of which *astronomy* already furnishes an example. This terminology has been introduced at the beginning of my paper on the Social Forces,|| merely as a suggestion. I would not attribute any special importance to it, but it does no harm to propose all possible aids to the solution of so vast a problem as the true order of the universe, and Professor Giddings' effort in this line is, from this point of view, wholly commendable.

* "The Psychic Factors of Civilization," Cap. xv.

† Ibid., pp. 56, 129.

‡ It is entitled "The Mechanics of Society," and will be the eighth of the series of papers now running through the *American Journal of Sociology*.

§ See *Science*, New Series, Vol. iii, New York, Feb. 21, 1896, pp. 292-94.

|| *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. ii, Chicago, July, 1896.

I have, at the outset, explained my intentional omission to treat the body of Professor Giddings' book in this paper. The headings of the chapters sufficiently indicate their nature, and I have already recorded my admiration for the able manner in which the work is done. The arrangement, terminology and classification of the subject-matter are not objectionable, and were needed to furnish a plan and method of treatment. The chapters on "The Social Composition" and "The Social Constitution" are interesting, and the distinction is fairly drawn. The several steps in association—zoogenic, anthropogenic, ethnogenic and demogenic, had struck me favorably when first sketched out by him in his "Theory of Sociology" in 1894. Book IV is not strong, and several of its weaknesses have already been considered. Space forbids further enlargement. Notwithstanding a manifest effort to be original, there is very little in the book that is truly original. I mean to say that it makes no original contribution to science, no fresh inroad into the unknown, no deeper foundations of the known. On nearly all the living questions, the author is to be found on the traditional side. For example, he goes with Aristotle, Comte, and, indeed, most writers on social questions, in regarding man as naturally a social being,* and he even declares that "the ape-like ancestor of man also must have been a social animal."† It is true that this is almost quoted from Darwin, who, however adds: "but this is not of much importance for us."‡ The question is what constitutes a "social animal." If apes are social animals then there are scarcely any others. It is at least false to say that "human nature is the preëminently social nature."§ The proposition would be more correct if reversed, and "un-social," or "anti-social" were put for "social." ||

* See pp. 225, 421-422.

† P. 208.

‡ "Descent of Man," American edition, 1871, Vol. i, p. 81; see also p. 155. (Professor Giddings' reference is incomplete and seems to be erroneous).

§ P. 225.

|| *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. i, January, 1896. pp. 432-33.

Dr. Patten's "Theory of Social Forces" was received too late to be treated except in foot-notes, but Professor Giddings seems to me to have failed to grasp the import of the "pain economy and pleasure economy" set forth in that essay. At least, he does not read into it the swarm of ideas that the terms give rise to in my own mind, whether they were in the writer's mind or not. The common-place economic terms which he would substitute* indicate that those of Dr. Patten did not arouse any such train of thought in our author's mind.

Although the treatment of "zoogenic association" is excellent, due to a certain genius of the author for marshaling facts, still, wherever he ventures into biology on his own account he displays the usual incapacity of political economists to deal with biological subjects. It certainly will be refreshing to biologists to learn that "'biology' had no vogue until Mr. Spencer took it up."† This, however, is in keeping with his Spencer-worship in general.

It is so fashionable in these days to talk about "natural selection" that we are not surprised to find the term applied to man in a way that is wholly unwarranted. For example, to say that "in the United States natural selection is rapidly producing new types of men and women from almost every European nationality."‡ All in three or four generations! He does not mean natural selection, that is all. But listen to this: "Natural rights are socially necessary norms of right, enforced by natural selection in the sphere of social relations."§ If it can be shown that a natural right is a character whose partial absence has the effect of diminishing the chances of survival to the age of reproduction or of causing a smaller number of progeny to be produced, and if this disadvantageous condition can be supposed to go on through a sufficient number of generations to tell against

* P. 406.

† P. 32.

‡ P. 91.

§ P. 418.

those possessing the defect, then, and only in this way, can natural selection have anything to do with it.

The anthropological part of the book is much better, in fact it is the ablest department of the work. The greater part of the work is anthropological, but I refer now more especially to the two chapters on anthropogenic and ethnogenic association, which together constitute a magnificent compilation. It cannot be denied either that, although it is to these aspects that most of the so-called sociology is confined, still this remains the most essential preparation for the science of sociology. True, there was nothing to do but go again over the ground so well tilled by Tylor, Spencer, Maine, and Morgan, but I confess that much new light has here been shed on the great problems dealt with by these writers. The subject has been somewhat Americanized, but there is room for further work in this direction. The important contributions of Schoolcraft, Powell, Mallery, Yarrow, Cushing, and many others, contained in the Smithsonian publications and the reports of the Bureau of Ethnology, have been almost totally neglected, and yet they constitute about the only trained expert work that has ever been done in anthropology. To study these sources would be better than to thresh the old straw contained in books of travel of untrained observers which are written to sell. Spencer's "Descriptive Sociology" is chiefly derived from these latter, and all its statements have to be taken *cum grano salis*. His so-called "Principles of Sociology" are compiled from the other, and, even as checked by Tylor's splendid achievements, suffer from the same disease. It goes without saying that Giddings' work shares this defect. Still, in the main, the philosophy thus brought out is sound, and even the repetition of the well-worn facts that underlie the true origin of religious beliefs § may be justified in a work of this character.

§ Pp. 247 et seq. Perhaps the last previous plagiarism of this class is contained in the *Forum* for September, 1889 (Vol. viii, pp. 98-107).

The brief reference made by Professor Giddings* to the views of Darwin and Fiske relative to the causes and effects of the erect posture in man, upon which he has enlarged in his article on Sociology in Johnson's "Universal Cyclopaedia," is disappointing. Scientific men do not read cyclopedias. It should have been even further expanded here. He expresses surprise at the similarity between his theories and those advanced in the *American Anthropologist*† of almost even date with his cyclopaedia article. This is another of the many proofs that he is wholly unacquainted with the work entitled, "Dynamic Sociology," the sixth chapter of which is devoted to a discussion of these same principles, and where they are treated much more fully than in the article referred to. In fact, the whole subject was gone over by the same writer three years earlier in a paper read before the Anthropological Society of Washington on April 20, 1880, and published by the society.‡

With the chapter on demogenic association the reader finds himself for the first time out of anthropology, but sixty pages in a work of nearly five hundred, is surely inadequate to the treatment of even the purely statical aspects of the whole science of sociology, and one is still more disappointed in the quality of the treatment than in its quantity. He alludes briefly to Comte's famous "three stages," the notion of which he seems to have derived through Spencer's inverted spy-glass, and which he consequently regards as characterized by "superficiality," § and yet a few pages further on || he puts forth a theory, ostensibly his own, which scarcely differs except in the choice of terms from Comte's, and which he declares to be "the complete philosophy of history"! He thereupon concludes that "the

* P. 229.

† "Relation of Sociology to Anthropology." *American Anthropologist*, Vol. viii, Washington, July, 1895, pp. 241-256.

‡ "Pre-social Man." Abstract of Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington for 1880 and 1881. Washington, 1881, pp. 68-71.

§ P. 304.

|| P. 308.

stages of civilization accordingly are: the military and religious; the liberal-legal; and the economic and ethical." * These seem to be drawn up for no other purpose than to propose something different from what had been previously proposed—a clear case of mimophobia.

On a number of points, however, all will, I think, agree with him, as, for instance, that there can be no such thing as an exclusively military society,† that the lower outlying races are really inferior to the European race, and not merely the unfortunate victims of a cruel environment,‡ that a form of true savagery exists in the midst of civilization,§ and that the much decried influx of the rural population into cities has a rational basis and is not an unmixed evil. || Going outside of the particular chapter here under consideration, there are many other points deserving attention, but which cannot be discussed for want of space, but I would like to set the seal of approval upon what is said about the negro not representing an especially low type of mankind,¶ about the density of population as a factor in civilization,** and about the real advantages of the division of labor.†† I would also specially commend the philosophical conclusions reached on the vexed question of incest and exogamy,‡‡ but here, I think, we actually have a partially biological question, and that, although he fails to do so, we must call in the law of natural selection to explain the earliest stages.

On the other hand, there are many statements in the book besides the ones specially selected for discussion in this paper, which might be successfully combated, a bare mention of a few of which will have to suffice. Such are the popular but exploded idea that a cold climate is favorable to

* P. 309.

† P. 305.

‡ P. 328.

§ P. 351.

|| Pp. 343-347.

¶ Pp. 235, 238.

** P. 367.

†† P. 397.

‡‡ Pp. 96, 267, 271.

the development of social energy,* that criminals represent a degenerate instead of an undeveloped type,† that intellectual development is the effect instead of the cause of association,‡ and that Malthusianism, even as modified by him, is in any proper sense a sociological, as distinguished from a biological principle.§ But there must be an end to these enumerations.

Most students of society will doubtless agree with him in accepting Mackenzie's three main factors of civilization: " (1) the subjugation of nature, (2) the perfection of social machinery, and (3) personal development," as also that "true progress must include them all;" || yea, and much more.

The final judgment, then, which it seems necessary to pass upon this work, is that, while excellent so far as it goes, it is not a treatise on the "principles of sociology," or, except to a limited extent, on sociology at all in the proper sense, but that it deals in the main only with the elements or rudiments, coming under the head of what I have called the "data of sociology." ¶ It is therefore merely preparatory to the study of the science itself, and what I have said relative to sociology as a properly university or postgraduate study does not apply to it. The bulk of it is well adapted to undergraduate teaching.

LESTER F. WARD.

Washington, D. C.

* P. 88.

† Pp. 72, 127.

‡ P. 132.

§ P. 336.

|| P. 356.

¶ *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1896.

THE FUSION OF POLITICAL PARTIES.




THE AUTOMATIC METHOD IN AUSTRALIA.

It is a canon of popular government that the majority should rule. Whatever an individual citizen may think it certainly will not become any public officer elected by the people to deny so fundamental a proposition of popular government. The object of an election is to ascertain the will of the people that the majority may rule.

Under our form of government the people govern themselves by choosing agents to act for them. Public servants are usually elected by a direct vote of the people. The president and senators of the United States are, however, familiar examples of election by indirect methods. Elections may also be classified with reference to the number of persons to be chosen for a particular office. Thus the election of several persons from one district for the same office can be spoken of as a plural election. A familiar example of a plural election is the choice of presidential electors from the whole state on a general ticket. In some places local boards are elected in the same manner. But this paper will not refer to the election of plural officers, nor to any form of indirect election. We will consider elections only so far as they relate to the choice of one person by a direct vote of the people. Thus our concern will be the election of a governor, a mayor, a single member of congress, a single member of the state legislature, a sheriff or other single officer, especially where there are more than two candidates.

It is seldom that a single officer is chosen by a unanimous vote. An officer is usually said to be elected by a majority or a plurality. The latter expression, however, generally means a minority. Where there are but two candidates for the same office in the absence of a tie, one is always elected by a

majority. But when there are more than two candidates the votes are frequently so divided that no candidate receives a clear majority. Thus if A receives thirty-five votes, B thirty-three votes and C thirty-two votes, no candidate has a majority, but A is elected by a plurality, as shown by the several lines in the diagram, representing the number of votes received by the respective candidates :

A		= 35
B		= 33
C		= 32
		<hr/>
		100

In all such cases the votes which are cast for third party candidates, for example the thirty-two votes given for C are rendered ineffectual. They do not aid in determining the result of the election and except so far as they are a protest they are absolutely lost. They may have their moral effect, but contribute nothing to defeat or elect one of the two principal candidates. The result of the election is the same as if all third party voters staid at home on the day of election.

In the last twenty years New York has had seven elections for governor and three of the seven governors were elected by a minority. In the last ten years New York City has had five elections for mayor and two of that number were controlled by a minority. At the present time two of the cities in greater New York have minority mayors, and all except one of the cities at which the Empire State Express stops between New York and Buffalo, viz.: Albany, Rochester and Syracuse, have minority mayors.

That the evil of minority elections is not confined to New York is apparent from the fact that the present governors in seventeen states were elected by less than one-half of the votes cast, and the votes of thousands of citizens in each of those states were shorn of their elective power because under the present primitive election methods they did not

chance to be cast for one of the two most popular candidates. For example the plurality in one state was less than one thousand, while the votes of twenty-three thousand good citizens were not allowed to affect the result. In another state where the plurality was less than twenty-five hundred the votes of more than sixty thousand citizens were lost on third party candidates. Such a waste of voting power is or ought to be contrary to public policy.

If the majority are to govern they should not be deprived of that right by inadequate means of expressing their preference. No one would advocate a law which in terms should provide that all votes cast for third party candidates, should not be counted or affect the election; yet that is the result attained by the present election methods. A vote is counted for a third party candidate but it does not affect the result. What advantage does the voter or the state receive from such a vote? None, except so far as the throwing away of votes may be a protest. The conscientious and independent voter is allowed to protest but he is most effectually disfranchised.

In some countries of continental Europe the principle of elections by the majority is firmly established. If at the first election no candidate receives a majority a second election is held, in which case the voters are sometimes restricted in their choice to the two highest candidates on the first poll. In this country Connecticut still retains some relic of majority elections, and only recently the requirement for such elections was abolished in Rhode Island because of the expense and inconvenience attending a second election. Nevertheless, if the majority is to rule, majority elections are desirable and should be promoted at least so far as may be practicable.

If a political party is able to control a majority of the voters within a given district its supremacy is usually assured. If a party falls short of a majority it not unfrequently succeeds by the opposing party dividing its own

forces. In like manner two political parties, each standing alone, may be hopelessly in the minority, while taken together they might constitute a majority. To overcome this difficulty it is not uncommon for two political parties to unite their forces on what is known as a fusion ticket. That result is usually accomplished by an agreement made before an election as to how certain offices should be given out or divided among the different fractions or divisions of the fusion party, and then trusting to the voters to ratify these bargains at the polls. Such fusions frequently accomplish desirable ends, but not unfrequently they place in the hands of individuals, powers, which are capable of abuse, and rightfully belong to the voters.

While the present century has wrought many and important changes in science and the arts there has been little or no change in methods of election. I do not refer to the form of the ballot or to the voting machine, but to the effect of the ballot when cast. The ordinary Australian ballot and secret voting, now so generally practiced, have very largely eliminated the fraudulent vote, but the effect of the ballot when cast has not been changed. It speaks with but one voice and if that voice does not aid in determining the election the vote is dead. Thus as we have seen if one hundred voters are divided into three almost equal parts: thirty-five for A, thirty-three for B and thirty-two for C, A is elected by a plurality of two votes, while the thirty-two voters who supported C have no effect on the result. Their votes are dead.

In this way we see each year thousands upon thousands of good citizens religiously go to the polls and cast their votes into the air as a solemn protest against certain political principles or policies, and thus deprive the state of their aid in determining the result of the election. For it is an elementary proposition that if a vote is not cast for one of the two highest candidates it is completely shorn of its elective power. Efforts to save such votes have been

numerous, but they have been usually confined to second elections and fusion tickets. In this country the latter has been almost the universal means employed. While we are all familiar with the American methods of fusion and its results, it may not be amiss to call special attention to some features with a view of contrast.

As already intimated a fusion is generally accomplished in advance of an election by the managers of two or more parties agreeing upon a joint ticket or a joint nomination for a single office which shall receive united support. The offices to be filled are thus made the subject of trade, and the voters are given the alternative of ratification or a loss of vote.

Let us see how votes cast for third party candidates can be saved, how they are saved in Australia. Would it be a difficult task for a voter, with pencil already in hand, to mark on his ballot his second choice candidate as well as his first?

Suppose we have a ballot in this form :

A
B 2
C 1

A voter can easily place the figure 1 opposite the name of his first choice candidate, for example C. Can he not as easily place the number 2 opposite the name of his second choice, for example B? Of course any ordinary voter can do so simple an act as that, and if he could not he would lose nothing. He would have the same right he now has. A voter would not be compelled to use his second choice unless he so desired. Nothing could be more simple, and no further act would be required of a voter.

If the first choice of a voter should prove to have no effect on the result, for example a ballot cast for C, his second choice might take effect, and the state would have

the benefit of the voter's protest as well as the benefit of his vote to aid in determining the election.

This would transform somewhat the diagram first given. For the purpose of illustration we will suppose that all of C's supporters have marked their ballots as the one shown above, and have given their second choice to B. This would require C to retire from the race, and all of his support would then be transferred to B, making the diagram stand thus :

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 \text{A} & \text{[Solid bar]} & = 35 \\
 \text{B} & \text{[Solid bar]} \quad \text{[Broken bar]} \quad \text{[Broken bar]} \quad \text{[Broken bar]} & = 33 + 32 = 65 \\
 & & \hline
 & & 100
 \end{array}$$

The broken portion of B's line represents the thirty-two second choice votes received from the original supporters of C. This brings B's total up to sixty-five as against A's thirty-five, and elects B by a majority vote. Of course this is for illustration only. Practically part of C's supporters might have chosen to stand on A's line, and thus make it longer than B's.

In this way, where the first choice can have no effect, the second choice operates as a fusion. The voter makes his protest, and he can at the same time name his own fusion or second choice candidate. Voters fuse instead of having fusion put before them ready made. In other words, the fusion is automatic. It results from the action of the voters at the polls.

I do not mean to say that this method of election by the automatic fusion of the political parties will supersede ante-election arrangements for the transfer of votes to particular candidates. But I do mean to say that it will put into the hands of voters a means of expressing their will more freely, and defeating such arrangements if they so desire, without the now certain penalty of a loss of the vote. Voters would have greater liberty of choice. They would be more free to use their best judgment. They would not

be afraid, as they now are, to vote for their favorite municipal or other reform candidate, lest their vote should be lost, and count as half a vote for the candidate they desire to defeat.

Besides the freedom which an automatic fusion would give to voters, there would be other advantages to the state. It would be a valuable index to public opinion. It would preserve votes cast as a protest. It would sound notes of warning to the executive and legislative branches of the government. It would be of great value to politicians. They could shape their course to suit the rising favor of new issues among their people, or to locate forces by which present policies might be sustained.

Whatever may be said of the theory of providing voters with better means for enabling a majority to unite in the expression of their choice, there is no difficulty with the practice, for this self-acting or automatic fusion by voters is already a success in Australia.

Sir Samuel Griffith, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, of Queensland, says: "No difficulty whatever has been found in its operation so far as I know, and it certainly may have the effect to prevent a candidate who has only a minority of votes from being elected. . . . The only objections I have seen made to it are from persons who are conscious that they cannot command a majority of the votes and still desire to be elected." I fancy the same people may object to it here. They will say it is too cumbersome, difficult to understand, and finally that voters have no second choice. All this is answered by the Chief Justice.

As our present ballot laws differ from the Australian laws, so our laws providing for this reform would be different from theirs, and would have to be fitted to our conditions. The necessary details have been worked out and form a part of a bill now pending in the legislature of the State of New York, the material parts of which will be appended to this paper.

The occasion of the adoption of this method of election in Queensland, Australia, was the desire on the part of the government to provide for the election of members of parliament by a vote of the majority. To this end the government, then under the lead of the present Chief Justice, brought in a bill providing for a second election where no majority was obtained on the first, after the manner of majority elections in Europe. This raised the question of the expense and inconvenience attending a second election, especially in certain electorates in Queensland which were sparsely settled and voters had to travel a day's journey or more in order to exercise the right of franchise. To overcome the objections incident to a second election, and still to secure the election to the majority, the feasibility of casting a contingent vote was suggested and discussed at length. The proposition was acceptable to the government, and it succeeded in passing the act on August 9, 1892.

This measure was debated at great length in two parliaments without eliciting any worthy objection. In fact, the only serious objection relates to the methods as there applied to plural elections,—that is so far as the bill related to electorates from which two members of parliament were chosen. In most cases only one member was returned from one district, but as there were a few two member districts, the bill provided for them also.

As originally described in the *Century Magazine*,* and as proposed in the bill before the Legislature of New York,† this method was designed for the election of single officers, such as a governor, a mayor, a single member of the legislature and the like. I do not mean to say that it is not capable of being applied to the election of plural officers, for the contrary is the fact. But I do say that this method of election when applied to single elections is perfectly simple, and free from all practical difficulties.

* December, 1890, p. 313. "Elections by the Majority."

† See appendix.

In the bill as introduced into the New York Legislature, a ballot is provided with two blank voting spaces opposite the name of each candidate, and the voting spaces opposite the names of the several candidates are arranged in two columns—the one for the first, and the other for the second choice votes. The voter is then required to mark the first choice voting space opposite the name of his first choice candidate. Then if he wishes to make a second choice to take effect in case his first choice cannot influence the result, he is permitted to mark the second choice voting space opposite the name of his second choice candidate.

This is quite different from the method as used in Australia, for there the voter is permitted to mark a third, fourth or other choice, by simply placing numerals opposite the names in order of his preference. So radical a change in our laws would be distasteful to the people. It would require an entirely new system. Besides it is our custom to have ballots counted and fully tabulated at the polling places, while in Australia they only tabulate the first choice, and then send all the ballots cast in a given district to a central office, where the returning officer gives effect to the second, third or fourth choice as may be necessary.

If we should permit anything more than a second choice we would greatly increase the difficulty of tabulation, for we must remember that it is necessary to keep separate the first choice for each candidate, and the returns must also show just how the first choice supporters of each candidate distributed their support on the second choice, otherwise the vote of one man might count twice, while the second choice vote of another man might cancel the effect of his first choice. For this and many other reasons it has been thought wise to confine ourselves to the first and second choice, at least until it should be found desirable to go further.

The returns being fully provided for, the bill prescribes that a first choice vote should be operative if possible under the rules given, otherwise the second choice shall constitute

the vote. The exact wording of these rules will be found in an appendix to this paper, and their effect will be illustrated later on.

While I am unable to furnish any Australian returns from which to illustrate the operation of this method of election, as in that country the tabulation is not fully made, I am fortunate enough to be able to give the tabulation of a practical test recently made in New York. The test was made by the patrons of certain restaurants in that city known as Childs' Unique Dairies. The proprietor became interested in the pending bill and determined to test its provisions. He had ballots printed and one placed in the hands of each customer as he entered. If a Republican or a Democrat he marked the proper ticket, indicating his first and second choice candidate for the presidential nomination of his party. The tickets were collected as the voters went out.

The Republican portion of the ballot used was in the following form:

VOTE THIS BALLOT ON GOING OUT,
and test the new method of election proposed at Albany
and used in Australia.

REPUBLICAN TICKET.

CANDIDATES For Presidential Nomination.	FIRST CHOICE.	SECOND CHOICE.
Allison.		
McKinley.		
Morton.		
Reed.		

Place (X) in the first column after your first choice.

Place (X) in the second column after your second choice.

Place only one mark after a name.

After the ballots were cast at the various polling places they were brought to a central point and the ballots were counted by messenger boys. They first assorted the ballots into four piles placing in one pile only those ballots which had the same candidate marked as first choice. Thus they placed in the first pile all ballots on which Allison was marked as first choice. The second pile contained all ballots bearing McKinley's name marked as first choice. Likewise piles were made for Morton and Reed. The ballots in each pile were then counted and the number placed opposite the name of the candidate in the column for first choice votes in the form for returns given below.

The ballots in each pile were then re-assorted according to the second choice. Thus the fifteen ballots in Allison's pile were separated into new piles. In this way it was found that McKinley was marked as second choice on two of those ballots, Morton on six, and Reed on seven, and these figures were placed in appropriate places as appears in the returns.

In like manner the four hundred and forty-one ballots in McKinley's pile were re-assorted according to the second choice marked thereon, and the result showed four piles, one containing thirty ballots on which Allison was marked as second choice, one hundred and forty-four ballots on which Morton was marked as second choice, one hundred and eighty-two ballots on which Reed was marked as second choice, and eighty-five ballots on which no second choice was marked. These figures were then placed in the form for returns. In like manner the second choice of Morton's and Reed's supporters was ascertained and the result tabulated.

At this point the canvass of the votes was finished and the duties of the messenger boys ceased. The completed returns then awaited the application of the rules given in the bill for ascertaining the result.

An inspection of the returns showed that the Democratic contest resulted in an election by the majority on the first

choice. The Republican votes were, however, more evenly divided. No candidate received a majority and that result was attained only by making use of the second choice votes of persons who would otherwise have been disfranchised. The tabulated returns were in the following form:

REPUBLICAN RETURNS.

CANDIDATES For Presidential Nomination.	FIRST CHOICE VOTES.	SECOND CHOICE VOTES.				
		ALLISON.	McKINLEY.	MORTON.	REED.	NO SECOND CHOICE.
Allison.	15	—	2	6	7	0
McKinley.	441	30	—	144	182	85
Morton.	302	28	138	—	82	54
Reed.	135	24	67	31	—	13
Total.	893	82	207	181	271	152

These returns show that no candidate has a majority of the first choice votes. Under ordinary circumstances, the votes cast for the candidates receiving the least number of first choice votes would be lost. We notice that if two of Allison's supporters were given their second choice they would go to McKinley, six would go to Morton and seven to Reed. That would increase the total of these candidates and take away all of Allison's supporters. It will be noticed further that the addition of these votes would still give no candidate a majority. As more than two candidates remain, the supporters of Reed are given the opportunity to save their vote by use of their second choice. Thus sixty-seven are added to McKinley's number, and thirty-one to Morton's, giving

McKinley 510 votes—a clear majority—and Morton 339. Most of Reed's supporters having gone to McKinley and Morton he has left only thirty-seven, and Allison has left only the seven votes of the persons who would have supported Reed on their second choice.

Concisely and mathematically expressed the process and result would be as follows :

McKinley .	$441 + 2$	$= 443 + 67$	$= 510$
Morton . .	$302 + 6$	$= 308 + 31$	$= 339$
Reed . . .	$135 + 7$	$= 142 - (67 + 31 + 7)$	$= 37$
Allison . .	$15 - (2 + 6 + 7)$	$= 0 + 7$	$= 7$
	<hr/> 893	<hr/> 893	<hr/> 893

All the votes are accounted for and a majority-election is secured, and a large number of votes are given effect and thus saved, which would otherwise be lost.

As it is the right of the majority to rule, so is it the duty of public servants to use reasonable diligence in protecting that right. Our election laws should be amended accordingly.

DANIEL S. REMSEN.

New York.

APPENDIX.

The following extracts are taken from a bill "to promote majority elections," etc., known as Assembly Bill No. 1884, in the New York Legislature of 1896. While many of the provisions found in these extracts are not material to the method of election advocated in the paper, yet the extracts given are believed to contain all that will be required for a complete understanding of the subject.

**General Ballot for the Fifteenth Election District of the Ninth
Assembly District of New York.**

To vote for a candidate, obliterate, with the official stamp, the empty white circle at the left of his name. To express the first choice, obliterate the white circle containing the figure one (1). To express the second choice, obliterate the white circle containing the figure two (2). To vote for a candidate for an office when his name is not printed as a candidate therefor, write in his name with pencil, having black lead, in the blank space, as in the title of such office, and obliterate with the official stamp, as above directed, one white circle at the left of the name so written. Any other mark invalidates the ballot.

						First Choice.		Second Choice.
PEOPLES.								
SOCIAL-LABOR.								
PROHIBITION								
DEMOCRATIC.								
REPUBLICAN.								

To vote for a candidate, obliterate, with the official stamp, one white circle at the left of his name. To express one first choice, obliterate the second choice, obliterate the white circle containing the figure two (2). To vote for a candidate for an office when his name is not printed as a candidate therefor, write his name with pencil, having black lead, in the blank space under the title of such office, and obliterate with the official stamp, as above directed, one white circle at the left of the same so written. Any other mark invalidates the ballot.

GOVERNOR. (Voter has first and second choice.)	Prohibition.	Democratic.	Social Labor.	Peoples.	Republican.
1 FRANCIS E. BALDWIN
2 DAVID B. DILL
3 CHARLES B. MATCHETT
4 CHARLES L. MATTHEWS
5 LEVI F. MOULTON
6
7

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR. (Voter has first and second choice.)

8 ROBERT C. HEWSON .....	.....
9 ..........	.....

[Separated by perforated lines here follow sections of the ballot for the various offices to be filled.]

MARKING THE BALLOT.—"The voter shall mark a ballot in the following manner and not otherwise:—

1. In marking the general ballot, in order to vote for individual candidates whose names are printed upon the ballot, he shall obliterate with the official stamp only one white circle in the voting space at the left of the name of each candidate for whom he desires to vote. If there are two voting spaces at the left of the names of the candidates for a particular office, he shall obliterate with the official stamp the white circle containing the figure one at the left of the name of his first choice candidate for whom he desires to vote, and if he desires to express a second choice, to take effect on the failure of his first choice to become operative, as hereinafter provided, he shall obliterate with

* Reduced to one-half actual size.

the official stamp the white circle containing the figure two at the left of the name of his second choice candidate. If he desires to vote for a person or persons other than a candidate for office whose name is printed under the title of that office, he must write the name of such person or persons in the space provided for such purpose directly under the printed names of candidates for such office with a pencil having black lead, and use the official stamp in the same manner as in case of printed names."

CANVASS OF BALLOTS.—If the canvass is not made by assorting into piles as described in the paper, tally sheets may be used, or both methods may be combined.

TALLY SHEETS.—"When only one person is to be elected to an office a separate tally sheet shall be provided for that office as follows: At the top of the broad column, at the extreme left, shall be the words "names of candidates for" and after the word "for" shall follow the designation of the office for which the persons named are candidates, and at the top of the broad column, at the extreme right, shall be the words "total votes cast." The one hundred or more narrow vertical columns shall be numbered at the top of each column with Arabic numerals, beginning with the number "1" and thereafter consecutively from left to right. Under the words "names of candidates for" shall be printed, upon separate lines, the names of the candidates for the particular office designated and printed upon the ballots. Such names shall be arranged in groups. The first name in each group shall be preceded by a double and followed by a single line, each ruled in black ink across the tally sheet from left to right, and all other names shall be separated from each other by similar single lines ruled in red ink. The names in the first group at the top of the tally sheet shall be in the same order as printed on the ballot.

The names in subsequent groups shall be arranged in like manner except the second name shall head the second group, the third name the third group, and so on through the whole list, so that the name of each candidate for such office shall head one group and no more. After the names of each such group of candidates shall be printed upon a separate line the word "blank," followed by a convenient number of spaces, in which shall be written during the canvass of votes the names of candidates not printed upon the ballots, but found to be voted for thereon. After the group of printed names of candidates the tally sheet shall contain a convenient number of blank group spaces with the same ruling and number of lines as the preceding group spaces, in which shall be written during the canvass of the votes the names of such candidates as shall render convenient the canvass and tabulation of the vote as hereinafter provided."

USE OF TALLY SHEET.—“ In canvassing the general ballots the chairman of the board shall unfold each ballot so far as necessary to leave the endorsements thereon plainly visible, and no further, and so as to leave the face of the ballot concealed. While so unfolding the ballot, the chairman shall keep the same close to the top of the table or board used for the purpose of the canvass, and in such manner that the endorsements upon such ballot shall be plainly visible. The chairman shall place such ballots so unfolded in one pile, or in separate piles close together, each ballot in such pile or piles having the endorsement thereon uppermost. The chairman shall then detach from the first ballot lying uppermost on such pile, or, if there be more than one such pile, on the first one of such piles, but without removing the ballot from the pile, that portion of the ballot which contains the names of the candidates for the first office printed thereon, and, unfolding such detached portion, shall hold the same fully opened, and so that the entire face and contents thereof shall be plainly visible to any election officer or watcher desiring to see the same, and shall read aloud the names of the candidates voted for upon such detached portion in the order in which such names are printed thereon, unless the voter has a right to indicate his first and second choice, in which case the name of the first choice candidate shall be first read, followed by the words “ first choice ” spoken in a clear and distinct voice, and the name of the second choice candidate shall then be read, followed by the words “ second choice ” spoken in a similar manner, and if no second choice is indicated, it shall be announced as blank as to the second choice. In those cases where a voter has a right to express his first and second choice, the first choice expressed on a ballot shall be recorded on the tally sheet in the group of names of candidates headed by the name of the candidate marked as first choice, and opposite his name, between lines ruled in black ink, and the second choice expressed on such ballot shall be recorded on the tally sheet in the same group, but opposite the name of the candidate so marked as second choice, and if no candidate be so marked, then opposite the word “ blank.” The chairman shall pause after the reading of each such name, to enable the vote to be recorded upon the tally sheet. The chairman shall also pause whenever requested so to do by any election officer or watcher, for the purpose of verification, correction or objection. The canvass of the votes for the candidates for the first office upon the remaining ballots shall proceed in like manner. As soon as the canvass of votes for candidates for any office upon the ballots shall have been completed, the votes for the candidates for the next office upon the ballots shall be canvassed in like manner.”

FORM FOR RETURNS.—“In cases where electors have a right to express a first and second choice, each such statement shall set forth in words written at length and tabular form the number of ballots which contain the name of the same candidate marked thereon as first choice; and the number of ballots thus marked which contain the name of each other candidate marked as second choice. Such tabular form shall be substantially as follows, the letters indicating the names of candidates and the figures the number of ballots marked for each as first or second choice, namely:

FIRST CHOICE.		SECOND CHOICE.			
		A	B	C	Blank
A	7		1	6	0
B	20	7		10	3
C	18	5	7		6
Total	45	12	8	16	9

RESULT OF ELECTION ASCERTAINED.—“When only one person is to be elected to an office, each elector shall be entitled to designate on the ballot cast by him and in the manner herein provided, the name of his first choice candidate and also the name of his second choice candidate for such office, and his ballot shall constitute and operate as his vote either for his first choice candidate or for his second choice candidate. Every such first choice vote shall be operative as a vote unless a second choice vote shall be operative under the following rules, by which the result of an election shall be ascertained, namely:

1. If the name of any candidate stands as first choice on a majority of all the ballots cast he is elected.
2. If no candidate is thus elected, drop the name of the one having the least number of first choice votes and add the second choice votes cast by his supporters to the first choice votes of the remaining candidates for whom they were given. If no candidate then has a majority drop from the remaining candidates the one having the least number of votes then to his credit, and add the second choice votes cast by his supporters to the first choice votes of the remaining candidates for

whom they were given. Repeat this operation until some candidate has a majority or until only two candidates remain. The one then having the greater number of votes to his credit will be elected. The word "drop" as here used shall not be so construed as to deprive any elector of his first choice vote when his second choice is not operative, and no second choice vote shall be deemed operative when it is cast for a candidate whose name shall be dropped as herein provided."

PENNSYLVANIA PAPER CURRENCY.

The somewhat unique experience of the Province of Pennsylvania in the issuing of paper money has received but scant attention from well accredited students of our financial history, although Franklin, when full of years and wisdom, wrote of this money as follows :

It has continued . . . now nearly forty years without variations upon new emissions; though in Pennsylvania the paper money has at times increased from fifteen thousand pounds, the first issue, to six hundred thousand pounds, or near it.*

In the present paper, we will attempt to sketch the history of this remarkable experience, from the first crude bill of 1723 to the final collapse of all paper money during the Revolution. This will include an examination of the prices of staple commodities from 1720 to 1770, in order to determine whether or not Franklin's claim was well founded. If our study of this half century of prices does not reveal any material variation in the value of this currency, it will then be in order to inquire as to the cause of its success.

In 1723 Governor Keith made the following recommendations in his address to the Assembly:†

First, then, I would direct your enquiry to find out from whence it proceeds, that such a Multiplicity of expensive and vexatious Law Suits have been of late commenced in your Courts, beyond what was usual or ever known in this Province before; because if this sudden Change should appear to arise only from the Increase of Trade and Riches, it is well; but if from any other Cause whatsoever, I conceive it will be attended with dangerous Consequences to the Body of the People whom you represent, and in such Case it will require your immediate Application.

The next Thing I shall propose to you is, to review and amend an Act of the Assembly of this Province, called the Law of Attachments, for I am credibly and well informed that the Severities of that Law

* "The Works of B. Franklin." By Jared Sparks. Vol. ii, p. 351. Boston : Hilliard, Gray & Co., 1840.

† For the legislation in regard to paper money, see the Votes of the Assembly for the several years. Also, the "Charters and Acts of Assembly of Pennsylvania." By Peter Miller, Philadelphia, 1762.

have been used upon Occasions and to Purposes for which it never was intended, even to the Discredit of Common Justice and Equity.

Lastly. For the Sake of the whole Country, who must live by the Product and Manufacture of Grain, it is absolutely necessary that the Making good Bread and Flour be so regulated as to recover our lost Credit in the Market to the West-Indies, upon which your whole Traffic entirely depends.

A number of petitions were presented at this same session from the inhabitants of Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks Counties, "complaining of the great Decay of Trade and Credit, and requesting a Paper currency."

Others requested that a paper currency be not issued, but that the existing currency be increased. Some of these seem to find a partial cause of the trouble in the lack of a market for grain, and suggest that "the consumption of foreign Liquors in this Place is detrimental." They desire

First, That the Making of good Beer, and the Distilling of spirits out of our own Country Produce may be encouraged. *Secondly*, That the current money of this Province be raised, and not to make a Paper Currency. *Thirdly*, That the produce of this Province be made a Currency and the Exportation of Money be prohibited.

A committee of grievances, to which all petitions and complaints were referred, reported the following statement of suits from the sheriff's docket:

From September, 1715, to September, 1716,	431
" " 1717, " " 1718,	588
" " 1719, " " 1720,	627
" " 1721, " " 1722,	847
" " to December, 1722,	250

This statement abundantly shows that the economic and financial condition was serious. But the currency petitions were referred back to the Assembly. The latter then "Resolved, That on the eighth instant the House will enter on the Consideration of Remedies to supply the Want of a Currency of Cash in this Province."

On the eighth the Assembly took up the question, "Whether it was necessary that a quantity of paper money, founded on

a good scheme, be struck or imprinted; this being put to a vote, it passed *in the affirmative*."

On the ninth, "The petition of several gentlemen and merchants, entreating an opportunity of offering their sentiments of the danger of ill-conceived schemes, in so nice and important a case as the regulation or institution of a provincial currency is," was presented to the House, and read. This petition, together with an answer to it, is printed in full in the "Votes of the Assembly." As there is no record of the debate in the Assembly, these petitions are valuable as embodying the arguments that obtained at that time. The first of these petitions represents the views of the conservative or wealthy part of the community. This, indeed, is indicated in the title, "The Petition of several Gentlemen and Merchants." In this the first three articles are confined to questions of English precedent, and upon the relations of the colonies to Great Britain. In the succeeding articles we come to the more general discussion of the question.

Fourthly, That if those Bills be issued on any easier terms to the receiver than Gold or Silver would be, if it were to be paid or leased out of the Treasury, by how much these terms are easier, by so much at least will the bills fall in value; for credit has its own laws as unalterable in themselves, as those of motion or gravity are in nature, and which, such as are versed in those affairs in Europe, as carefully consider.

Fifthly, That the schemes most commonly talked of for lending out sums to be discharged by annual payments, equal to or not much exceeding the interest, for a certain number of years, without paying any principal, are partial and unjust, and would be destructive to public credit, because the consideration given is not an equivalent to the sum received.

Sixthly, "That all such projects are exceedingly weak, or unjust; in brief, if in large enough quantities for all to get it then it must depreciate. If not in large enough quantities to do this then who shall receive it?" If the poor only are to be the objects, they have not a security to give; or if they had, perhaps they have as little merit as any. Commonly people become wealthy by sobriety and industry, the most useful qualifications in a commonwealth, and poor by luxury, idleness and folly. What rules then can be found for dispensing the public favors?

Seventhly, That by these schemes the more the currency or paper money falls in value (by which word falling is meant the rising of Gold, Silver, English goods, and all other commodities, in nominal value, which is the certain proof of the others falling) the greater is the borrower's advantage, etc., etc.

Eighthly, That all those deceive themselves, who, because Gold and Silver may be had at New York, or other places in exchange for their paper money, suppose that the one is therefore as good as the other, unless the Silver can be had at *eight shillings* per ounce, or the Gold at *six shillings* per pennyweight, at New York, as they were rated at the first striking of their bills: etc., etc.

These being premised as general heads, what **next** follows is, to point out what are conceived to be the only means of supporting the credit of such a currency, if issued.

First, That the whole sum struck be but small, and just sufficient to pass from hand to hand for a currency.

Secondly, That it be not continued for any longer time; for the paper will wear out, and it will not be so easy to exchange it for new as some have imagined; which, it is much to be doubted, will be found impracticable. Besides, the sooner it is to expire, the more easily will people be satisfied to take it. But further, our laws can continue in force no longer than five years without the royal approbation.

Thirdly, That care be taken to force the sinking of it in course, and in a just manner, by measures that shall render it absolutely necessary for the public to have it sunk; which, it is conceived, none of the methods hitherto discoursed of will effect.

The very mildness of this statement of the opposition seems to indicate that the need for additional currency must have been urgent.

The fourth section has in it a large measure of truth. The fifth section had in mind the New England schemes, in which money was loaned practically without interest for at least part of the time. The sixth section suggested a not insurmountable difficulty, since by the system of renewals most, at least, of the poorer class, could receive some of the public favor. The seventh section says correctly, that depreciation of currency will be seen in the nominal rise in general prices, while the eighth rather confounds this with a rise in gold and silver.

A counter petition was soon forthcoming. It follows the former, section by section, to wit:

Fourthly, If those bills cannot be procured, where they are to be issued, for a less pledge or security than Gold or Silver would be, the easy terms of refunding them will not lessen their value; for the stamp of authority has its own laws as unalterable in themselves as those of interest or increase are in usury, and which, such as are versed in those affairs, as carefully consider.

Fifthly, The schemes most commonly talked of for lending out sums, to be discharged by annual payments equal to, or not much exceeding the interest, for a certain number of years, without paying any principal, are not partial or unjust, nor destructive to public credit; for the pledge secured is more than an equivalent to the sum received, and the interest given is not inconsiderable, even of the lowest rated schemes, etc., etc.

In regard to the eighth section it was urged, that so long as the New York bills buy as much in general commodities the fact that they will not exchange for as much silver does not prove a depreciation.

In conclusion it was urged; first, that the sum issued should not be too small; again

That which is a benefit to any person for five years, will be a farther benefit for a longer term; and perhaps the fixing it to a short date, may abridge some persons from effecting what they might accomplish for their own good and the country's advantage, in more time.

This called forth a reply from the aforementioned gentlemen and merchants. They insisted that no stamp of authority could give an intrinsic worth where it did not exist in fact, and that:

The greatness of the security makes no manner of difference, unless the borrower of the bills should be obliged, for one hundred pounds lent in them, to pay upon that security the like sum in gold or silver, and not in the same specie, etc.

After referring to the South Carolina and New York experience, in which instances the bills were to be sunk by taxation, they continue:

Farther to the eastward, their bills being issued on loans only, by which method they cannot be called in with so much certainty, they

consequently fell more than one-third below the value at which they were first struck, and the same may be expected from the like measures to happen here; for seeing very few borrowers are found to discharge their mortgages to private persons in time, and according to contract, it will be expected that the public, to whom such loud cries are raised for succor to the distressed, will rather be more indulgent than rigorous to their humble supplicants.

The gentlemen and merchants conclude by recommending that the amount to be issued be decreased rather than increased; that part of the sum be used in paying the debts of the province and for building a prison and workhouse; and that the balance be issued upon mortgages.

There does not seem to have been much disposition on the part of the Assembly to take radical action. They were, indeed, entirely too conservative to suit Governor Keith. The first motion that £20,000 be struck was defeated, and the amount fixed at £12,000. The rate of interest was then fixed at 5 per cent. It should be noted in this connection that another bill had been introduced, and subsequently passed, changing the legal rate of interest from 8 per cent to 6 per cent. The security on which the bills were to be issued was fixed at three times the value, if in land, and four times the value, if in houses.

The governor, who rather championed the scheme, now sent another message in which he suggests that the quota of principal paid in each year might be reloaned, and that in this way every one might receive of the public favor. He also urged that too much security was demanded, suggesting that:

One-half of the value of lands, one-third of houses and personal estate, and near the whole value of ground rents, may very safely be lent to those who are willing and able to give such security.

Again he says:

If, upon consideration, you find that the sum intended may be issued to better advantage for a longer time, I think the objection, that our acts can only subsist five years without being approved, is of no weight.

The effect of the governor's recommendations was immediately seen in the petition of several freeholders and inhabitants of the province, praying:

First, That the paper currency proposed to be issued may be made to answer former contracts, and be continued a longer term than five years. Secondly, That the sum be enlarged. Thirdly, That the manner of its sinking be formed on a scheme of sinking principal and interest together. And fourthly, That the security to be given for bills of credit be lessened.

The bill, as finally passed, was to the effect that, of the £15,000 to be issued, £11,000 should be loaned on real estate, the balance to be sunk by taxes. A 5 per cent rate of interest was fixed on the loans which were made for eight years upon security double in value for land and three times for houses. To prevent the loan being controlled by the wealthy, no one could borrow more than one hundred pounds. One-eighth of the sum borrowed was to be paid annually together with the interest. In case of a default in payment, the mortgagor could be sold out in three to four months. The bills were made a legal tender, refusal of the tender canceling the debt. Penalties were provided for the offering of goods for a less amount in gold or silver than in these bills. Penalties were also imposed for counterfeiting said bills. The act further provided for the establishment of a loan office; the appointment of trustees; and included rules and regulations for their guidance. They were also authorized to loan the bills on good plate at the value of five shillings current money of America per ounce.

In the fall of the same year, another act for the emission of £30,000 was passed, and of this amount £26,500 was to be loaned on mortgages. The preamble of the act recites that:

The fifteen thousand already struck were found by experience to fall far short of a sufficient medium in trade, and could not supply the wants of such as then had, and still have, occasion to borrow upon the securities prescribed by the act.

The only important change in the method of issue was an

extension of the period of the loan to twelve and one-half years. In 1726 we find another act, entitled:

An act for the re-emitting and continuing the currency of such bills of credit of this province as by former acts were directed to be sunk and destroyed, and for the striking and making current £10,000 in new bills, to supply those that are torn and defaced.

In May, 1729, Patrick Gordon, then governor, gave his assent to a bill authorizing the issuing of £30,000. This was in direct opposition to the instruction from the Lords of Trade. But as the eight years for which the first bills were issued would soon expire, and it was feared that their withdrawal would very seriously cripple the trade of the province, the governor yielded. In this act the duration of the loans was still further extended, and was now made sixteen years. This period was retained in all subsequent acts, making the annual payments, including interest and principal, less than 12 per cent. In 1730, when the eight years of the first loans were about expiring, the Assembly authorized the reissue of previous issues, and ordered that £40,000 in new bills be struck, to be exchanged for those issued before 1728.

In this same year, 1730, an act was passed entitled: "An Act to remove the Trustees of the General Loan Office of Pennsylvania, and appointing others to execute their trust." The preamble of the act charges irregularities in the management of the office and complains that the trustees have hindered in every way the investigation of the office by the committee of the Assembly. In 1733, another act was passed fixing the term of office of the trustees at four years, instead of good behavior.

In 1739, the Assembly passed a bill re-emitting £69,000, and authorizing a new issue of £11,000 making a total of £80,000. This is the act of which Governor Pownall wrote: "it was the completest of its kind, containing all the improvements which experience had from time to time suggested." The full text of this act is given in the Appendix.

From time to time issues were authorized to replace torn

and defaced bills, and in 1745, a general re-emission to date from October, 1746, and to be for sixteen years. This would bring the termination of the mortgages up to 1762, or well toward the end of the period we have been investigating. The record of these mortgages preserved in the Recorder of Deeds' office in Philadelphia reveals very few that are not marked satisfied. In 1759, there was another re-emission the records of which we failed to find. In 1773, an attempt was made to issue £150,000 against mortgages. This does not seem to have met with any marked success, due in part at least to the fact that large amounts were issued about this time to be redeemed by taxation.

This is, in brief, the history of the paper currency issued against mortgages as it appears in the "Votes of the Assembly." There was, however, from time to time some discussion of the question outside the Assembly, though most of that which has been preserved favors the paper currency.

The first to take part in this outside discussion was Benjamin Franklin. When the act of 1729 was before the Assembly, Franklin, who was then twenty-three years of age, wrote a paper entitled: "A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency."* As this and a later paper of Franklin's are readily accessible to all in Sparks' edition of "The Works of Franklin," we will not quote from it as fully as from other papers which are not so accessible.

He holds and succinctly states the following proposition :

First, A great want of money, in any trading country, occasions interest to be at a very high rate.

Second, Want of money in a country reduces the price of that part of its produce which is used in trade.

Third, Want of money in a country discourages laboring and handicraftsmen (who are the chief strength and support of a people) from coming to settle in it, and induces many that were settled to leave the country, and seek entertainment and employment in other places, where they can be better paid. . . . And here again, is a third reason for land bearing a low price in such a country, because land always increases in value in proportion with the increase of the

*"The Works of Franklin." By Jared Sparks. Vol. ii, p. 253.

people settling on it, there being so many more buyers; and its value will infallibly be diminished if the number of its inhabitants diminish.

* * * * *

It now remains that we inquire whether a large addition to our paper currency will not make it sink in value very much.

* * * * *

For many ages, those parts of the world which are engaged in commerce, have fixed upon gold and silver as the chief and most proper materials for this medium; they being in themselves valuable metals, for their fineness, beauty and scarcity. By these, particularly by silver, it has been usual to value all things else. But as silver itself is of no certain permanent value, being worth more or less according to its scarcity or plenty, therefore it seems necessary to fix upon something else, *more proper to be made a measure of values, and this I take to be labor.*

* * * * *

As those who take bills out of the banks of Europe put in money for security; so here, and in some of the neighboring provinces, we engage our land. Which of these methods will most effectually secure the bills from actually sinking in value comes next to be considered.

* * * * *

If bills could be taken out of a bank in Europe on a land security, it is probable the value of such bills would be more certain and steady.

* * * * *

For as bills issued upon money security are money, so bills issued upon land are in effect *coined land.*

* * * * *

In a rapidly developing province precautions must be taken to prevent the bills appreciating.

* * * * *

That is, by providing in the act that payment may be made, either in these bills, or in any other bills made current by any act of the legislature of this province.

* * * * *

If it should be objected that emitting at so low a rate of interest, and on such easy terms, will occasion more to be taken out than the trade of the country really requires, it may be answered; that, as has already been shown, there can never be so much of it emitted as to make it fall below the land it is founded on; because no man in his senses will mortgage his estate for what is of no more value to him than that he has mortgaged, especially if the possession of what he receives is more precarious than of what he mortgages, as that of

paper money is when compared to land. And if it should ever become so plenty by indiscreet persons continuing to take out a large overplus above what is necessary in trade, so as to make people imagine it would become by that means of less value than their mortgaged lands, they would immediately, of course, begin to pay it in again to the office to redeem their land, and continue to do so till there was no more left in trade than was absolutely necessary. And thus the proportion would find itself (though there were a million too much in the office to be let out) without giving any one the trouble of calculation.

Later in life the "assurance of his faith" upon this point was not so pronounced, as will appear from the following:

The utility of this currency became by time and experience so evident, that the principles upon which it was founded were never afterwards much disputed; so that it grew soon to fifty-five thousand pounds; and in 1739 to eighty thousand pounds, trade, building and inhabitants all the while increasing. *Though I now think there are limits beyond which the quantity may be hurtful.**

In 1744, Tench Francis, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, wrote a paper that was afterward published in 1765 in Governor Pownall's "Administration of the Colonies," under the title, "Considerations on a Paper Currency." †

With regard to paper money, he distinguishes between its intrinsic value and that value which is given to it by its uses as money; this he calls its extrinsic value. He then argues that silver must of necessity have a higher value than paper money, because the latter is confined in its uses to the domestic trade: "Then, if silver in hand has one power, one use more than the paper, to wit, that of procuring foreign commodities, it is impossible we can esteem them equally." He therefore concludes that in foreign exchanges, and in the satisfaction of contracts made before the law was passed, paper money should be a legal tender for the amount of its real value, not for the amount of its nominal value.

In regard to the value of a paper currency, he says:

**Ibid.*, p. 254.

† "The Administration of the Colonies." By John Pownall. Second edition, p. 114. London: J. Dodsley, 1765.

I know no just means whereby mankind can give value to things, but increasing or lessening the *uses* or *quantity*. The paper derives its *intrinsic worth* from THE FUND which is stable and fixed. The *uses* give it further value, but that shall always be in inverse proportion to the quantity. Quantity is absolutely under the direction of the legislature, but the uses not. As they are raised, so they must be limited, by our necessities, and the disposition and order of things. The utmost the legislature can do, or is needful to be done, is to make the paper answer *all those uses*. When they have ascertained the FUND, the *uses and quantity*, their power expires. And the current value, if the people receive it, flows from them by so unavoidable and a necessary consequence, that whatever the legislature or others will or do (if it alters not the fund, uses, or quantity) can work no change in it in general.

* * * * *

When it is designed, that paper shall be the only money of a country, the quantity, according to the nominal value, ought to be, as near as possible, adequate to the uses.

* * * * *

To strike the necessary quantity at once, would be most advantageous to the society, and equal with respect to individuals; but as that cannot be known, let it be approached as near as may be. And since we may expect to err, I presume it will be better to err on the side of deficiency than excess, seeing additions are easy, but subtractions oftentimes very difficult after the emission.

In 1743, during the agitation which resulted in the re-emission of 1745, an interesting paper appeared suggesting a scheme for an automatic regulation of the supply of money. It was written by John Webbe and was entitled, "A Discourse Concerning Paper Money."* After some general discussion of the question he continues:

Paper money is only wanted to exchange commodities, which it does, whether they be sold absolutely for it or only for a time, or whether the payment be immediate or time be given for the payment. Commodities are never exchanged unless they be wanted: Therefore the demand for paper money must rise and fall with the demand for the commodities (among which we must here include the land) exchanged by it.

* * * * *

*"A Discourse Concerning Paper Money." By John Webbe. Phila: W. Bradford, 1743.

Now in order to preserve a constant proportion between the quantity of money floating in trade, and the demand for it, there needs nothing more than to open a bank that shall lend on good real security for the natural interest, whatever sums may be applied for; and shall also receive back any sum, if not too trifling, from any person offering it, though not a borrower, allowing him the natural interest or an equivalent to it, till he calls it out again.

* * * * *

Admitting, for argument's sake, the natural rate of interest to be five per cent a premium of four and a half will probably prove sufficient to draw in the superfluous cash at any time extant; for such an interest when with it the principal may be had on demand is at least as good as five per cent on any private security, where, besides the risk, the lender can never be sure of having his money again, as he would be at the bank, whenever an opportunity offers of laying it out to greater advantage. Therefore should the full natural interest between man and man be allowed by the bank for the money returned upon it; the quantity extant, instead of ever exceeding, will rather fall short of the proportion required by trade.

In 1764, Governor Pownall published the first edition of his "Administration of the Colonies" and in this, we find the paper by Tench Francis which we have already quoted. In the fifth edition, 1768, he submits a scheme for a paper money for all the colonies, based upon the Pennsylvania experience:*

The particular proposal as it is now formed, and applied to the present exigencies of America and Great Britain, was drawn up some years ago, in conjunction with a friend of mine and of the colonies. It was, by us, jointly proposed to government, in the years 1764, 1765, 1766, during which time the publication was suspended.

After some preliminary discussion he says:

In the meanwhile, I will recommend to the consideration of those who take a lead in business, a measure devised and administered by an American assembly.—And will venture to say, that there never was a wiser or better measure, never one better calculated to serve the uses of an increasing country, that there never was a measure more steadily pursued, or more faithfully executed, for forty years together,

*"The Administration of the Colonies." By THOS. POWNALL. Fifth Edition. London: 1768.

than the loan-office in Pennsylvania, formed and administered by the assembly of that province.

An increasing country of settlers and traders must always have the balance of trade against them, for this very reason, because they are increasing and improving, because they must be continually wanting further supplies which their present circumstances will neither furnish nor pay for:—And for this very reason also, they must always labor under a decreasing silver currency, though their circumstances require an increasing one. In the common cursory view of things, our politicians, both theorists and practitioners, are apt to think, that a country which has the balance of trade against it, and is continually drained of its silver currency, must be in a declining state; but here we may see that the progressive improvements of a commercial country of settlers, must necessarily have the balance of trade against them, and a decreasing silver currency; that their continual want of money and other materials to carry on their trade and business must engage them in debt.—But that those very things applied to their improvements, will in return not only pay those debts, but create also a surplus to be still carried forward to further and further improvements. In a country under such circumstances, money lent upon interest to settlers, creates money. Paper money thus lent upon interest will create gold and silver in principal, *while the interest becomes a revenue that pays the charges of government.* This currency is the true Pactolian stream which converts all into gold that is washed by it. It is on this principle that the wisdom and virtue of the Assembly of Pennsylvania established, under the sanction of government, an office for the emission of paper money by loan.

In the report of the Board of Trade (in England), dated February 9, 1764, a number of reasons are given for “restraining the emission of paper bills of credit in America as a *legal tender*.”*

1. That it carries the gold and silver out of the province, and so ruins the country; as experience has shown in every colony where it has been practiced in any great degree.
2. That merchants trading to America have suffered and lost by it.
3. That the restriction has had a beneficial effect in New England.
4. That every medium of trade should have an intrinsic value which paper money has not. Gold and silver are therefore the fittest for this medium, as they are an equivalent which paper never can be.

* “Remarks and Facts Relative to the American Paper Money.” See the “Works of Franklin.” By Jared Sparks. Vol. ii, p. 340.

5. That debtors in the assemblies make paper money with fraudulent views.

6. That in the middle colonies, where the credit of the paper money has been best supported the bills have never kept to their nominal value in circulation but have constantly depreciated to a certain degree, when ever the quantity has been increased.

Franklin was called upon to reply to this report. This he did, taking up these points in order. To the first he answered:

1. The truth is, that the balance of their trade with Britain being greatly against them the gold and silver is drawn out to pay that balance; and then the necessity for some medium of trade has induced the making of paper money, which could not be carried away. Thus, if the carrying out of the gold and silver ruins a country, every colony was ruined before it made paper money. But far from being ruined by it the colonies that made use of paper money have been, and are, all in a flourishing condition, etc., etc.

To the second charge he answered that the loss by

English merchants may have occurred in particular instances, as in New England, Virginia and South Carolina, when great sums were issued to pay the colony troops, etc., etc. But the merchants trading to the middle colonies (New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania) have never suffered by any use of exchange; it having ever been the rule there to consider British debts as payable in Britain and not to be discharged but by as much paper (whatever the rate of exchange) as would purchase a bill for the full sterling sum.

In reply to the third assertion he urged that special conditions prevailed in New England, and stated finally that the profit had then become so inconsiderable in New England, at least in some of its provinces, through the want of currency, that trade with them was at the time under great discouragement.

In the discussion of the fourth assertion Franklin is somewhat prolix, but briefly his contention is, that the balance of trade having taken gold and silver from them they must have some currency or betake themselves to barter.

To the fifth assertion he rejoined:

To deprive all the colonies of the convenience of paper money because it has been charged on some of them that they made it an

instrument of fraud, is as if all the India banks and other stock and trading companies were to be abolished because there have been once in an age Mississippi and South Sea schemes and bubbles.

As the sixth point bears directly upon the special topic of our inquiry, we shall quote his reply in full:

The sixth and last reason is, "That in the middle colonies, where the paper money has been best supported, the bills have never kept their nominal value in circulation." If the rising of the value of any particular commodity wanted for exportation is to be considered as a depreciation of whatever remains in the country; then the rising of silver above paper to that height of additional value which its capability of exportation only gave it, may be called a depreciation of the paper. Even here, as bullion has been wanted or not wanted for exportation, its price has varied from 5*s.* 2*d.* to 5*s.* 8*d.* per ounce. This is near ten per cent. But was it ever said or thought on any occasion that all the bank bills and all the coined silver and all the gold in the kingdom were depreciated ten per cent? Coined silver is now wanted here for change, and one per cent is given for it by some bankers. Are gold and bank notes therefore depreciated one per cent?

The fact in the middle colonies is really this: On the emission of the first paper money, a difference soon arose between that and silver; the latter having a property the former had not, a property always in demand in the colonies, to wit, its being fit for a remittance. This property having soon found its value by the merchants bidding on one another for it, and a dollar thereby coming to be rated at eight shillings in paper money of New York and 7*s.* 6*d.* in paper of Pennsylvania, it has continued uniformly at those rates in both provinces now near forty years without any variation upon new emissions; though in Pennsylvania the paper currency has at times increased from £15,000, the first sum, to £600,000 or near it. Nor has any alteration been occasioned by the paper money in the price of the necessities of life when compared with silver. They have been for the greatest part of the time no higher than before it was emitted varying only by plenty and scarcity, according to the seasons, or by a less or greater foreign demand. It has, indeed, been usual with the adversaries of a paper currency to call every rise of exchange with London a depreciation of the paper, but this notion appears to be by no means just, for if the paper purchases everything but bills of exchange at the former rate and these bills are not above one-tenth of what is employed in purchases then it may be more properly and truly said that the exchange has risen than that the paper has depreciated. And as a proof of this it is a certain fact that whenever in those colonies bills

of exchange have been dearer the purchaser has been constantly obliged to give more in silver as well as in paper for them, the silver having gone hand in hand with the paper at the rate above mentioned, and therefore it might as well have been said that the silver had depreciated.

It will also be remembered that Adam Smith, who possibly received his information through Franklin, has written as follows:

Pennsylvania was always more moderate in its emissions of paper money than any other of the colonies. Its paper currency, accordingly, is said never to have sunk below the value of the gold and silver which was current in the colony before the first emission of its paper money. *

The issue is here clearly upon a question of fact. The English Lords of Trade asserted that, in the middle colonies, the paper currency had never kept its nominal value in circulation. This, Franklin on the other hand, as positively denies. With a view to deciding this question, we have made a careful study of prices, covering the half century from 1720 to 1770.

Two methods of investigation were open. The first Philadelphia newspaper, *The Mercury*, fortunately began to print a price current with its earliest issues in December, 1719. The Pennsylvania Historical Society has preserved old account books covering the beginning and end of this period. The first of these sources labors under the disadvantage that the range of commodities was rather limited. In the case of the second source, it was impossible to find accounts covering the whole of this period, in which the amounts handled were about the same. This limitation restricted us to accounts which only cover the beginning and end of the period. They, however, enabled us to secure a larger range of commodities than was possible from the printed price currents.

In taking off the prices from the newspapers of the time, we have as far as possible, secured monthly quotations. As

* "Wealth of Nations," p. 262.

the price current seemed to have been used as padding, we found them omitted whenever general news was pressing, and so while in many years we secured quotations for every month in the year, there were others in which we could only find quotations for a half dozen, or even fewer months.

The first two tables on page 68 are taken from the newspapers for the years 1720 and 1773. Similar monthly tables for the intermediate years are given in the appendix. The table at the bottom of page 68 is taken from these monthly tables, and gives the maxima and minima for five-year periods. The table on page 70 gives the prices for the beginning and end of the period under consideration. The prices from newspapers are supplemented by prices from old account books.

An examination of these tables shows that Franklin's claim, that there had been no advance in the price of the necessities of life, is reasonably true up to 1750. But after this date we find a sharp and seemingly permanent advance in the price of wheat, corn, flour, beef, pork, etc., an advance, speaking in round numbers, of 100 per cent. If we confine ourselves to this group of commodities, and bear in mind, that the great increase in the volume of this currency dates from the French and Indian wars, we are apt to conclude, that this currency suffered a depreciation of 100 per cent.

But when we turn to the other group of commodities, salt, sugar, molasses, rum, tobacco, powder, bar iron, nails, steel faggots, cotton and oxenbrig, this advance in price does not appear.

It is true, the colonists had commenced producing some of these commodities for themselves, and the suggestion is likely to occur to some of our readers, that it was this home production that prevented an advance in the price of these commodities. But it must be remembered that they did not produce all of these commodities at home. Again, it hardly seems probable that the production in the colony resulted in a decrease of 100 per cent in their real price; as is implied by the assumption that the currency had depreciated to the

1720.	Jan. 26.	Feb. 23.	Mar. 24.	April 28.	May 26.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	3 0-3 3	3 0-3 3	3 0-3 3	3 0	3 0
Corn,	1 6-1 8	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10
Flour,	9 0-10 0	9 0-10 0	9 0-10 0	8 6-9 0	8 6-9 0
Beef,	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0
Pork,	45 0	45 0	45 0	45 0	45 0
Salt,	3 0	2 6	2 0	2 0	2 0
Sugar, { Muscavado,	30 0-45 0	30 0-45 0	30 0-45 0	30 0-45 0	30 0-45 0
Loaf,					
Molasses,	17- 18	17- 18	17- 18	16- 17	16- 17
Rum,	3 8	3 6	4 0-4 6	2 6	2 0

1773.			Mar. 3.	April 14.	May 5.
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,			8 0	8 0	8 0
Corn,			3 6	3 3	3 0
Flour,			20 0	19 6	19 0
Beef, { Irish,			55 0-65 0	60 0-70 0	60 0-65 0
Country,					
Pork,			90 0	90 0	87 6
Salt,			1 9	1 8	1 8
Sugar, { Muscavado,			40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-55 0
Loaf,					
Molasses,			23	20	20
Rum, { W. I.,			3 6	3 4	3 3
P.,			2 3	2 1	2 2

	1715-19.	1720-23.	1724-29.	1730-34.	1735-39.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	2 3-3 4	2 6-3 6	3 0-4 6	2 3-4 4	2 6-4 5
Corn,	1 6-1 10	1 6-2 2	2 0-3 0	1 6-2 4	1 3-2 6
Flour,	7 0-9 6	8 0-10 0	9 0-13 3	7 6-12 0	7 0-13 0
Beef, { Irish,					
Country,	32 0-36 0	26 0-32 0	25 0-40 0	26 0-42 0	30 0-45 0
Pork,	45 0	36 0-50 0	30 0-65 0	40 0-65 0	25 0-65 0
Wine (Madeira),	£40	£16-£22	£20-£26	£18-£22	£15-£22
Salt, { Coarse,	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Fine,	1 0-2 6	0 10-3 0	1 2-2 7	1 3-4 0	0 10-2 0
Lisbon,		1 2-1 8	2 6-3 6	1 6-3 6	1 6-2 6
Sugar (Muscavado),	40 0-55 0	25 0-40 0	21 0-40 0	18 0-40 0	25 0-50 0
" Loaf, { London,	16- 18		1 8-2 6	1 2-2 0	1 0-2 6
Penn.,					
Molasses,	15- 18	12- 20	14- 20	14- 18	17- 24
Rum, { W. I.,	2 4-3 4	1 10-4 6	1 10-4 0	2 0-3 3	2 1-2 10
N. F.,					1 8-2 2
Penn.,					
Tobacco,	13 6-22 6	9 0-14 0	10 0-40 0	8 0-20 0	10 0-20 0
Cotton,			1 2-1 8	0 10-1 4	0 10-1 10
Powder,	£7 10	£7 10 9	£7 10		

The first column, 1715-1719, is taken from old accounts.

When a price is italicized, it is exceptional, the prevailing price is written above.

June 23.	July 21.	Aug. 25.	Sept. 29.	Oct. 27.	Nov. 10.	Dec. 13.	Year.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
3 0-3 3	3 0-3 3	3 0	3 0	3 0-3 1	3 0-3 1	3 0-3 1	3 0-3 3
1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10
9 0-10 0	9 0-10 0	9 0-9 6	9 0-10 0	9 0-10 0	9 0-10 0	8 0-8 6	8 0-10 0
30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0
45 0-50 0	45 0-50 0	45 0-50 0	45 0-50 0	45 0-50 0	45 0-50 0	45 0-50 0	45 0-50 0
2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0-3 0
30 0-45 0	30 0-45 0	29 0-35 0	29 0-35 0	29 0-35 0	29 0-35 0	29 0-35 0	29 0-45 0
15-16	15-16	15-16	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-15	14-18
2 2-2 4	2 2-2 4	2 2-2 4	2 2-2 3	2 2-2 3	2 2-2 3	2 2-2 6	2 0-4 6

June 9.	Aug. 4.	Sept. 8.	Oct. 13.	Nov. 17.	Dec. 8.	Year.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
7 0	7 0	7 6	7 6	7 3	7 0	7 0-8 0
3 0	3 3	3 0	3 0	2 9	2 9	2 9-3 6
17 6	19 6	18 6	18 6	18 6	18 6	17 6-20 0
60 0-65 0	60 0-65 0	60 0-65 0	60 0-65 0	55 0-65 0	55 0-60 0	55 0-70 0
87 6	87 6	85 0	75 0	75 0	67 6	67 6-90 0
1 8	1 10	1 8	1 9	2 1	1 6	1 6-2 1
50 0-55 0	45 0-56 0	45 0-55 0	45 0-55 0	50 0-56 0	50 0-60 0	40 0-60 0
19	20	21	21	21	21	19-23
3 4	3 3	3 1	3 2	3 1	3 1	3 1-3 6
2 3	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 1-2 3

1740-44.	1745-49.	1750-54.	1755-59.	1760-64.	1765-69.	1770-75.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
2 6-6 0	2 4-7 6	3 6-5 0	3 3-5 6	4 0-7 0	4 6-7 6	5 8-8 3
1 2-3 6	1 5-3 3	2 0-3 9	1 6-3 7	2 2-4 6	2 4-3 6	2 8-4 6
6 9-16 0	6 9-21 0	10 6-15 4	10 6-16 6	11 0-19 0	12 6-18 0	13 6-21 6
30 0-60 0	30 0-50 0	35 0-60 0	35 0-60 0	50 0-70 0	45 0-65 0	55 0-75 0
40 0-80 0	40 0-75 0	50 0-80 0	50 0-80 0	62 6-105 0	55 0-95 0	60 0-100 0
£15-£40	£20-£32	£25-£36	£25-£50	£30-£60	£20-£60	£40-£75
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
1 4-3 9	1 5-9 0	0 10-2 0	1 3-3 6	1 6-3 6	1 6-2 6	1 6-2 6
1 6-3 0	2 0-9 0	1 0-4 6	1 4-3 0	2 0-3 6	1 8-1 9	1 6-3 0
30 0-60 0	30 0-60 0	30 0-60 0	35 0-77 0	40 0-60 0	35 0-66 0	40 0-60 0
1 6-2 0	1 8-2 6	1 0-2 6	1 1-1 3	1 1-1 3	0 10-1 2	0 11-1 1
1 0-1 8	1 0-1 9	1 0-1 6	1 0-1 2	1 0-1 3	0 10-1 2	
18-28	16-36	18-26	21-33	18-42	19-24	19-24
2 4-3 10	2 10-4 6	2 10-4 6	2 6-5 7	2 9-5 2	2 7-3 10	2 10-4 6
1 8-3 4	2 4-4 3	2 2-3 0	2 2-4 3	2 0-4 2	2 0-2 6	2 1-2 4
10 0-23 0	10 0-20 0	8 0-28 0	8 0-35 0	10 0-26 0	10 0-37 6	15 0-40 0
0 10-1 8	1 3-2 0	1 5-2 6	1 1-1 8	1 2-1 11	1 2-2 2	1 2-2 0
£8-£12	£8-£10	£8-£10	£8-£12	£8 10-£18		

extent indicated by the advance in the price of the first group of commodities.

	Prices prior to 1723.				Prices after 1750.			
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat,	3	0-	3	3	7	0-	8	0
Corn,	1	6-	1	10	2	9-	3	6
Flour,	8	0-	10	0	17	6-	20	0
Beef,			30	0	55	0-	70	0
Pork,	45	0-	50	0	67	6-	90	0
Salt,	2	0-	3	0	1	6-	2	1
Sugar,	29	0-	45	0	40	0-	60	0
Molasses,		14-		18		19-		23
Rum,	2	0-	4	6	3	1-	3	6
Cotton,	*1	6-	1	8	1	2-	2	0
Oxenbrig,	†14-			20		12-		20
Bar iron,	†34	0-	39	0	32	0-	35	0
Nails (6-20 dwt.), . . .		8-		10				9
Steel faggots,		5-		7				3½

Hides, beer and Madeira wine also show an advance of about 100 per cent. Tobacco shows considerable advance.

Lastly, and the question is entirely in order, might not the advance in the prices of the first group be accounted for by a great increase in the export demand? If this is the explanation, then we may fairly expect to find the province in a very prosperous condition in the latter part of our period. For while those commodities, that were produced largely for home consumption or were imported into the province, show no material advance in price, those that figured largely in their exports had advanced 100 per cent.

In this connection Franklin writes as follows: "Between the years 1740 and 1765, while abundance reigned in Pennsylvania and there was peace in all her borders, a more happy and prosperous population could not perhaps be found on this globe. In every home there was comfort. The people generally were highly moral and knowledge was extensively diffused." Elsewhere he says that, "pay is now

* First newspaper quotation, 1725.

† These items appear in Price Current but not at both ends of period, compelling us to avail ourselves of private accounts.

become so indifferent in New England, at least in some of its provinces" (where they had abandoned paper money) "through the want of currency that the trade thither is at present under great discouragement."* This was written in 1765.

Hume says in substance: In Pennsylvania the land itself is coined. A planter, immediately after purchasing land, can go to a public office and receive notes to the amount of half his land, which notes he employs in all payments; they circulate through the colonies by convention. No more than a certain sum is issued to one planter and each must pay back into the public treasury one-tenth of the notes. When they are all paid back he can repeat the operation. This caused a prosperity that Burke said was unparalleled.†

But does it follow that this marvelous prosperity was due entirely to the paper currency? Might it not be well to inquire what other influences were at work? We find a permanent advance of 100 per cent in the prices of those commodities, in the production of which, this colony had special advantages, and under such circumstances, prosperity was assured with any feasible arrangement of the currency. We are not urging that the better supply of currency played no part in bringing about the prosperity of the time; but we do insist that without a special investigation of all the conditions, we have no right to assume that this increase in the currency was the sole cause of their prosperity.

On the other hand, our study of prices, together with the fact of this marvelous prosperity, would seem to sustain Franklin's claim, that this currency suffered no material depreciation for half a century. This gives rise to the question, to what was this exceptional success due?

For answer, one naturally turns to the fact that Pennsylvania issued bills against good real estate security. But so

*"The Works of Benjamin Franklin." By Jared Sparks. Vol ii, p. 346.

† This is interesting, as it shows that the middle colonies were getting the best of the trade with England, and were able to pay any reasonable tax that England might impose.

too did Massachusetts and Rhode Island. There were, however, differences in the time and manner prescribed for the repayment of the bills, which might account for the varying success of the bills of these several colonies.

It will be remembered that while the earlier bills in Pennsylvania were issued for eight years, they were afterwards issued for twelve and one-half years, and quite early in their experience, sixteen years was fixed upon and maintained in all subsequent loans. In other words, the bills were issued against installment mortgages having sixteen years to run. This made the annual payment demanded from the mortgagor less than 12 per cent including interest and the installment of the principal.

In Rhode Island on the other hand no part of the principal was due, under the first act, until the expiration of the loan or ten years. Finding this impracticable the payment of the principal in ten installments was afterward arranged, but the first payment was not due until the expiration of ten years, or the original period of the loan. So far as we can learn, no interest was charged during the period in which the loan was being paid off, so that the mortgagor had the use of the money for five years without interest. Even during the original period the annual payment of interest was not compulsory, the government accepting a bond in lieu of such payments.*

If we turn to the Massachusetts experience, we find that their first issue of money against mortgages was in 1714. Prior to that date, they had issued large sums to be sunk by taxes. This they had failed to do, so that by 1712 there was a serious depreciation in the value of these bills. In 1714 they issued £50,000 to be loaned on good mortgages, one-fifth part of the principal, together with interest at 5 per cent, being payable annually. The time for payment was manifestly too short as it compelled the mortgagor to raise 25 per cent of the principal each year. This feature

*Acts and Laws of Rhode Island.

of the loan proved to be impracticable, with the result, that continual renewals were demanded, some of the mortgages remaining out over thirty years.

Instead of extending the time in subsequent loans, as did the Pennsylvania Assembly, Massachusetts abandoned the installment feature entirely. In 1716, an additional loan of £100,000 was authorized, to be made on mortgages secured by double the value of the loan, and interest at 5 per cent, payable annually. The whole or any part of the principal could be paid at any time, but all might remain unpaid until the termination of the loan.*

It would seem then, that in these differences in the provisions for the repayment of the loans, we have a good and sufficient explanation why the Pennsylvania bills succeeded, while those of Massachusetts and Rhode Island failed.

There is, however, one serious difficulty in the way of this explanation. Prior to 1750 the amount of Pennsylvania bills in circulation never reached £100,000. An amount far from sufficient for their needs as is shown by the fact that staple commodities were still received as money. Under such circumstances almost any currency would have maintained its value. Webbe writing in 1744, said that they should have at least £400,000, basing this upon English experience. In 1764 Franklin claimed that there was about £600,000 in circulation, though a careful scanning of the Assembly proceedings would indicate that £500,000 was nearer the correct amount. Of this amount four-fifths was issued against taxes and from time to time was so redeemed. Hence, it can hardly be claimed that the value of the total issue was maintained by the remaining fifth, or that part which was issued against mortgages. Or however admirable that mode of issue may have been, it might nevertheless be urged that the Pennsylvania currency maintained its value, because the amount issued was not in excess of

*Acts and Laws of Massachusetts.

their need for a medium of exchange, and had ample provision made for the redemption of the larger part of it by taxation. The most strenuous opponents of paper money will hardly deny, that under such circumstances the value of almost any currency might be maintained. The difficulty is, that few legislative bodies are likely to be as wise as the Assembly of Pennsylvania seems to have been during this period.

To meet this difficulty John Webbe in 1744, and Governor Pownall in 1764, proposed a plan which they thought would automatically adjust the amount of money in circulation to the needs of trade; that is, without any direct action of the legislative power.

Ignoring for the moment the practical difficulties that confront any such scheme, let us note how completely it lends itself to the ideas of the present Populist party. The most cursory glance at their literature will reveal the following financial demands.

A safe deposit under the control of the Federal Government so that the poor man shall not lose his hard-earned savings. The government to pay the usual saving fund rate of interest or 3 per cent.

A lower rate of interest to be obtained by the government loaning these deposits on good real estate security at 4 per cent.

Lastly, a currency that will not appreciate at the dictation of the moneyed interests and to the injury of the debtor class.

The Webbe-Pownall scheme, assuming for the sake of argument that it is practicable, inverts this order but satisfies all three demands. The Federal Government to issue paper money against mortgages. Then, in order to control the amount in circulation and so its value, to receive deposits of the same from any one, whether mortgagor or not. The interest allowed on these deposits to be less than that paid by the mortgagors. The difference

to be sufficient to pay the government for handling the business.

Already the Populist literature evidences a growing interest in the Pennsylvania experience. The Webbe-Pownall scheme seems so completely to satisfy their demands that we are likely ere long to hear more of it than of the free coinage of silver. But however attractive such a scheme may appear, the practical difficulties confronting it are many and serious. Again, when we confine ourselves to the actual experience in Pennsylvania, we are forced to admit that the results at best were inconclusive.

C. W. MACFARLANE.

Philadelphia.

THE ACT OF 1739.

This is the act of which Governor Pownall* has said: "There never was a wiser or better measure, never one better calculated to serve the uses of an increasing country, that there never was a measure more steadily pursued or more faithfully executed, for forty years together, than the loan office in Pennsylvania, formed and administered by the Assembly of that province."

*An ACT for Reprinting, Exchanging and Re-emitting all the Bills of Credit of this Province, and for striking the further sum of 11,110*l.* 5*s.* to be emitted upon Loan.*

WHEREAS, thro' the Scarcity of Silver and Gold in this Province, occasioned by remitting the same to *Great-Britain*, to pay for the Product and Manufactures of that Kingdom imported hither for the Use of the Inhabitants, sundry Sums of Money in Bills of Credit were formerly emitted, which, by Experience, have been found to be very useful for carrying on the Trade and Commerce of this Province.

AND WHEREAS, in Pursuance of the Direction of former Acts of Assembly, by which the said Bills of Credit were emitted, a great Part of the same have been sunk and destroyed, so that there is not current in the Province at this Time, more than the Value of 68,88*g*/. 15*s.* in the said Bills of Credit, which, since the great Increase of the Inhabitants as well as the Trade of the Province, is found to fall short of a

*See "The Administration of the Colonies." By Thos. Pownall. Fifth edition, 1768.

proper Medium for negotiating our Commerce and supporting the Government.

AND WHEREAS it appears, that great Quantities of counterfeit Bills in the Likeness and Imitation of genuine Bills of Credit of this Province, have been imported among us; which has rendered it necessary to call in all our Bills of Credit and to emit others of the same Value, but of a different Impression from the former:

TO THE END, THEREFORE, That the Wants of those concerned in Trade may be supplied, and the Government supported, and to prevent the People's being imposed upon by the said Counterfeit Bills, made in Imitation of the present Bills of Credit of this Province :

BE IT ENACTED by the Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq., with the King's Royal Approbation, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and of the Counties of *New-Castle*, *Kent* and *Sussex* on *Delaware*, under the Honourable *John Penn*, *Thomas Penn* and *Richard Penn*, Esqrs., true and absolute Proprietors of the said Province and Counties, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Freemen of the said Province in General Assembly met, and by the Authority of the same; That indented Bills of Credit of the Value of *Eighty Thousand Pounds* of lawful Money of *America* (according to an Act of Parliament, made in the Sixth Year of the late Queen *Anne*, for ascertaining the Rates of foreign Coins in the Plantations in America) shall before the *Tenth* Day of *August*, next after the Passing of this Act, be prepared and printed on good strong Paper, under the Care and Direction of *John Kinsey*, *Jonathan Robeson*, *Joseph Kirkbride*, *Caleb Cowpland* and *John Wright*, the Trustees of the General Loan-Office of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and at the Charge of the Publick to be defrayed out of the Interest Money arising or to arise upon the Loan of any Bills of Credit formerly emitted or to be emitted, by any Trustees of the said General Loan-Office, which Bills shall be made and prepared in Manner and Form following and no other, *viz.*

THIS Indented Bill shall pass current for within the Province of Pennsylvania, according to an Act of Assembly of the said Province; made in the Twelfth Year of the Reign of King GEORGE the Second. Dated the Tenth Day of August, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Nine.

AND the same Bills shall have such like Escutcheon as in the Margent hereof, with such other Devices on the said Bills as the said Trustees shall think fit, as well to prevent Counterfeits as to distinguish their several Denominations; each of which Bills shall be of the several and respective Denominations following, and no other, *viz.*

TEN Thousand of the same Bills, the Sum of *One Shilling* in Each of them.

TEN Thousand of the same Bills, the Sum of *One Shilling and Six-Pence* in Each of them.

TEN Thousand of the same Bills, the Sum of *Two Shillings* in Each of them.

TEN Thousand of the same Bills, the Sum of *Two Shillings and Six-Pence* in Each of them.

THIRTY Thousand of the same Bills, the Sum of *Five Shillings* in Each of them.

FORTY Thousand of the same Bills, the Sum of *Ten Shillings* in Each of them.

TWENTY Thousand of the same Bills, the Sum of *Fifteen Shillings* in Each of them; and

THIRTY-FOUR Thousand of the same Bills, the Sum of *Twenty Shillings* in Each of them.

AND the said Trustees shall use the best of their Care, Attention and Diligence, during the Printing of the said Bills, that the Number and Amount thereof, according to their respective Denominations aforesaid, be not exceeded, nor any clandestine or fraudulent Practice used by the Printer his Servants or Persons concerned therein.

AND for the perfecting the said Bills, to make them Current within this Province, according to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act; BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every of the said Bills, shall be signed by the Persons following, or by Three of them at least, that is to say, *Thomas Leech* and *William Monington*, of *Philadelphia* County, *Abraham Chapman*, of *Bucks* County, *Joseph Harvey*, of *Chester* County, and *Samuel Smith* of *Lancaster* County, who are hereby nominated and appointed to be the Signers of the said Bills; and shall before they presume to receive or sign any of the said Bills of Credit, take an Oath or Affirmation to the following Effect, *to wit*,

THAT they shall well and truly sign and number all the Bills of Credit that shall come to their Hands for that purpose, by the Direction of this Act, and the same so signed and numbered will deliver or cause to be delivered unto the Trustees of the General Loan-Office of the Province of Pennsylvania, pursuant to the Direction of this Act.

AND for avoiding the Danger of Embezzlement or Misapplication of any of the said Bills of Credit; IT IS HEREBY FURTHER ORDAINED AND PROVIDED, That the said Trustees, after the said Bills are printed, shall deliver them to the said Signers to be signed and numbered by Parcels, for which the said Signers or some of them shall give their Receipt, *that is to say, One Thousand Pounds* value in

the said Bills at one Time, and so from time to time, till all the said Bills of Credit shall be signed and numbered, yet so as that the said Trustees shall not deliver any other of the said Bills to the Signers aforesaid, whilst the Sum in their Custody unexchanged exceeds *One Thousand Pounds*; of all which Bills of Credit so delivered to be signed by the Trustees, true Accounts shall be kept by the Signers, who upon their re-delivery of each or any Parcel of the said Bills of Credit by them signed and numbered to the Trustees of the General Loan-Office, shall take the Receipt of the said Trustees to charge them before any Committee of Assembly to be appointed for that purpose.

AND the said Signers shall have *Fifteen Shillings* a piece for every Thousand of the aforesaid Bills by them signed and numbered, within *Ten Days* after the Re-delivery thereof to the said Trustees to be by them paid out of the Interest Money in the said Trustees' Hands.

AND if any of the Persons, before nominated to be Signers, shall happen to dye or be rendered incapable of doing his or their Duty by this Act required, the Assembly for the time being, shall appoint some other Person or Persons in his or their stead from Time to Time, until all the Bills hereby directed to be made, be wholly signed and numbered as aforesaid.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Trustees, after the Receipt of any Parcel of the said new Bills, signed and numbered as aforesaid, or some fit Person, for whom they shall be accountable, shall give due Attendance at their Office, on every Fourth Day of the Week, and shall deliver out the same unto such Persons as shall demand them in Exchange for Bills of the same Value made and emitted by the direction of any former Act of Assembly of this Province; which said old Bills shall be kept by the said Trustees for their Vouchers, to discharge them of so much of the aforesaid 80,000*l.* Value in new Bills as they shall have given in Exchange as aforesaid, before any Committee of Assembly to be appointed for that Purpose, who having duly examined such old Bills so received in Exchange, shall cause the same to be burnt and destroyed in their Presence; and the said Trustees shall have for their Trouble and Care, in exchanging every 10,000*l.* Value of the said old Bills, the sum of 27*l.* 10*s.* to be defrayed out of the Interest Money aforesaid.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That all the aforesaid Bills of Credit made and emitted by any former Act of Assembly of this Province, shall, from and after the *Tenth Day of August, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty*, cease to be current Bills of this Province, and from thenceforth become null and

void, and of no Effect, any Law, Custom or Usage to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

AND the said new Bills hereby directed to be made and signed as aforesaid, to be emitted in Exchange or Loans, as this Act directs, shall from and after the *Tenth Day of August, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Nine*, be the current Bills of this Province, for the Payment and Discharge of all Manner of Debts, Rents, Sum and Sums of Money whatsoever, due, payable or accruing upon or by Reason of any Mortgage, Bill, Specialty, Bond, Note, Book-Account, Promise, or any other Contract or Cause whatsoever, as if the same were tendered or paid in the Coins mentioned in such Bond, or other Writing, Book-Account, Promise, Assumption, or in any other Contract whatsoever, and at the Rates ascertained in the said Act of Parliament, and shall be so received in all Payments by all Persons whatsoever.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Trustees shall be in and have Capacity and Power to take, hold and enjoy to them and their Successors in the said Trust, all such Lands, Tenements, Rents and Hereditaments, and all such Plate as shall be granted them in Mortgage, or which hath at any Time heretofore been granted to any Trustee or Trustees of the General Loan-Office of *Pennsylvania*, for securing the Re-payment of the Money or Bills, formerly lent, or hereby directed to be lent; and also to sell, grant, alien and dispose of the same Lands, Tenements, Rents, Hereditaments and Plate in Default of Payment, and also to do, execute, perform and suffer all other Things whatsoever, as fully to all Intents and Purposes as any Trustees of the General Loan-Office aforesaid, by any former Act of Assembly of this Province may or might have done, executed, performed and suffered: And upon the Death or Removal of any of the present Trustees, or of any other that shall be nominated and appointed hereafter, it shall and may be lawful to and for the General Assembly of this Province for the Time being, to appoint some other fit Person or Persons in his or their Place and Stead, who shall have the same Power and Authority as if they had been nominated and appointed by Virtue of this Act.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, AND IT IS HEREBY FURTHER ENACTED, That none of the Persons herein before nominated or hereafter to be appointed Trustees of the General Loan-Office aforesaid, shall longer continue in the Exercise of the said Office than the Space of *Four* Years, from the Time of such their nomination as aforesaid, and from thence to the End of the then next Session of Assembly.

PROVIDED ALSO, That none of the Trustees so as aforesaid nominated or to be nominated and appointed according to the Direction of this Act, or any of them, or any of their Heirs, Executors or Administrators, or Securities hereby directed to be given, be acquitted or discharged, for any Thing done or suffered in or about the Trust hereby committed to them, until they have accounted for and paid and delivered up to the succeeding Trustees all Bills, Moneys, Securities and Writings belonging to the Loan-Office, and so from Time to Time during the Continuance of this Act, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding: But before any of the Present Trustees, or such as shall hereafter be appointed Trustees, shall enter upon the Execution of their Trust, or any Part thereof, they shall each of them enter into Bond to the Treasurer of this Province, in the Sum of *Three Thousand Pounds*, conditioned for the Execution of the Trust and Performance of all Things required of them by this Act, and shall take an Oath or Affirmation, before some Justice of the Peace, in the Words following, *viz.*

I A. B. will according to the best of my Skill and Knowledge, faithfully, impartially and truly demean myself, in the Discharge of the Trust required of me by an Act of Assembly of this Province, entituled, An Act for re-printing, exchanging and re-emitting all the Bills of Credit of this Province, and for striking the further Sum of 11,110 l. 5s. to be emitted upon Loan, so as none may be prejudiced by my Consent, Privily or Procurement.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Trustees shall lend out the Value of 11,110 l. 5s. in the Bills hereby directed to be made, for and during the Space, and unto the full End and Term of *Sixteen* Years, from the 15th Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-nine*: All of which Loans made by Virtue of this Act, shall be made in Sums not exceeding *One Hundred Pounds*, nor less than *Twelve Pounds*, to any one Person, upon Mortgages of Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents and Hereditaments in this Province, whereof the Borrowers stand seized in Fee-simple in their own Right, free from Incumbrances, the Proprietary Quit-Rents, and other Rents charged on the same, and discovered to the said Trustees, only excepted; of which Titles and Clearness, the Trustees are to inform themselves as best they can, by any of the ways and means heretofore granted and allowed to the former Trustees of the said General Loan-Office, or to any of them, and shall inform themselves, as well of the clear value of the Titles of all Lands, Houses and Ground-Rents offered in Security, so as to be satisfied that the Lands and Ground-Rents are

held in Fee-simple, and are at least of double the Value of the Sums requested to be lent; and that as to the Houses erected upon Ground subject to, the Payment of Ground-Rent, offered in Mortgage, Care shall be taken by the said Trustees, that there be no Rent or Quit-rent in Arrear at the Time of receiving the same in Mortgage, and that the Ground shall be near equal in Value, above the Ground-Rent, to the Sum lent, yet so that the House and Ground be of double Value, for the better Security of the Mortgage-Money. And thereupon the said Trustees, in pursuance of the Trust hereby committed to them, shall in the Name and Stile of the Trustees of the General Loan-Office of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and not otherwise, take and receive Deeds of Mortgage in Fee-simple of such Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents and Hereditaments, with the Appurtenances, to secure the Re-payment of the Sums they lend, to be made yearly on the 15th Day of *October*, by equal Payments, with the whole Interest accrued, at the Rate of *Five per Cent. per Annum*.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, and it is hereby further ENACTED, That the better to enable any of the Mortgagors, by any former Act of Assembly, to discharge their Mortgages, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Trustees, and they are hereby required, to permit those Mortgagors, or their Heirs, or such other Person or Persons to whom they have made over their Right of Redemption and Estate in their mortgaged Messuages, Lands and Rents, to renew their Mortgages respectively, if they the said Trustees shall judge them a sufficient Security for the Sums thereon due and in Arrear, altho' the same exceed the Sum aforesaid limited to one Person, to be repaid according to the Proportions and within the Times by this present Act limited and appointed.

PROVIDED ALSO, That if any Mortgagor of any Messuages, Lands or Rents by this Act directed, his Heirs, Executors or Assigns, shall be minded to pay off and discharge his Mortgage and Security at any other Time than according to the Time specified in his Mortgage-Deed, it shall be lawful for him or them so to do before Sale of the mortgaged Premises, by paying down the whole principal Sum due and in arrear, together with the Interest and Charges then accrued.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That the principal Sums and all and singular the Parts, Parcels or Quotas thereof, or any of them, payable to the Trustees of the said General Loan-Office, by the Provincial Treasurer, or any of the County Treasurers, or by the Mayor or Treasurer of the City of *Philadelphia*, or by any Mortgagor or Person whatsoever; as also the Quotas of the Sum appropriated for Building the State-House, shall not be sunk or

destroyed, otherwise, or at any other Time than by this present Act is directed, limited and appointed, any Law, Custom or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding: But the same principal Sums, and all other yearly Payments of principal Sums herein-before directed to be emitted on Loans as this Act directs, now in the Hands of the said Trustees, or hereafter to be recovered or received by them, before the *Fifteenth Day of October, Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Nine*, shall be from Time to Time re-emitted on Securities as herein before directed, for the Residue of the aforesaid Term of *Sixteen Years*. And also, so often as any Mortgage-Monies, directed to be re-emitted as aforesaid shall be recovered or received before the aforesaid *Fifteenth Day of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Nine*, the principal Monies thence arising, shall in like manner, from time to time, be re-emitted again on Securities as aforesaid. And the said Trustees, or some three of them, shall weekly attend at their Office on the *Third and Fourth Days* in every Week (commonly called *Tuesdays and Wednesdays*) until the aforesaid Sum of *Eleven Thousand One Hundred and Ten Pounds, Five Shillings*, shall be wholly emitted, as this Act directs: And afterwards, on the *Third Day of the Second Week* in the Months commonly called *April, June, August, October, December and February*, in every Year of the Continuance of this Act, and at such other Times as their Duty and Trust shall require; which Deeds of Mortgage shall be fairly entered in Books of large Paper, to be provided by the said Trustees, an attested Copy of which Deeds, so entered and certified by the said Trustees or any Three of them for the Time being, shall be and is hereby declared to be good Evidence, to prove the Mortgage thereby mentioned to be made; and on every of the aforesaid Deeds of Mortgage shall be indorsed or added an Oath or Affirmation, to be taken by the Mortgagor or Mortgagors, before some or one of the said Trustees, who are hereby impowered and required to administer the same, *That he, she or they is or are seized of the Hereditaments and Premises thereby granted, in his, her or their own Right, and to his or their own Use, and that free from all Incumbrances to the Knowledge of such Mortgagor (the yearly Quit-Rents thence issuing, payable to the Chief Lord or Lords of the Fee thereof, and such other Rents, if any, as are THEREIN PARTICULARLY mentioned and discovered to the Trustees, only excepted)*; and the aforesaid Deeds being so executed and acknowledged, shall transfer the Possession and vest the Inheritance of and in such mortgaged Premises, to and in the said Trustees and their Successors, as fully and effectually as Deeds of Feoffment, with Livery and Seizin, or Deeds inrolled in any of the King's Courts of *Westminster* may or can do.

IN all which Deeds, the Words, Grant, Bargain and Sell, shall be, and be adjudged in all Places and Courts whatsoever within this Province, to have the Force and Effect of a Covenant, that the Mortgagor notwithstanding any Act done by him, was at the Time of the Execution of such Deed, seized of the Hereditaments and Premises thereby granted, of an indefeasible Estate of Inheritance, free from Incumbrances, the Rents so as aforesaid to be discovered to the said Trustees only excepted.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That together with every of the aforesaid Mortgage-Deeds, the respective Mortgagor shall execute a Bond of double the Mortgage-Money, conditioned for the Payment of the Money borrowed with the Interest, according to the Proviso or Condition contained in each such Mortgage-Deed, and also a Warrant of Attorney, empowering such Person or Persons as the Trustees shall appoint, to confess or suffer Judgment, which the said Trustees are hereby required to cause their Attorney to enter in any of the Courts of Common-Pleas of this Province, against such Mortgagor as shall make Default in Payment of the Mortgage-Moneys, or any Part thereof, on the said Bonds or Mortgages, for Non-Performance of the Conditions thereof, or in such Actions of Debt as the said Trustees are required to bring for the Value of the said Bills of Credit received by the Mortgagors, whose Titles shall happen to prove defective, together with the Interest and Costs of Suit; in every which Warrant of Attorney shall be inserted a Release of Errors by the Mortgagor.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, NEVERTHELESS, That until some Default be made in Payment of some Part of the Mortgage-Moneys by the Mortgagors respectively, it shall and may be lawful to and for them and their Heirs, to hold and enjoy the mortgaged Premises, any Thing in this Act, or in their Mortgage-Deeds, to the contrary notwithstanding; but if Default shall be made or suffered in Payment of any Part of the Mortgage-Monies aforesaid, whether of the Principal or Interest, which the Mortgagors, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns should or ought to pay, according to the Days of Payment, aforesaid, and as in their respective Deeds of Mortgage shall be specified, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Trustees for the Time being, after two Months next after Default made as aforesaid, to enter upon the Messnages, Lands, Rents and Hereditaments, respectively in the Deeds of Mortgage specified, and the same thereupon to sell and convey to the best Purchaser, and out of the Monies arising by such Sale, to detain and keep the Sums thereon due unto them, with all Costs and Charges relating thereunto,

returning the Overplus if any, to the Owners of such Lands and Hereditaments, who shall thereupon stand foreclosed of and from all Right of Redemption of the same.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, AND IT IS HEREBY FURTHER ENACTED, That it shall and may be Lawful to and for the said Trustees or any three of them, at any Time or Times before the aforesaid *Fifteenth Day of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Nine*, to lend out in such Manner as to them shall seem best, any Sums in the Bills aforesaid, not exceeding *One Hundred Pounds* nor less than *Twelve Pounds* to one Person, on Securities of good Plate at the Value of *Six Shillings per Ounce*, to be repaid to the said Trustees within *Twelve Months*, with the Interest thereof at the Rate aforesaid: And in Case of the Non-Payment to sell and dispose of such Plate for the most it will yield, returning the Overplus, if any be, to the Owner, after Payment of the Sum lent, with the Interest aforesaid, and all Charges thereupon accrued.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, That where any Part of the Mortgage-Monies hath been paid, the Trustees shall indorse upon the Writ of Execution the real Sum of Principal and Interest due to the said Loan-Office, and the Sheriff shall thereupon proceed as in other Cases of Sale of Lands, to sell so much of the mortgaged Premises, as near as he can judge, as will be sufficient to pay the whole Debt and Costs; and if any Overplus remain in the Sheriff's Hands after the Payment of the whole Monies due to the said Loan-Office, with the Costs and Charges accrued thereupon, the said Sheriff shall render the same to the Debtor or Defendant, his or their Executors or Administrators, and put the said Purchaser into peaceable and quiet Possession of the Messuages, Lands and Tenements so sold as aforesaid, who shall hold and enjoy the same to his Heirs and Assigns, as fully and amply as he or they for whose Debt the same shall be sold, might, could, or ought to have done at any Time before the taking thereof in Execution, freed and discharged from all Claim of Dower by any Person claiming under the Defendant for whose Debt the same was sold.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Trustees shall indorse upon each Mortgage-Deed their Receipts of all the yearly Quotas to be paid by the respective Mortgagers, which they shall also note on the Counterparts to them produced, when required; for which Receipts they shall be paid by the Mortgagors *Six Pence* each and no more; and upon the last Payment thereof, the said Trustees shall enter in the Margent of the Inrolment of the Mortgage-Deed the Time of the Discharge thereof, for which they shall receive of the Mortgagor *Six-Pence* and no more.

AND the said Trustees shall keep distinct, fair and true Accounts of all the Sums they receive, by Virtue of this and the before recited Acts, respectively, and of what they lend, pay or emit, by Virtue hereof or by Orders of the Assembly, whether in Part of Principal or Interest Monies, and shall have and receive for their Trouble and Service the Sum of *One Hundred and Ten Pounds* a piece *per annum*, during the Continuance of their Re-emitting on Mortgage, as this Act directs, which will be until the *Fifteenth Day of October, Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Nine*; and afterwards the Sum of *Eighty Pounds* a piece *per annum*, during the future Continuance of this Act, which Payments shall be made in Bills of Credit of this Province unto each of them, his Executors or Administrators.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Trustees shall once in every Year, or oftener, exhibit their Accounts aforesaid unto the Committees of Assembly of this Province appointed for that Purpose, with whom they shall from Time to Time settle and adjust: And all the Interest Money by them from Time to Time received being accounted for and the Salaries and Charges allowed for, by this Act, being deducted, the Residue thereof shall be disposed of as the Assembly of this Province shall direct and appoint; and as for and concerning all yearly Quotas and Payments in the Bills aforesaid, (Part of the principal Sums to be emitted or re-emitted upon Loans as this Act directs) which by Virtue hereof or of any Mortgage or Security heretofore taken or to be taken as aforesaid, shall be recovered or received, and remaining in the Loan-Office, on or after the *Fifteenth Day of October*, in the Year of our Lord, *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Nine*, the Trustees of the Loan-Office aforesaid shall from Time to Time as they come to their Hands, exhibit the same Bills to the aforesaid Committees, who having duly examined and compared them, shall cause the same to be burnt and destroyed in their Presence.

AND the better to prevent inconveniencies arising from indulging the Mortgagors to be behind in their Payments hereby directed to be made: BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That the Trustees for the Time being shall, and they are hereby required, to keep the Mortgagors, in pursuance of this Act, up to their annual Payments, as by the same Act is directed and appointed: And the Committees of Assembly to be annually appointed to audit the said Trustees Accounts are hereby directed not to allow of any Quotas in arrear and unpaid which have been due *Twelve Months* at the Time of the Settlement, excepting only such Sums for which the Trustees have commenced Suit, or otherwise have proceeded according to the Direction of this Act, for the Recovery of the Money due.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Trustees shall, for the better regulating of their said Office, chuse and employ a fit and able Person for their Clerk during their Pleasure, for whom they shall be answerable, who shall prepare the Deeds of Mortgage, with the Mortgagors' Affidavits, Bonds, Warrants of Attorney, and Releases of Errors, and shall have and receive the following Fees, and no more, *viz.*, for every Mortgage-Deed, recording the same, the Counterpart or Copy thereof, the Mortgagor's Oath or Affirmation iudorsed on the Mortgage-Deed, and the Bond, Warrant of Attorney, and Release of Errors, the Sum of *Twenty Shillings* and no more, to be paid, by the said Trustees, out of the Interest Money aforesaid: And the said Clerk shall keep true Accounts of the Names of all Persons applying to borrow on Securities, as this Act directs, and shall record their Deeds of Mortgage in the same Order of Time as they were executed. And shall once a Year make out a List of the Names of all Mortgagors, by this Act directed, with the Sums they borrow, and Date of their Mortgage Deeds; and the same List shall deliver to the Committees of Assembly to be appointed Auditors of the said Trustees Accounts: But before any Person, so chosen to be Clerk, shall enter upon the Execution of his Office, he shall take an Oath or Affirmation before some Justice of the Peace, *That he will truly and faithfully perform the Office and Duty that is directed and required of him by this Act, wherein he will make no undue Preference, unnecessary Delays or fraudulent Practice.*

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person or Persons shall presume to counterfeit any of the said Bills of Credit, made current by this Act, or any Law of this Province, by printing or procuring the same to be printed, in the Likeness of the said genuine Bills of Credit; And also, if any Person or Persons shall forge the Name or Names, of the Signers of the true Bills of Credit, to such Counterfeit Bills, whether the Counterfeiting of the said Bills or Names be done within this Province or elsewhere, or shall utter such Bills, knowing them to be so counterfeited as aforesaid, and being thereof legally convicted, by Confession, standing mute, or by the Verdict of *Twelve Men*, in any Court of Record within this Province, he, she or they shall suffer Death without Benefit of the Clergy: And the Discoverer or Informer shall have, as an Encouragement for his Discovery, the Sum of *Fifty Pounds*, of the Goods and Chattels, Lands and Tenements of the Person convicted, and if no such Goods and Chattels can be found, then the Trustees of the General Loan-Office, shall pay to such Informer or Discoverer, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the Sum of *Ten Pounds*. And if any

Person or Persons, shall counterfeit any of the said Bills of Credit of this Province, by altering the Denomination of the said Bills, with Design to increase the Value of such Bills, or shall utter such Bills, knowing them to be so counterfeited or altered as aforesaid, and shall thereof be legally convicted, in any Court of Record in this Province, such Person or Persons shall be sentenced to the Pillory, and to have both his or her Ears cut off and nailed to the Pillory, and to be publicly whipt on his or her bare Back, with *Thirty-one* Lashes well laid on: And moreover, every such Offender shall forfeit the Sum of *One Hundred Pounds* lawful Money of *Pennsylvania*, to be levied on his and her Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, the one half to the Use of the Governor, and the other half to the Discoverer; and the Offender shall pay to the Party grieved double the Value of the Damages thereby sustained, together with the Costs and Charges of Prosecution. And in case the Offender hath not sufficient to satisfy the Discoverer for his or her Damages and Charges and pay the Forfeiture aforesaid, in such Case, the Offender shall, by Order of the Court where he or she was convicted, be sold, for any Term not exceeding Seven Years, for Satisfaction; and in such Case the said Trustees shall reward the Discoverer of such insolvent Offender, to the Value of *Five Pounds*. And every such Counterfeit Bill shall be delivered to any of the said Trustees, to be made Use of upon the Tryal of the Person accused or suspected, and afterwards to be burnt or destroyed by the said Trustees, in the Presence of a Committee of Assembly.

AND IT IS HEREBY DECLARED AND ENACTED, by the Authority aforesaid, That this Act shall be taken and allowed in all Courts and Places within this Province as a Publick Act, and all Judges, Justices and other Persons concerned, are hereby required to take Notice thereof, as such, without pleading the same specially.

1720.*	Jan. 26.	Feb. 23.	Mar. 24.	April 28.	May 26.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,	3 0-3 3	3 0-3 3	3 0-3 3	3 0	3 0
Corn,	1 6-1 8	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10	1 8-1 10
Flour,	9 0-10 0	9 0-10 0	9 0-10 0	8 6-9 0	8 6-9 0
Beef,	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0
Pork,	45 0	45 0	45 0	45 0	45 0
Brown Oxenbrig, . per ell,	12	13-16	14-16	14-16	14-16
Salt, fine,	3 0	2 6	3 0-3 3	2 0	2 0
Sugar, Muscavado,	30 0-45 0	30 0-45 0	30 0-45 0	30 0-45 0	30 0-45 0
Molasses,	17-18	17-18	17-18	16-17	16-17
Rum,	3 8	3 6	4 0-4 6	2 6	2 0
Tobacco,	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0
Wine, Madeira,	£16-£20	£16-£20	£16-£20	£16-£20	£16-£20
Powder, per bbl.,	£7 10	£8 10	£7 10	£7 10	£7 10

1721.	Jan. 24.	Feb. 14.	Mar. 16.		May 18.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.		s. d. s. d.
Wheat,	30	3 3	2 9-3 0	..	2 9-3 0
Corn,	1 10	2 0	1 10-2 0	..	1 10-2 0
Flour,	8 0-8 6	8 6-9 0	8 0-8 6	..	8 0-8 6
Beef,	30 0	30 0	30 0	..	30 0
Pork,	45 0	45 0	45 0	..	45 0
Salt, fine,	2 6	2 6	..	..	..
Sugar, Muscavado, . . . . .	..	30 0-40 0	30 0-40 0	..	30 0-40 0
Molasses,	15	15	15	..	15
Rum,	2 4-2 6	2 4-2 6	2 4-2 6	..	1 11-2 1
Tobacco, . . . . .	..	10 0	10 0	..	9 0-10 0
Wine, Madeira,	£20	£20	£20	..	£16-£20
Powder, . . . . .	..	£8	£8	..	£8

1722.		Feb. 27.	Mar. 15.	April 19.	May 3.
		s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat, . . . . .	..	3 2-3 6	2 10-3 0	2 10-3 0	2 10-3 0
Corn, . . . . .	..	1 8-1 9	1 8-1 9	1 8-1 9	1 8-1 9
Flour, . . . . .	..	8 9-9 0	8 9-9 0	8 6-9 0	8 6-9 0
Beef, . . . . .	..	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0
Pork, . . . . .	..	45 0	45 0	45 0	45 0
Salt, { Coarse, . . . . .	..	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 10-1 0
{ Fine, . . . . .	..	1 2-1 6	1 2-1 6	1 2-1 6	1 2-1 6
Sugar, Muscavado, . . . . .	..	25 0-35 0	25 0-35 0	25 0-35 0	25 0-35 0
Molasses, . . . . .	..	15-16	15-16	15-16	15-16
Rum, . . . . .	..	2 4-2 6	2 4-2 6	2 3-2 4	2 3-2 4
Tobacco, . . . . .	..	9 0-10 0	0 0-10 0	10 0-11 0	10 0-11 0
Wine, Madeira, . . . . .	..	£19-£22	£19-£22	£19-£22	£19-£22
Powder, . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..

1723.		Feb. 12.		April 18.	
		s. d. s. d.		s. d. s. d.	
Wheat, . . . . .	..	2 6-2 10	..	2 6-2 10	..
Corn, . . . . .	..	1 8-1 10	..	1 8-1 10	..
Flour, . . . . .	..	8 0-8 9	..	8 0-8 6	..
Beef, . . . . .	..	30 0	..	30 0	..
Pork, . . . . .	..	40 0-45 0	..	40 0-45 0	..
Salt, { Coarse, . . . . .	..	1 6-2 0	..	1 6-2 0	..
{ Fine, . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Sugar, Muscavado, . . . . .	..	35 0-40 0	..	35 0-40 0	..
Molasses, . . . . .	..	14-15	..	15	..
Rum, . . . . .	..	3 0-3 2	..	2 0-2 2	..
Wine, Madeira, . . . . .	..	£19-£22	..	£19-£22	..
Powder, . . . . .	..	£7 10-£8	..	..	..

* 1720-1745, *Mercury*.

June 23.	July 21.	Aug. 25.	Sept. 29.	Oct. 27.	Nov. 10.	Dec. 13.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0-3 3 1 8-1 10 9 0-10 0 30 0 45 0-50 0 14- 16 2 0 30 0-45 0 16- 17 2 2-2 4 13 0-14 0 £16-£20 £7 10	<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0-3 3 1 8-1 10 9 0-10 0 30 0 45 0-50 0 14- 16 2 0 30 0-45 0 15- 16 2 2-2 4 13 0-14 0 £16-£20 £7 10	<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0 1 8-1 10 9 0-9 6 30 0 45 0-50 0 14 16 2 0 29 0-35 0 15- 16 2 2-2 4 13 0-14 0 £16-£20 £7 10	<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0 1 8-1 10 9 0-10 0 30 0 45 0-50 0 14- 16 2 0 29 0-35 0 15- 16 2 2-2 3 14 0 £16-£20 £7 10	<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0-3 1 1 8-1 10 9 0-10 0 30 0 45 0-50 0 14- 16 2 0 29 0-35 0 14- 15 2 2-2 3 14 0 £16-£20 £7 10	<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0-3 1 1 8-1 10 9 0-10 0 30 0 45 0-50 0 14- 16 2 0 29 0-35 0 14- 15 2 2-2 3 14 0 £16-£20 £7 10	<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0-3 1 1 8-1 10 8 0-8 6 30 0 45 0-50 0 14- 16 2 4 29 0-35 0 14- 15 2 2-2 6 14 0 £16-£20 £7 10

June 22.	July 20.		Sept. 14.		Nov. 23.	
<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 3 1 7-1 8 8 6 30 0 45 0 30 0-35 0 15 2 0-2 2 9 0-9 6 £16-£20 £8	<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 3 1 6-1 7 8 9 30 0 45 0 30 0-35 0 15 2 2-2 3 9 0-9 6 £16-£20 £8		<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0-3 1 1 6-1 7 9 6 30 0 45 0 30 0-35 0 12- 13 2 3-2 4 10 0-11 0 £16-£20 £8		<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 2-3 3 1 8-1 9 8 9-9 0 30 0 45 0 1 2-1 6 25 0-35 0 12- 13 2 4-2 6 10 0-11 0 £19-£22 £9	

June 7.	July 19.					Dec. 11.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0-3 1 1 8-1 9 9 0-9 6 30 0 45 0 0 10-1 0 1 2-1 6 25 0-35 0 14- 15 2 3-2 4 10 0-11 0 £19-£22 £7 10-£8	<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 3 0-3 1 1 8-1 10 9 6-10 0 30 0 45 0 1 2-1 4 1 2-1 6 25 0-35 0 14- 15 3 0-3 4 10 0-11 0 £19-£22 £7 10-£8					<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 2 8 1 8-1 10 8 0-8 3 30 0 45 0 1 6-2 0 35 0-40 0 14- 15 3 9-4 0 10 0-11 0 £19-£22 £7 10-£8

June 13.	July 4.					Dec. 17.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 2 6-2 10 1 8-1 10 8 6-9 0 30 0-32 0 40 0-42 0 1 6-1 8 1 6-1 8 35 0-40 0 15 2 0-2 2 £19-£22 £7 10-£8	<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 2 9-2 10 1 8-1 10 9 0-9 1 30 0-32 0 36 0-40 0 1 6-1 8 1 6-1 8 35 0-40 0 15 2 0-2 2 £19-£22 £7 10-£8					<i>s. d. s. d.</i> 2 9-2 10 2 0-2 2 9 0-9 3 26 0-30 0 36 0-40 0 3 0 30 0-40 0 20- 2 4 £7 10-£8

1724.					May 7.
					<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,					3 3- 3 4
Corn,					2 0- 2 3
Flour,					10 6
Beef,					25 0-26 0
Pork,					35 0-35 6
Salt, { Coarse,					15- 16
{ Fine,					3 0
Sugar, Muscavado,					21 0-25 0
Molasses,					16
Rum,					1 10- 2 0
Tobacco,					17 0-17 6
Wine, Madeira,					£21
Powder,					£7 10

1725.	Jan. 12.		Mar. 18.		
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		
Wheat,	3 10		4 0- 4 6		
Corn,	2 0- 2 3		2 0- 2 3		
Flour,	12 0-12 6		12 0-12 6		
Beef,	30 0		30 0		
Pork,	30 0-35 6		30 0-35 6		
Butter,					
Salt, { Coarse,	2 6- 2 7		2 6- 2 7		
{ Fine,	3 6		3 6		
Sugar, Muscavado,	25 0-35 0		25 0-35 0		
Molasses,	17- 18		17- 18		
Rum,	3 0		3 0		
Tobacco,	25 0-30 6		25 0-30 6		
Cotton,					
Wine,					

1726.			Mar. 31.		
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		
Wheat,			3 6- 4 0		
Corn,					
Flour,			11 0-11 6		
Beef,			30 0		
Pork,			45 0-47 0		
Salt, { Coarse,			2 6		
{ Fine,			2 6		
Sugar, Muscavado,			30 0-40 0		
Molasses,			18- 19		
Rum,			3 0		
Tobacco,			18 0-19 0		

1727.	Jan. 17.				
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>				
Wheat,	3 6				
Corn,	2 0				
Flour,	12 6				
Beef,					
Pork,	48 0-50 0				
Salt, Coarse,	18				
Sugar, Muscavado,	28 0-36 0				
Molasses,	18- 19				
Rum,	3 6- 4 0				
Tobacco,	14 0				

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June 11.				July 30.				Sept. 17.				Nov. 12.			
<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
3	3-	3	4	3	4-	3	6	3	4-	3	6	3	10-	4	0
2	0-	2	3	2	0-	2	3	2	0-	2	3	2	0-	2	3
11	0-	11	3	11	3-	11	6	11	0-	12	0	12	0-	12	6
30	0			30	0			30	0			30	0		
35	0			35	0-35	6		30	0-35	0		30	0-35	6	
1	8-	2	0	2	5-	2	7	2	5-	2	7	2	6-	2	7
				2	10			3	6			3	6		
25	0-35	0		25	0-35	0		25	0-35	0		25	0-35	0	
	18-	19			18-	19			14-	18			15-	17	
2	0-	2	2	1	10-	2	0	1	10-	2	0	2	4-	2	6
17	0-19	0		19	0-21	0		25	0-30	6		25	0-30	6	
	£20														

June 10.		Aug. 26.	Sept. 16.		Nov. 11.	Dec. 21.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
3 7- 3 8		3 6- 3 7	4 0		4 0	4 0- 4 3
			3 0			2 6
11 0-11 6		12 0-12 3	12 0		12 6-13 0	12 0-13 0
30 0		30 0	35 0		30 0	35 0
40 0-45 0		40 0-45 0	65 0		40 0-45 0	55 0
						6
2 6		2 6			2 6	3 6- 4 0
2 6		2 6			2 6	
25 0-35 0		25 0-40 0	35 0-40 0		35 0-40 0	30 0-40 0
17- 18		17- 18	19		17- 18	18
2 9- 2 10		2 10- 3 0	3 0- 3 6		2 10- 3 0	3 6
38 0-40 0		38 0-40 0			12 0	25 0-30 0
						18-
						20
			£24			£26

		Aug. 4.					Nov. 24.		
		s. d. s. d.					s. d. s. d.		
.	.	3 10-4 0	.	.	.	.	3 0	.	.
.	.	2 3	.	.	.	.	2 0	.	.
.	.	13 0	.	.	.	.	13 0-13 6	.	.
.	.	50 0	.	.	.	.	48 0-50 0	.	.
.	.		.	.	.	.	18	.	.
.
.	.	35 0-40 0	.	.	.	.	26 0-36 0	.	.
.	.	14- 16	.	.	.	.	18- 19	.	.
.	.	2 11- 3 3	.	.	.	.	3 6- 4 0	.	.
.	.	16 0	.	.	.	.	14 0	.	.

					Nov. 9.	
					<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
.	.	.	.	.	31 0	.
.	.	.	.	.	10 6	.
.	.	.	.	.	32 0	.
.	.	.	.	.	16- 17	.
.	.	.	.	.	30 0-40 0	.
.	.	.	.	.	1 6	.
.	.	.	.	.	3 0	.
.	.	.	.	.	16 0-21 0	.

1728				April 18.	
				<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
Wheat,				3 3	
Corn,				2 3	
Flour,				9 0-9 3	
Beef,				40 0	
Pork,				65 0	
Salt, Coarse,				1 2-1 3	
Sugar, Muscavado,					
Molasses,				17- 18	
Rum,				2 2	
Tobacco,				14 0-18 0	
Cotton,					

1729		Feb. 18.		April 14.	
		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
Wheat,		3 6		3 6	
Corn,		2 3		2 0	
Flour,		10 6		9 0	
Beef,		Scarce.			
Pork,		50 0		50 0-52 6	
Sugar, { Muscavado,		30 0-40 0		30 0-40 0	
{ Loaf,		2 4		2 2	
Molasses,		18		18	
Rum,		2 6		2 4- 2 6	
Tobacco,		16 0-18 0		16 0-20 0	

1730. No quotations.

1731.	Jan. 12.		Mar. 18.		May 6.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	2 3		2 6		2 3
Corn,	1 10- 2 0		1 6- 1 8		1 8- 2 0
Flour,	8 0		7 6- 8 0		
Beef,	30 0		32 0		None.
Pork,	65 0		50 0-60 0		50 0
Salt, { Coarse,	4 0		1 4		1 6
{ Fine,	None.		None.		None.
Sugar, { Muscavado,	30 0-36 0		30 0-40 0		30 0-40 0
{ Loaf,	2 0		1 10		1 8
Molasses,	18		16 18		16 18
Rum,	2 6		2 4		2 2- 2 6
Tobacco,	8 0-14 0		10 0-14 0		8 0-14 0
Cotton,	1 2		1 4		1 2

1732.			Mar. 23.	April 13.	May 4.
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,			2 9	2 10	2 6
Corn,			1 8	1 8	1 8
Flour,			8 6	8 0- 8 6	8 0
Beef,			35 0	30 0	None
Pork,			50 0	50 0	50 0
Salt, { Coarse,			1 8	2 0	2 0
{ Fine,			2 6	2 9	2 6
Sugar, { Muscavado,			30 0-40 0	34 0	30 0-40 0
{ Loaf,			1 10	1 9	1 9
Molasses,			16	18	18
Rum,			2 9	2 10	2 6
Tobacco,			14 0-20 0	14 0-18 0	10 0-16 0
Cotton,			0 11	0 11	0 10

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June 6.	July 11.			Oct. 24.	Nov. 7.	
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
3 6	3 9			3 6	3 6	
9 6	9 6-9 9			2 3-2 6	2 3-2 6	
40 0	40 0			11 0	10 6-11 0	
65 0	62 6			35 0	35 0	
				60 0	60 0	
Scarce.	30 0-40 0			30 0-40 0	32 0-40 0	
None.	20			18	18	
2 6	2 4-2 6			3 6-3 8	2 6	
17 0	12 0-20 0			10 0-18 0	10 0-18 0	
	14					

June 12.	July 10.			Oct. 23.		Dec. 23.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
4 4	3 8			3 8		4 0
2 0	2 2			2 2		1 9-1 10
10 6	11 0			11 6		11 0
						28 0-30 0
50 0-52 6	50 0-52 6			50 0		52 0-60 0
30 0-40 0	28 0-35 0			30 0-40 0		30 0-40 0
1 8	1 8			2 2		2 0
18	18			19		Scarce.
2 4-2 6	2 4-2 6			3 0		3 0
10 0-16 0	10 0-16 0			10 0-17 0		12 0-18 0

		Aug. 5.		Oct. 14.	Nov. 4.	
		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
		2 6		2 4-2 6	3 0	
		1 8		1 8	1 8	
		7 0		9 3	10 0	
		None.		40 0	40 0	
		55 0		55 0	57 6	
		1 6		1 6	1 8	
		3 6		3 0	3 0	
		32 0-40 0		24 0	30 0-40 0	
		1 8		1 6	1 8	
		16		15	16	
		3 0		3 3	3 0	
		14 0-18 0		10 0-19 0	14 0-17 0	
		1 2		11	11	

June 1.				Oct. 5.		
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>				<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		
2 5				2 5-2 10		
1 8				2 3		
7 9-8 0				8 9-9 0		
26 0						
50 0				45 0-50 0		
1 6-1 8				2 0-2 6		
2 3-2 6				2 0-2 8		
30 0-35 0				25 0-35 0		
1 8				1 8		
16				15-18		
2 2				2 4-2 6		
14 0-20 0				15 0-20 0		
0 11				1 1		

1733.	Jan. 30.				
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>				
Wheat,	2 10				
Corn,	1 10- 2 2				
Flour,	8 0				
Beef,					
Pork,	50 0				
Salt, { Coarse,	3 0				
{ Fine,	3 0				
Sugar, { Muscavado,	30 0-40 0				
{ Loaf,	1 10				
Molasses,	1 16				
Rum,	2 4- 2 6				
Tobacco,	10 0-18 0				
Cotton,	1 0				
Wine, Madeira,					

1734.			Mar. 28.	May 1.	May 15.
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,			3 4	3 6	3 6- 3 8
Corn,			1 10	1 10	2 0
Flour,			9 6	9 6	9 6
Beef,			30 0	30 0	28 0
Pork,			40 0-45 0	42 6-50 0	42 6
Salt, { Coarse,					
{ Fine,					
Sugar, { Muscavado,			20 0-30 0	30 0	20 0-30 0
{ Loaf,					
Molasses,			18	18	16- 18
Rum,			2 6	2 6	2 3- 2 6
Tobacco,					
Cotton,					
Wine, Madeira,					

1735.	Jan. 7.	Feb. 4.	Mar. 11.	April 3.	April 17.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	4 5	4 4	4 3	4 0	4 1
Corn,	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 8
Flour,	11 0	12 0	13 0	12 6	12 3
Beef,	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0	30 0
Pork,	38 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	35 0-40 0
Salt, { Coarse,	1 2	1 6	1 8	1 4	1 6
{ Fine,	2 4	2 2	2 4	2 0	2 0
Sugar, { Muscavado,	36 0-40 0	36 0	36 0	36 0-40 0	35 0-40 0
{ Loaf,	2 6	2 3	2 4	1 10	1 3- 1 8
Molasses,	20- 21	22	20	20	18
Rum,	3 0	2 10	2 2- 2 6	2 6	2 2
Tobacco,	18 0-19 0	18 0	16 0	14 0-16 0	12 0-16 0
Cotton,	1 2	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 3
Wine, Madeira,	£22	£22	£22	£22	£20

1736.		Feb. 24.	Mar. 9.	April 1.	April 29.
		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,		3 0	3 2	3 0	2 9
Corn,		None	1 8	1 8- 1 10	1 8- 1 10
Flour,		9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0
Beef,		30 0	32 0	30 0	32 0
Pork,		40 0	25 0-40 0	35 0-40 0	35 0-40 0
Salt, { Coarse,		1 6	1 6	1 6	1 8
{ Fine,		2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0
Sugar, { Muscavado,		30 0-35 0	30 0	35 0-40 0	30 0
{ Loaf,		1 8	1 8	1 0- 1 6	1 0- 1 8
Molasses,		1 10	1 6	22	18
Rum,		2 3	2 3	2 0- 2 3	2 2- 2 3
Tobacco,		15 0	14 0-16 0	10 0-20 0	15 0
Cotton,		None	1 0	None	None
Wine, Madeira,		£22	£22	£20	£20

June 21.	July 5.	Aug. 2.	Aug. 30.	Sept. 20.	Nov. 1.	
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
3 6	3 4	3 9	3 4	3 3	3 0	.....
2 0	1 8	2 4	2 4	2 4	2 4	.....
8 6	8 9	10 0	12 0	9 0	10 0	.....
.....	.....	42 0	35 0	35 0	None	.....
.....	.....	55 0	40 0-50 0	45 0-50 0	50 0	.....
1 6	2 0	2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
2 0	2 3	2 4	.....	.....	.....	.....
25 0-32 0	24 0-32 0	20 0-25 0	25 0-32 0	28 0-30 0	18 0-30 0	.....
.....	.....	1 6	1 8-1 10	1 8	.....	.....
14- 16	16	16	17	17	16- 18	.....
2 3	2 4	2 0-2 2	2 3	2 4-2 6	2 0-2 2	.....
.....	.....	10 0-18 0	14 0-20 0	14 0-20 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	1 1	.....	.....	.....	.....
£21	£20	£18-£20	£22	£20	.....	.....

June 20.	July 18.	Aug. 1.	Aug. 29.	Oct. 17.	Nov. 14.	
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
3 8	3 9	3 6	3 4	3 0	4 3-4 4	.....
2 0	2 3	2 3	2 0	None	None	.....
11 6	11 6	11 0	10 0	11 0	11 6	.....
35 0	35 0	30 0	32 0	30 0	30 0	.....
40 0-50 0	40 0	45 0-50 0	45 0	40 0	40 0	.....
.....	.....	.....	1 3	1 4	1 4	.....
.....	1 6	1 10	1 6	2 0	2 0	.....
20 0-35 0	34 0-40 0	20 0-35 0	30 0-32 0	26 0-36 0	26 0-36 0	.....
1 3-1 8	1 8	1 2-1 9	1 4-1 8	1 0-1 8	1 0-1 8	.....
16- 18	18	16- 18	18	18	18	.....
2 6	2 4-2 6	2 6	2 7-2 9	3 0	2 8-2 10	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	20 0	20 0	.....
.....	.....	.....	£20-£22	£20	1 0	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	£20	.....

June 12.	July 10.	Aug. 7.	Sept. 4.	Oct. 2.	Oct. 30.	Nov. 27.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
4 2	3 10	3 6	3 0	3 6	3 6	3 8
1 10	1 6	1 10	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 6
12 0	12 0	12 0	11 0	10 0	10 3	10 6
35 0	32 0	None	35 0	32 0	32 0	30 0
40 0	37 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	35 0
2 0	1 10	1 5	1 4	1 6	1 6	1 6
2 2	2 0	None	2 0	2 2	2 0	2 0
38 0	30 0-40 0	25 0-35 0	36 0-40 0	32 0-34 0	30 0-36 0	32 0
2 0	.....	1 6-2 0	1 1-1 9	1 8	1 10	1 8
22	24	18- 20	18	18	18	18
2 4	2 4	2 0-2 3	2 2	2 2-2 4	2 2	2 2
14 0-16 0	15 0-17 0	14 0-20 0	12 0-17 0	14 0-16 0	14 0-16 0	14 0
1 0	10d. p. bag	15. p. bag	15. 3d. p. bag	11d. p. bag	11d. p. bag	1 0
£22	£22	£17-22	£22	£20	£22	£22

June 17.	July 22.	Aug. 19.	Sept. 30.	Oct. 14.	Nov. 8.	Dec. 17.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
3 4	3 6	3 4	3 3	3 6	3 6	3 6
2 0	2 0	1 10	2 4	None	2 2	1 8
9 0	8 3-8 6	9 6	11 0	11 0	10 9	11 0
32 0	34 0	36 0	36 0	34 0	40 0	36 0
38 0	40 0	40 0	45 0	40 0	40 0	45 0
1 10	1 6	1 0	10	10	10	1 4
2 0	2 0	1 8	1 8	1 8	2 0	2 0
32 0	32 0	34 0	32 0	32 0	32 0	30 0
1 6	1 10	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 6
20	20	18	20	20	22	22
2 2-2 3	2 3	2 0	2 1	2 2	2 6	2 6
16 0	14 0-16 0	15 0	15 0	15 0	15 0	15 0
None	None	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
£22	£22	£22	£22	£22	£22	£22

1737.		Feb. 28.	Mar. 8.	April 7.	May 19.
		s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,		3 2	3 2	3 3	3 4
Corn,		1 10	1 10	1 6	2 0
Flour,		11 0	11 0	10 3	10 0
Beef,		35 0	35 0	30 0	35 0
Pork,		50 0	50 0	45 0-50 0	45 0
Salt, { Coarse,		1 0	1 0	1 1	1 0
{ Fine,		2 6	2 6	2 0	2 0
Sugar, { Muscavado,		28 0-35 0	28 0-35 0	25 0-32 0	30 0
{ Loaf,		1 6	1 6	1 0-1 8	1 6
Molasses,		21	21	17-	18
Rum,		2 8	2 8	2 3-2 8	2 1-2 4
Tobacco,		15 0	15 0	18 0	18 0
Cotton,			1 2	1 0-1 3	1 2
Wine, Madeira,		£22	£22	£18-22	£20-22

1738.			Mar. 30.	April 13.	
			s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	
Wheat,			4 1	3 10	
Corn,			2 6	2 6	
Flour,			12 0	12 0	
Beef,			30 0	40 0	
Pork,			60 0	55 0	
Salt, { Coarse,			1 6	1 4	
{ Fine,				2 2	
Sugar, { Muscavado,			50 0	40 0	
{ Loaf,			1 8	1 6	
Molasses,			20	20	
Rum,			2 8	2 2	
Tobacco,			17 0	17 0	
Cotton,			1 1	1 1	
Wine, Madeira,			£22	£22	

1739.		Feb. 8.	Mar. 29.	April 19.	May 3.
		s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,		3 0	2 10	2 8	2 8
Corn,		1 6	1 6	1 3	1 4
Flour,		8 9	7 9	7 8	7 6
Beef,		35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0
Pork,		60 0	50 0	55 0	50 0
Salt, { Coarse,		1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0
{ Fine,		2 6	2 4	2 0	1 8
Sugar, { Muscavado,		38 0	38 0	38 0	38 0
{ Loaf,		2 3	1 6	1 8	1 4-1 8
Molasses,		20	18	18	18
Rum, { West Indies,				2 1	2 1
{ New England,		2 1	2 2	1 8	1 8
Tobacco,		14 0	15 0	15 0	15 0
Cotton,		1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4
Wine, Madeira,		£22	£22	£22	£22

1740.		Feb. 19.	Mar. 20.	April 24.	May 15.
		s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,		3 1	2 11	2 11-3 0	2 11
Corn,		1 6	1 5	1 2	1 4
Flour,		7 6	7 6	7 6	7 3
Beef,		30 0	35 0	35 0	35 0
Pork,		50 0	50 0	40 0	40 0
Salt, { Coarse,		1 6	1 4	1 4	1 4
{ Fine,		2 4	2 0	2 0	1 8
Sugar, { Muscavado,		40 0	35 0-40 0	35 0	35 0
{ Loaf,			2 0	2 0	2 0
{ Penn.,		2 0	1 2	1 8	1 8
Molasses,		20	20	20	19
Rum, { West Indies,		2 8	2 8	2 4	2 4
{ New England,		2 0	2 0	1 8	1 8
Tobacco,		15 0	12 0-14 0	14 0	15 0
Cotton,		1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4
Wine, Madeira,		£20	£18-£22	£20	£20-£22

PENNSYLVANIA PAPER CURRENCY.

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June 2.	July 7.	Aug. 4.	Sept. 8.		Nov. 17.	
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
3 11	4 4	4 new	4 3	4 3
1 8	2 4	2 6	2 6	2 6
11 0	12 0	14 0	11 6	.....	12 6	.....
35 0	35 0	None	30 0	.....	35 0	.....
45 0	45 0	60 0	60 0	.....	65 0	.....
1 2	1 4	1 3	1 0	.....	1 6	.....
2 6	2 6	2 2	2 0	.....	2 0	.....
30 0-35 0	32 0	36 0	40 0	.....	45 0	.....
1 7	1 6	1 6	1 8	.....	1 6	.....
17	18	18	18	.....	20	.....
2 0-2 4	2 5	2 7	2 9-3 0	.....	2 11	.....
18 0	18 0	18 0	20 0	.....	18 0	.....
1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	.....	1 2	.....
£15-22	£20	£20	£18		£22	

June 8.	July 3.	Aug. 10.	Sept. 7.	Oct. 12.	Nov. 9.	Nov. 23.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
3 9	3 9	3 8	2 6	2 6	3 3	2 10
2 5	2 4	2 4	2 0	1 6	1 6	1 6
11 6	12 0	11 9	10 6	9 0	9 0	9 0
40 0	40 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0
50 0	55 0	55 0	65 0	65 0	65 0	65 0
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 6	1 4	1 4	1 6
.....	.....	1 6	2 6	2 6	.....	.....
30 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	37 6
1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6
20	20	18	18	18	18	20
2 1	2 1	2 1	2 2	2 1	2 1	2 2
15 0	17 0	18 0	17 0	16 0	18 0	18 0
1 1	1 1	1 1	.....	4	1 4	1 6
£22	£22	£22	.....	£22	£22	£22

June 28.	July 19.	Aug. 16.	Sept. 27.	Oct. 25.	Nov. 22.	Dec. 27.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
2 6	2 7	2 9	2 9	3 2	2 10	2 11
1 4	1 7	1 3	1 6	1 6	1 4	1 6
7 0	8 0	8 3	8 6	8 6	7 6	7 3
35 0	45 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0
55 0	60 0	55 0	55 0	55 0	50 0	45 0
1 0	1 2	1 0	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 6
1 8	2 2	1 8	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 0
38 0	38 0	36 0	40 0	40 0	35 0	40 0
1 8	1 10	1 8	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0
13	15	18	22	22	18	18
2 2	2 1	2 3	2 10	2 10	2 9	2 9
1 8	1 8	1 8	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 2
17 0	14 0	17 0	16 0	16 0	17 0	15 0
1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4
£22	£22	£20	£22	£22	£20	£20

June 19.	July 17.	Aug. 21.	Sept. 11.	Oct. 9.		Dec. 11.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
2 10	3 0	3 6	3 6	3 8	.....	4 0
1 4	1 5	1 8	1 8	1 8	.....	1 6
7 3	8 0	10 0	10 6	10 3	.....	11 6
35 0	35 0	40 0	45 0	40 0	.....	30 0
40 0	45 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	.....	40 0
1 4	1 6	2 0	2 6	2 0	.....	2 0
1 8	2 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	.....	1 6
38 0	38 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	.....	35 0
2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 6	.....	2 0
.....	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 0	.....	1 8
20	19	20	20	20	.....	.....
2 4	2 4	2 4	2 4	2 8	.....	2 9
1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	.....	2 0
15 0	15 0	16 0	14 0	12 0	.....	12 0
1 4	1 6	1 1	1 3	1 2	.....	1 4
£20-£22	£20	£20	£20	£20		£20

1741.				April 2.	May 7.
				<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	4 4	4 6	4 3	4 9	4 6
Corn,	3 0	2 9	3 0	2 6	1 6
Flour,	13 0	14 0	13 7	13 6	13 6
Beef,	30 0-35 0	32 0	35 0	40 0	45 0
Pork,	50 0	45 0-50 0	50 0	55 0	45 0
Salt, { Coarse,	3 6	3 0	3 6	2 0	2 0
{ Fine,	2 8	3 0	3 0	2 6	2 3
{ Muscavado,	30 0-40 0	35 0-45 0	35 0	40 0	35 0-40 0
Sugar, { Leaf, { London,	1 8	1 8	2 0	2 0	2 0
{ Penn,	1 6	1 6	1 8	1 8	1 8
Molasses,	25	25	25	22	20
Rum, { West Indies,	3 10	3 10	3 6	2 4	2 8
{ New England,	3 0	3 2	2 10	2 0	2 1
Tobacco,	10 0-18 0	14 0-18 0	17 0	16 0	12 0-16 0
Cotton,	1 2	11	1 0	1 4	1 2
Wine, Madeira,	£22	£23 if good	£22-£25	£20	£24

1742.	Jan. 7.	Jan. 21.	Mar. 4.	April 15.	May 13.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	4 4	4 6	4 3	3 4	3 9
Corn,	3 0	2 9	3 0	None.	2 8
Flour,	13 0	14 0	13 7	11 0	11 0
Beef,	30 0-35 0	32 0	35 0	35 0	35 0
Pork,	50 0	45 0-50 0	50 0	40 0-55 0	45 0-50 0
Salt, { Coarse,	3 6	3 0	3 6	3 6	3 6
{ Fine,	2 8	3 0	3 0	2 9	3 0
{ Muscavado,	30 0-40 0	35 0-45 0	35 0	35 0	35 0
Sugar, { Leaf, { London,	1 8	1 8	2 0	1 8	1 8
{ Penn,	1 6	1 6	1 8	1 5	1 6
Molasses,	25	25	25	28	26
Rum, { West Indies,	3 10	3 10	3 6	None.	3 9
{ New England,	3 0	3 2	2 10	2 0	2 8
Tobacco,	10 0-18 0	14 0-18 0	17 0	16 0	17 0
Cotton,	1 2	11	1 0	1 0	1 0
Wine, Madeira,	£22	£23 if good	£22-£25	£22-£26	£22-£26

1743.	Jan. 4.	Feb. 10.	Mar. 24.	April 14.	May 26.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	3 0	3 2	2 11	2 6	2 9
Corn,	2 0	2 2	1 8	1 8	2 6
Flour,	9 0	8 9	8 0	7 9	8 3
Beef,	37 0	37 0	35 0	35 0	55 0
Pork,	55 0-60 0	60 0	45 0-55 0	47 0-60 0	75 0
Salt, { Coarse,	2 4	2 2	2 4	2 2	1 8
{ Fine,	2 4	2 4	2 4	2 5	2 4
{ Muscavado,	40 0-45 0	40 0-45 0	35 0-40 0	35 0-40 0	30 0-35 0
Sugar, { Leaf, { London,	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 6	1 6
{ Penn,	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 3	1 2
Molasses,	25	26	24	22	20
Rum, { West Indies,	3 8	3 8	3 4	3 3	3 0
{ New England,	2 8	2 7	2 2	2 2	2 2
Tobacco,	17 0-20 0	17 0-20 0	16 0-20 0	16 0-18 0	15 0-18 0
Cotton,	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	11
Wine, Madeira,	£28-£30	£28-£30	£28-£30	£25-£28	£24-£28

June 4.	July 23.	Aug 27.	Sept. 10.	Oct. 15.	Nov. 26.	Dec. 24.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
6 0	4 6	4 6	4 6	3 8	5 0	4 0
3 6	3 3	3 4	3 3	None.	None.	None.
16 0	15 0	15 0	14 0	12 0	15 0	13 6
45 0	45 0	45 0	45 0	45 0	40 0	40 0
50 0	50 0	55 0	55 0	50 0	50 0	50 0
1 8	2 6	2 9	2 6	2 6	3 9	3 6
2 6	2 0	2 0	2 2	2 6	3 0	3 0
40 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0
2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 10	1 10
1 6	1 8	1 8	1 6	1 8	1 8	1 6
18	20	20	22	22	24	None.
2 9	2 9	3 0	3 3	3 2	3 9	3 10
2 2	2 2	2 8	2 8	2 9	3 0	3 4
12 0-16 0	18 0	16 0	16 0	16 0	17 0	16 0
1 4	1 2	10	10	1 0	1 2	1 0
£22	£22-£24	£22	£22-£23	£22-£23	£22-£24	£22-£24

June 10.	July 15.	Aug. 12.	Sept. 9.	Oct. 24.	Nov. 18.	Dec. 21.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
3 5	3 8	3 3	3 9	3 3	3 3	2 9
None.	None.	3 0	.....	.....	2 6	2 0
9 6	11 3	10 6	10 0	10 0	10 0	8 3
35 0	40 0	40 0	35 0	38 0	35 0-40 0	37 0
50 0-55 0	60 0	65 0	50 0	60 0	65 0	55 0
3 0	2 6	2 8	2 6	2 4	2 2	2 4
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 4
30 0-35 0	40 0-45 0	45 0-50 0	50 0	45 0-50 0	35 0-50 0	45 0-50 0
1 8	1 8	1 10	1 8	1 10	2 0	1 8
1 6	1 5	1 6	1 4	1 6	1 4	1 4
28	27	28	27	27	26	28
3 6	3 8	3 6	3 8	3 8	3 8	3 8
2 10	.....	3 2	3 0	2 9	2 6	2 9
18 0	18 0	18 0	17 0-21 0	18 0	14 0-23 0	17 0-20 0
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0
£22-£26	£23-£36	£23-£26	£23-£26	£24-£28	£22 Stolen	£28-£30

June 30.	July 28.	Aug. 18.	Sept. 8.	Oct. 13.	Nov. 24.	Dec. 29.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
2 10	2 10	2 9	2 9	2 10	3 3	2 6
2 2	2 7	2 9	2 6	2 7	1 6	1 6
8 3	8 9	9 0	9 9	9 6	9 0	8 6
60 0	60 0	.....	.....	40 0	35 0	35 0
80 0	80 0	80 0	.....	.....	67 0	75 0
2 0	2 0	2 0	1 6	1 8	1 6	1 8
2 4	2 4	2 3	1 6	2 0	2 0	2 0
30 0-35 0	35 0-40 0	37 0-40 0	35 0-40 0	35 0-40 0	40 0-50 0	45 0-50 0
1 6	1 6	1 7	1 9	1 6	1 7	1 8
1 2	1 2	1 3	1 4	1 3	1 3	1 4
18	21	19	18	20	21	21
2 10	2 9	2 9	2 10	3 3	3 3	3 3
2 6	2 5	2 4	2 4	2 3	2 6	2 6
13 0-17 0	14 0-17 0	14 0-17 0	14 0-17 0	14 0-17 0	14 0-16 0	14 0
1 0	1 0	1 0	11	1 0	11	1 0
£24-£28	£23-£27	£23-£28	£24-£26	£24-£26	£25-£28	£40

1744.	Jan. 12.		Feb. 16.		Mar. 15.		April 19.		May 10.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat,	2	6	2	8	2	8	2	6	2	3
Corn,	1	6	1	6	1	6	1	6	1	8
Flour,	9	0	8	6	8	3	7	6	7	6
Beef,	35	0	35	0	35	0	40	0	40	0
Pork,	65	0	65	0	65	0	60	0	55	0
Salt, { Coarse,	1	8	1	8	1	8	1	8	1	8
{ Fine,	2	0	2	2	2	0	2	0	1	6
Sugar, { Muscavado,	45	0-50	45	0-55	50	0-60	50	0-60	50	0-55
{ Loaf, { London,	1	8	1	8	1	8	1	8	1	8
{ Penn.,	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	3
Molasses,	21		20		20		20		20	
Rum, { West Indies,	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	11	2	11
{ New England,	2	3	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	3
Tobacco,	14	0	14	0-16	14	0-16	12	0-14	11	0-13
Cotton,	1	0	1	8	1	8	1	0	1	0
Wine, Madeira,	£40		None		£25		£25		£24-£26	

1745.	Jan. 9.		Feb. 20.		Mar. 5.		April 4.		May 2.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat,	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	4
Corn,	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5
Flour,	6	9	7	0	7	0	7	0	7	0
Beef,	35	0	35	0	35	0	35	0	35	0
Pork,	45	0	40	0	45	0	45	0	40	0-45
Salt, { Coarse,	2	6	2	9	2	6	2	6	2	6
{ Fine,	2	6	2	9	2	6	2	8	2	6
Sugar, { Muscavado,	45	0-50	40	0-45	40	0-45	40	0-45	40	0-45
{ Loaf, { London,	1	8	1	8	1	8	1	8	1	8
{ Penn.,	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3
Molasses,	28		16		28		28		25	
Rum, { West Indies,	3	8	3	8	3	6	3	6	3	0
{ New England,	2	9	2	9	2	9	2	9	2	6
Tobacco,	13	0-14	11	0-12	11	0-12	11	0-13	11	0-12
Cotton,	1	4	1	3	1	3	1	4	1	4
Wine, Madeira,	£24-£28		£24-£28		£25-£29		£25-£28		£25-£30	

1746.*					
Wheat,					
Corn,					
Flour,					
Beef,					
Pork,					
Salt, { Coarse,					
{ Fine,					
Sugar, { Muscavado,					
{ Loaf, Penn.,					
Molasses,					
Rum, { West Indies,					
{ New England,					
Tobacco,					
Cotton,					
Wine, Madeira,					
Powder,					

* 1746-1766, from *Penn Journal* unless marked.

June 14.	July 12.	Aug. 16.	Sept. 13.	Oct. 18.	Nov. 15.	Dec. 14.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
2 6	2 6	2 5	2 4	2 5	2 7	2 6
1 6	2 0	1 6	1 6	1 5	1 5	1 5
6 9	8 0	7 6	7 6	7 9	7 0	7 0
45 0	55 0	50 0	55 0	40 0	35 0	35 0
45 0	55 0	55 0	60 0	65 0	65 0	45 0-50 0
2 2	2 2	2 0	2 2	2 6	2 6	2 6
2 4	2 4	2 4	. . . . .	2 6	2 6	2 6
45 0-60 0	55 0-60 0	50 0-55 0	40 0-50 0	40 0-50 0	40 0-50 0	45 0-50 0
1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8
1 4	1 4	1 3	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 3
24	22	20	20	20	26	28
3 3	3 3	3 3	3 0	3 3	3 4	3 6
2 8	2 8	2 6	2 6	2 7	2 8	2 8
11 0-12 0	11 0-12 0	11 0-12 0	11 0-12 0	11 0-13 0	11 0-13 0	11 0-13 0
1 4	1 3	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4
£27-£29	£28-£30	£26-£28	£24-£26	£25-£28	£24-£28	£24-£26

June 20.	July 18.	Aug. 1.	Sept. 12.	Oct. 3.	Nov. 21.	Dec. 24.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
2 10	2 8	2 8	3 0	3 0	2 10	2 8
1 7	1 10	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 8
8 6	9 6	9 3	9 0	9 0	9 0	8 0
35 0	40 0	40 0	45 0	37 0-43 0	35 0	35 0
50 0	50 0-70 0	60 0-75 0	75 0	60 0-70 0	55 0	50 0
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 8	3 0	2 10	2 9
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 8
40 0-45 0	40 0-45 0	40 0-45 0	40 0-45 0	40 0-45 0	45 0-50 0	40 0-45 0
1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8
1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3
28	29	28	28	29	29	30
3 0	3 3	3 3	3 2	3 1	3 1	3 1
2 8	2 7	2 8	2 8	2 8	2 7	2 7
12 0-18 0	12 0-14 0	12 0-14 0	10 0-18 0	12 0-17 0	12 0-16 0	12 0-15 0
1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 5	1 4
£26-£30	£26-£32	£27-£32	£26-£30	£25-£30	£26-£30	£25-£30

		Aug. 14.	Sept. 18.	Oct. 30.	Nov. 13.	Dec. 9.
		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
. . . . .	. . . . .	3 3	2 10	3 0	3 0	3 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	2 4	1 10	1 8	1 11	1 6
. . . . .	. . . . .	11 0	10 3	10 3	10 0	9 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	30 0	45 0	37 0	40 0	35 0-40 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	55 0-70 0	45 0-62 0	50 0-60 0	50 0-55 0	50 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	3 0	3 0	4 0	5 6	9 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	3 0	3 0	4 0	5 6	9 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	30 0-40 0	45 0	47 0	47 0	45 0-55 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	1 0-1 6	1 6	1 0-1 6	1 0-1 6	1 0-1 6
. . . . .	. . . . .	28	30	31	30	30
. . . . .	. . . . .	2 11	2 11	2 11	2 11	3 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	2 8	2 8	2 7	2 7	2 7
. . . . .	. . . . .	12 0-18 0	12 0-18 0	12 0-17 0	12 6-16 0	12 0-18 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	1 6	1 8	1 8	2 0	2 0
. . . . .	. . . . .	£20-£25	£20-£25	£25	£25	£25
. . . . .	. . . . .	£12	£11	£11	£11	£11

1747.			Mar. 3.	April 24.	
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
Wheat,			3 0	3 0	
Corn,			2 0	1 11	
Flour,			9 0	9 0	
Beef,			37 6	35 0-40 0	
Pork,			55 0	57 6	
Salt, { Coarse,			3 0	2 8	
{ Fine,			None	3 6	
{ Muscavado,			45 0-50 0	45 6	
Sugar, { Loaf, { London,				2 6	
{ Penn,				1 8	
Molasses,			1 1- 6	2 6	
Rum, { West Indies,			3 6	5 0	
{ New England,			2 8	3 0	
Tobacco,			10 0-15 0	15 0-20 0	
Cotton,			2 0	2 0	
Wine,			£22	£25	
Powder,			£10	£9	

1748.	Feb. 2.	Feb. 23.		May 5.	
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
Wheat,	3 9	3 9		4 3	
Corn,	1 6	1 6		2 2	
Flour,	12 0	12 0		11 9	
Beef,	42 6	42 6		45 0	
Pork,	60 0	60 0		57 6	
Salt, { Coarse,	3 0	3 0		3 0	
{ Fine,	2 9	2 9		3 0	
{ Muscavado,	55 0-60 0	55 0-60 0		55 0	
Sugar, { Loaf, { London,	2 6	2 6		2 6	
{ Penn,	1 5	1 5		1 6	
Molasses,	3 0	3 0		2 10	
Rum, { West Indies,	6 0	6 0		5 0	
{ New England,	4 3	4 3		3 6	
Tobacco,	16 0-20 0	16 0-20 0		15 0-20 0	
Cotton,	2 0	2 0		2 0	
Wine,	£25	£25		£25	
Powder,	£8-£9	£8-£9		£10	

1749.		Feb. 28.		April 20.	May 25.
		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,		7 6		7 1	6 8
Corn,		2 9		2 9	2 6
Flour,		21 0		20 0	17 0
Beef,		42 0		37 6	40 0
Pork,		60 0		60 0	60 0
Salt, { Coarse,		3 0		2 6	2 6
{ Fine,		3 0			2 6
{ Muscavado,		45 0		40 0	45 0
Sugar, { Loaf, { London,		2 6		2 6	2 6
{ Penn,		1 6		1 6	1 6
Molasses,		2 6		2 3	2 2
Rum, { West Indies,		4 0		2 10	3 2
{ New England,		2 9		2 4	2 7
Tobacco,		15 0		14 0	14 0
Cotton,		1 6		1 6	
Wine,		£27		£30	£30
Powder,		£9 10		£9 10	£10

June 4.	July 2.	Aug. 13.	Oct. 1.	Oct. 22.	Nov. 19.	
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
3 3	3 0	3 6-3 7	3 6	3 8	3 4	.....
2 4	2 2	1 10	2 0	1 9	1 8	.....
9 6	9 6	11 0	10 0	11 9-12 0	10 6	.....
40 0	44 0	45 0	45 0	40 0	40 0	.....
52 6-57 6	60 0	62 6	60 0	60 0	60 0	.....
2 6	2 9	4 0	4 0	2 11	3 0	.....
3 0	3 0	3 6	4 0	3 0	3 0	.....
55 0-60 0	55 0	55 0	55 0-60 0	60 0	55 0-60 0	.....
2 6	2 0	2 6	2 6	2 6	.....	.....
1 2	1 2	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 8	.....
2 8	2 8	2 8	2 8	2 8	2 8	.....
5 0	4 10	4 8	4 10	5 0	5 0	.....
4 0	3 3	4 0	4 0	4 3	4 3	.....
18 0-20 0	18 0	12 0-20 0	15 0-20 0	12 0-20 0	15 0-20 0	.....
1 10	1 10	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 10	.....
£25 £9	£25 £9	£25 £8-£9	£25 £9-£10	£25 £10	£25 £9	.....

June 2.	June 30.			Oct. 13.	Nov. 10.	
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
4 3	4 3	.....	.....	6 4	6 8	.....
2 4	2 2	.....	.....	3 0	2 7	.....
11 9	12 9	.....	.....	20 0	21 0	.....
45 0	50 0	.....	.....	42 0	40 0	.....
60 0	60 0	.....	.....	60 0	60 0	.....
3 3	3 4	.....	.....	3 4	3 3	.....
3 0	3 4	.....	.....	3 2	3 0	.....
50 0	50 0	.....	.....	45 0	50 0	.....
2 6	2 6	.....	.....	2 6	2 6	.....
1 9	1 8	.....	.....	1 7	1 6	.....
3 2	3 2	.....	.....	2 4	2 6	.....
4 0	4 0	.....	.....	3 10	4 3	.....
3 6	3 6	.....	.....	2 10	3 9	.....
20 0	15 0-20 0	.....	.....	15 0	20 0	.....
1 8	1 8	.....	.....	1 7	1 6	.....
£28 £10	£25 £9	.....	.....	£25 £9-£10	£27 £9	.....

June 22.	July 13.	Aug. 10.	Sep. 14.	Oct. 12.	Nov. 16.	Dec. 12.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
4 7	5 0	4 4	4 2	4 6-4 8	5 2	5 7
2 4	3 3	2 6	2 9	2 8	2 8	2 7
14 0	14 0	14 0	15 0	14 0	14 6	15 0
40 0	40 0	40 0	35 0	35 0	30 0	30 0
60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0
2 0	2 0	1 5	1 8	1 8	1 8	2 0
2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	3 0	3 0
45 0	45 0	45 0	45 0	50 0	60 0	60 0
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6
1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 7	1 4
2 2	2 0	1 0	1 9	1 8	1 8	1 8
3 3	3 6	3 8	3 8	3 8	4 6	4 0
2 9	2 8	2 8	2 7	2 5	2 8	2 6
18 0-20 0	18 0	20 0	18 0	18 0	18 0	18 0
.....	1 10	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8
£30 £9 10	£30 £9 10	£30 £9 10	£27 £12	£27 £10 10	£27 £10	£29-£30 £10

1750.		Feb. 27.	Mar. 20.	April 19.	May 10.
		s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,		4 7	4 1	4 3	4 1
Corn,		2 6	2 6	2 3	2 5
Flour,		14 0	11 6	10 6	11 4
Beef,		35 0	35 0	35 0	35 0
Pork,		60 0	60 0	65 0	65 0
Salt, { Coarse,		1 8	1 8	1 8	1 2
{ Fine,		2 0	2 0	1 8	1 6
Sugar, { Muscavado,		45 0	45 0	55 0	50 0
{ Loaf, { London,		2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6
{ Penn.,		1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3
Molasses,		1 8	1 8	1 8	1 6
Rum, { West Indies,		3 2	3 1	3 1	3 2
{ New England,		2 4	2 3	2 3	2 4
Tobacco,		28 0	18	18 0	18 0
Cotton,		1 10	1 8	2 0	2 0
Wine,		£27-£30	£30	£30	£30
Powder,		£10	£9	£9	£9

1751.			P. G. Mar. 12.	P. G. April 11.	May 9.
			s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,			4 2	3 11	4 0
Corn,			2 8	3 0	2 10
Flour,			13 0	11 0	11 3
Beef,			47 6	50 0	45 0-50 0
Pork,			65 0	65 0	70 0
Salt, { Coarse,			1 2	1 0	1 0
{ Fine,					1 3
Sugar, { Muscavado,			52 6	47 6	35 0
{ Loaf, { London,					1 2
{ Penn.,			1 0	1 1	1 1
Molasses,			2 0	2 0	1 9
Rum, { West Indies,			4 6	3 4	3 3
{ New England,			2 5	2 4	2 3
Tobacco,			20 0	20 0	20 0
Cotton,					2 6
Wine,			£30	£30	£30-£35
Powder,			£8	£8	£8-£9

1752.			P. G. Mar. 24.	April 9.	May 21.
			s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,			4 4	4 0-5 0	3 6
Corn,			2 1	2 1	2 6
Flour,			12 0	12 0	13 0
Beef,			50 0	50 0	60 0
Pork,			70 0	76 0	75 0
Salt, { Coarse,			1 0	1 0	10
{ Fine,				1 6	1 0
Sugar, { Muscavado,			45 0-50 0	30 0-47 0	45 0-50 0
{ Loaf, { London,				1 1	1 0
{ Penn.,			1 0	1 0	1 0
Molasses,			1 10	2 0	2 1
Rum, { West Indies,			3 3	3 3	3 3
{ New England,			2 4	2 6	2 5
{ Penn.,			2 5		
Tobacco,			20 0	10 0-25 0	20 0-25 0
Cotton,					
Wine,			£30	£30	£32
Powder,			£8	£9	£8

	July 19.	Aug. 16.		P. G. Nov. 7.	P. G. Nov. 29.	P. G. Dec. 11.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.		s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
.....	4 8	4 4	.....	4 10	4 7	4 6
.....	2 9	2 5	.....	3 0	2 3	2 6
.....	15 4	13 0	.....	14 3	14 0	13 0
.....	45 0	45 0	.....	40 0	40 0	40 0
.....	65 0	70 0	.....	65 0	62 6	62 6
.....	1 5	1 2	.....	1 2	1 6	1 4
.....	1 8	1 3	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	50 0	50 0	.....	55 0	55 0	55 0
.....	2 0	2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	1 6	1 6	.....	1 3	1 3	1 3
.....	1 7	1 7	.....	1 10	1 10	2 0
.....	3 5	3 6	.....	3 9	3 8	3 7
.....	2 9	2 7	.....	2 7	2 10	3 0
.....	22 0	22 0	.....	20 0	20 0	20 0
.....	2 0	1 10	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	£30	£30	.....	£30	£30	£30
.....	£9	£8	.....	£9	£9	£8

P. G. June 13.	July 18.	Aug. 15.	P. G. Sept. 19.	Oct. 31.	P. G. Nov. 28.	
s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	
4 0	4 7	4 0-4 3	4 2	4 5	4 8	.....
3 0	3 3	3 2	3 2	3 0	2 0	.....
11 9	13 0	13 9	13 0	12 6	12 0	.....
50 0	60 0	60 0	57 6	42 6	45 0	.....
75 0	80 0	80 0	75 0	70 0	67 6	.....
1 0	1 0	1 4	1 0	1 3	1 0	.....
.....	1 2	1 4	.....	1 4	.....	.....
47 6	35 0	35 0-45 0	45 0	35 0-45 0	45 0	.....
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	.....
1 8	1 9	1 9	1 9	1 9	2 0	.....
3 3	3 3	3 2	3 2	3 3	3 4	.....
2 6	2 8	2 7	2 5	2 5	2 4	.....
20 0	25 0	15 0-25 0	20 0	15 0-30 0	20 0	.....
.....	2 3	2 2	.....	2 2	.....	.....
.....	£30	£30	.....	£30	£30	.....
.....	£9	£8-£10	.....	£8	£8	.....

P. G. June 11.	P. G. July 16.	Aug. 27.	Sept. 21.	Oct. 19.	Nov. 30.	P. G. Dec. 19.
s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
4 8	4 8	4 0	4 4	4 4	4 5	4 3
2 4	2 9	2 6	2 7	3 9	3 0	3 0
14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	13 6	13 6	13 0
50 0	50 0-55 0	50 0	47 6	47 6	45 0	50 0
75 0	80 0	77 6	75 0	75 0	65 0	65 0
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 3	2 0	2 0	2 0
.....	.....	1 4	4 6	2 3	2 0	.....
45 0-50 0	47 6	40 0-50 0	40 0-50 0	45 0-52 0	45 0-55 0	60 0
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 7	1 2	1 2	.....
2 0	2 0	1 11	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0
3 4	3 3	3 3	1 11	1 11	1 11	2 0
2 6	2 5	2 5	3 3	3 2	3 3	3 2
2 6	2 6	2 4	2 4	2 5	2 5	2 4
20 0	20 0	15 0-20 0	15 0-25 0	15 0-25 0	15 0-25 0	2 6
.....	.....	2 0	1 9	1 10	1 6	.....
.....	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30
.....	£8	£8	£8	£8	£8	£8

1753.				April 19.	May 17.
				s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,				4 3	4 6
Corn,				3 1	2 9
Flour,				12 0	12 0
Beef,				45 0	46 0
Pork,				55 0-65 0	57 0-62 0
Salt, { Coarse,				1 3	1 2
{ Fine,				1 8	2 0
{ Muscavado,				40 0-45 0	45 0-55 0
Sugar, { Loaf, { London,				1 2	1 2
{ Loaf, { Penn.,				1 1	1 1
Molasses,				2 0	2 0
Rum, { West Indies,				3 2	3 2
{ New England,				2 6	2 6
Tobacco,				10 0-25 0	10 0-25 0
Cotton,				1 8	1 6
Wine,				£26-£36	£26-£36
Powder,				£8	£9

1754.				Mar. 26.	April 11.	May 16.
				s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,				3 8	4 8	4 9
Corn,				2 6	2 8	2 5
Flour,				13 9	13 6	14 0
Beef,				45 0	45 0	45 0
Pork,				60 0	60 0	50 0-60 0
Salt, { Coarse,				1 4	1 8	1 8
{ Fine,				1 8	2 0	1 8
{ Muscavado,				45 0-55 0	45 0-60 0	45 0-55 0
Sugar, { Loaf, { London,				1 2	1 2	1 2
{ Loaf, { Penn.,				1 1	1 1	1 1
Molasses,				2 0	2 0	2 0
Rum, { West Indies,				3 4	3 4	3 3
{ New England,				2 6	2 6	2 6
Tobacco,				12 0-25 0	9 0-25 0	15 0-25 0
Cotton,				1 8	1 8	1 8
Wine,				£30	£25-£35	£25-£35
Powder,				£8	£8	£8

1755.				April 10.	May 22.
				s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,				4 6	4 5
Corn,				1 10	2 0
Flour,				12 6	12 9
Beef,				50 0	45 0
Pork,				55 0-65 0	75 0
Salt, { Coarse,				1 3	1 4
{ Fine,				1 4	1 4
{ Muscavado,				40 0-55 0	50 0
Sugar, { Loaf, { London,				1 0	1 1
{ Loaf, { Penn.,				1 0	1 0
Molasses,				1 10	1 11
Rum, { West Indies,				3 3	2 9
{ New England,				2 5	2 5
Tobacco,				8 0-20 0	15 0
Cotton,				1 4	1 7
Wine,				£30	£25
Powder,				£12	£8

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P. G. June 14.			P. G. July 12.			Aug. 16.			Sept. 13.			Oct. 11.			Nov. 22.			Dec. 27.		
<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
4	7		4	8		4	4		4	7		4	9		4	9		4	4	
2	10		2	10		2	10		2	11		3	0		3	0		2	6	
12	6		14	0		13	9		14	3		14	3		13	6		12	9	
50	0		45	0		45	0		45	0		45	0		40	0		42	0	
62	6		65	0		55	0-70	0	60	0-65	0	65	0		60	0		60	0	
1	0		1	0		1	4		1	4		1	6		1	8		1	6	
						1	10		1	8		1	10		2	0		1	8	
52	6		52	6		40	0-45	0	40	0-55	0	50	0		45	0-55	0	45	0-55	0
						1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
1	0		1	0		1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1	
2	2		2	1		2	0		2	0		2	0		2	0		2	0	
4	2-4	3	3	1		3	0		2	11		2	11		2	10		2	11	
2	7		2	6		2	6		2	5		2	5		2	5		2	6	
2	7		2	7																
20	0		20	0		15	0-25	0	12	0-25	0	15	0-30	0	12	0-25	0	12	0-25	0
						1	9		1	9		1	8		1	8		1	8	
\mathcal{L}^{32}			\mathcal{L}^{32}			$\mathcal{L}^{25-\mathcal{L}^{35}}$			\mathcal{L}^{30}			\mathcal{L}^{30}			\mathcal{L}^{30}			$\mathcal{L}^{25-\mathcal{L}^{30}}$		
\mathcal{L}^8			\mathcal{L}^5			\mathcal{L}^7	10		\mathcal{L}^8			\mathcal{L}^8			\mathcal{L}^8			\mathcal{L}^8		

June 13.		July 11.		Aug. 8.			Oct. 17.		Nov. 14.		Dec. 12.	
<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
5	0	5	0	5	0	.....	4	4	4	5	.....	.....
2	6	2	3	2	0	.....	2	1	2	2	.....	.....
13	9	15	0	14	6	.....	14	0	14	0	14	6
40	0	42	0	40	0	.....	.....	.....	50	0	50	0
50	0-65	52	0-67	50	0-70	.....	57	0-70	65	0	50	0-60
1	8	1	4	1	6	.....	1	6	1	6	1	4
1	8	.....	.....	1	6	.....	1	6	1	6	1	6
43	0-57	45	0-55	50	0-60	.....	45	0-57	40	0-55	40	0-60
1	2	1	2	1	2	.....	1	0	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
2	0	2	1	2	0	.....	1	11	1	11	1	11
3	3	3	3	3	2	.....	3	2	3	2	3	6
2	7	2	7	2	6	.....	2	4	2	4	2	2
10	0-25	8	0-25	10	0-25	.....	8	0-25	9	0-25	8	0-25
1	8	1	8	1	6	.....	1	5	1	5	1	5
£27		£26	£36	£25		.....	£27		£25		£27	
£8		£8		£8		.....	£8		£8		£8	

June 12.		July 17.		Aug. 28.		Sept. 25.		Oct. 23.		Nov. 20.		Dec. 18.	
<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
4	7	4	10	4	3	4	3	4	6	4	6	4	6
2	3	2	0	2	4	2	3	2	6	2	6	2	6
13	9	13	0	14	6	13	0	15	0	14	0	13	0
50	0	50	0	50	0-60	50	0	50	0	42	6	40	0
70	0	60	0-80	75	0	70	0	65	0	60	0	60	0
1	4	1	6	1	6	1	8	2	0	2	0	1	8
1	4	1	6	1	8	1	8	2	0	2	0	2	0
50	0	40	0-55	40	0-50	40	0-50	40	0-50	40	0-55	40	0-55
1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	1	3	1	3
1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2
1	11	1	11	1	11	1	10	1	10	1	11	1	11
2	7	2	6	2	6	2	6	2	6	2	8	2	8
2	4	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3
14	0	15	0	9	0-20	10	0-20	10	0-20	9	0-20	10	0-25
1	4	1	4	1	4	1	6	1	6	1	6	1	6
	\mathcal{L}^{30}_{88}		\mathcal{L}^{30}_{88}		\mathcal{L}^{30}_{10}		\mathcal{L}^{30}_{10}		\mathcal{L}^{30}_{10}		\mathcal{L}^{30}_{10}		\mathcal{L}^{30}_{10}

1756.		Feb. 19.	Mar. 25.		
		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		
Wheat,		4 6	4 9		
Corn,		2 6	2 8		
Flour,		13 6	13 3		
Beef,		40 0-50 0	50 0		
Pork,		55 0-65 0	55 0-70 0		
Salt, { Coarse,		1 10	1 10		
{ Fine,		2 0	1 10		
Sugar, { Muscavado,		40 0-55 0	50 0		
{ Loaf, { London,		1 2	1 2		
{ Penn.,		1 1	1 2		
Molasses,		1 10	1 11		
Rum, { West Indies,		2 8	2 8		
{ New England,		2 3	2 3		
Tobacco,		10 0-25 0	9 0-20 0		
Cotton,		1 6	1 6		
Wine,		£ 30	£ 30		
Powder,		£ 10	£ 10		

1757.					
Wheat,					
Corn,					
Flour,					
Beef,					
Pork,					
Salt, { Coarse,					
{ Fine,					
Sugar, { Muscavado,					
{ Loaf, { London,					
{ Penn.,					
Molasses,					
Rum, { West Indies,					
{ New England,					
Tobacco,					
Cotton,					
Wine,					
Powder,					

1758.	Jan. 12.				
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>				
Wheat,	3 4- 3 9				
Corn,	1 6				
Flour,	10 9				
Beef,	40 0-50 0				
Pork,	55 0-62 0				
Salt, { Coarse,	2 6				
{ Fine,	2 6				
Sugar, { Muscavado,	40 0-55 0				
{ Loaf, { London,	1 2				
{ Penn.,	1 1				
Molasses,	2 4- 2 6				
Rum, { West Indies,	3 3				
{ New England,	2 9				
{ Penn.,					
Tobacco,	12 0-25 0				
Cotton,	1 6				
Wine,	£ 40				
Powder,	£ 10 10				

			Sept. 30.	Oct. 28.		
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		
.....	.....	.....	4 10	3 5	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	2 6	2 4	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	13 3	13 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	50 0	56 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	55 0-70 0	56 0-67 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	2 6	2 4	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	2 6	2 6	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	45 0-55 0	40 0-52 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	1 3	1 3	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	1 2	1 2	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	1 9	2 1	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	2 11	2 10	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	2 6	2 6	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	11 0-20 0	10 0-25 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	1 4	1 6	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	£35	£35	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	£11	£12	.....	.....

June 23.	July 28.	Aug. 25.	Sept. 8.	Oct. 6.	Dec. 1.	Dec. 15.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
3 7	3 9	3 8	3 9	3 6	3 3	3 6-3 9
1 7	1 9	1 7	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 6
10 6	11 6	11 9	11 9	12 3	10 9	10 6-10 9
35 0-50 0	40 0-55 0	45 0	50 0	.....	40 0-50 0	40 0-45 0
55 0-65 0	60 0-67 0	60 0-67 0	60 0-67 0	55 0-65 0	60 0	60 0
2 9	2 3	2 8	2 9	3 6	3 6	3 6
.....	2 4	2 6	2 9	3 0	3 0	3 8
40 0-55 0	40 0-55 0	45 0-52 0	40 0-57 0	50 0-77 0	40 0-55 0	45 0-55 0
.....	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	.....	1 2
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 1	1 0
2 8	2 8	2 6	2 6	2 8	2 6	2 6
3 4	3 3	3 1	3 0	2 10	3 0	3 3
2 10	2 10	2 9	2 8	2 6	2 9	2 9
10 0-25 0	10 0-25 0	10 0-22 0	12 0-25 0	12 0-25 0	12 0-22 0	12 0-25 0
1 6	1 6	1 5	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6
£35	£40	£40	£40	£40	£45	£40
£10	£11	£10 10	£10 10	£11	£11	£10 10

		Aug. 3.	Aug. 31.	P. G. Sept. 14.		
		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		
.....	.....	4 3	3 8	3 7	.....	.....
.....	.....	2 3	2 3	2 3	.....	.....
.....	.....	14 0	12 9	12 9	.....	.....
.....	.....	45 0-55 0	50 0	50 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	55 0-75 0	55 0-75 0	55 0-80 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	2 0-2 6	2 6	2 2-2 9	.....	.....
.....	.....	2 4	2 3	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	45 0-55 0	40 0-55 0	35 0-55 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	1 1	1 1	1 1	.....	.....
.....	.....	1 0	1 0	1 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	2 6	2 6	2 5-2 7	.....	.....
.....	.....	3 6	3 9	4 2	.....	.....
.....	.....	3 0	3 3	3 3	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	3 3	.....	.....
.....	.....	12 0-25 0	12 0-17 0	12 0-25 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	1 4	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	£46-£50	£45	£35-£45	.....	.....
.....	.....	£11	£9 10	£11	.....	.....

1759.			Mar. 29.	April 26.	May 31.
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,			4 6	4 6-4 9	5 2
Corn,			2 4	3 0	3 3
Flour,			13 6	13 0	14 3
Beef,			40 0-60 0	40 0-50 0	40 0-50 0
Pork,			60 0-70 0	60 0-76 0	60 0-70 0
Salt, { Coarse,			2 6	2 0	2 0-2 6
{ Fine,			2 6	2 0	2 6
Sugar, { Muscavado,			35 0-55 0	35 0-55 0	35 0-55 0
{ Loaf, { London,			1 1	1 1	1 1
{ Penn.,			1 0	1 0	1 0
Molasses,			2 10	2 10	3 0
Rum, { West Indies,			4 9	4 2	4 5
{ New England,				3 6	3 8
Tobacco,			10 0-25 0	10 0-25 0	25 0
Cotton,			1 6	1 8	1 5
Wine,			£45	£45	£40-£50
Powder,			£12	£12	£12

1760.	Jan. 3.	Feb. 7.	Mar. 6.	April 3.	May 1.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	5 4		4 6	5 5	5 0
Corn,	3 0		2 6	2 6	2 10
Flour,	16 6	15 6	15 6	16 0	14 0
Beef,	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	55 0
Pork,	62 6	65 0	65 0	65 0	68 0
Salt, { Coarse,	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0
{ Fine,	2 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	2 9
Sugar, { Muscavado,	50 0	50 0	45 0	50 0	50 0
{ Loaf, { London,	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1
{ Penn.,	1 1	1 0	1 1	1 1	1 0
Molasses,	2 6	2 6	2 7	3 6	
Rum, { West Indies,	5 2	5 2	5 0	5 0	5 0
{ New England,	3 8	3 6	3 6	3 4	3 9
Tobacco,	18 0	18 0	17 0	15 0	25 0
Cotton,	1 3	1 4	1 2	1 3	1 3
Wine,	£45	£50	£50	£50	£50
Powder,	£11	£11	£11	£11	£11

1761.	Jan. 26.	Feb. 12.	Mar. 12.	April 16.	
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
Wheat,	5 4		5 4	4 9	
Corn,	2 6		2 6	2 3	
Flour,	15 0	15 0	15 0	14 3	
Beef,	55 0	52 0	55 0	60 0	
Pork,	72 6	72 6	72 6	80 0	
Salt, { Coarse,	1 8	2 0	1 10	1 8	
{ Fine,	3 0	3 4	3 0		
Sugar, { Muscavado,	50 0	56 0	50 0	50 0	
{ Loaf, { London,	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	
{ Penn.,	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	
Molasses,	2 9	2 9	2 6	2 5	
Rum, { West Indies,	4 4	4 5	4 6	4 2	
{ New England,	3 4	3 5	3 3	3 3	
Tobacco,	25 0	25 0	25 0	25 0	
Cotton,	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 4	
Wine,	£50	£50	£50	£50	
Powder,	£11	£11	£11	£9	

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June 21.		July 19.		Aug. 23.				Nov. 8.		Dec. 6.	
s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.			s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
5 4	5 4	5 4	5 4	4 9	4 9	.....	.....	5 7	5 7	5 6	5 6
3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	3 3	.....	.....	3 7	3 7	3 4	3 4
14 3	14 9	14 9	14 9	14 9	14 9	.....	.....	16 3	16 3	16 6	16 6
50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	55 0	55 0	.....	.....	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0
60 0-70 0	65 0-75 0	65 0-75 0	75 0	75 0	75 0	.....	.....	65 0	65 0	65 0	65 0
1 6-2 3	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	.....	.....	2 10	2 10	2 6	2 6
2 3	2 2	2 2	2 0	2 0	2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 0	3 0
40 0-55 0	35 0-55 0	35 0-55 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35 0-50 0	35 0-50 0	50 0	50 0
1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	.....	.....	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	.....	.....	1 1	1 1	1 2	1 2
3 0	3 2	3 2	3 0	3 0	3 0	.....	.....	2 9	2 9	2 7	2 7
4 6	4 9	4 9	5 3	5 3	5 3	.....	.....	5 7	5 7	5 4	5 4
3 9	4 0	4 0	4 3	4 3	4 3	.....	.....	4 0	4 0	3 9	3 9
20 0-35 0	15 0-25 0	15 0-25 0	15 0-25 0	15 0-25 0	15 0-25 0	.....	.....	18 0-26 0	18 0-26 0	25 0	25 0
.....	1 5	1 5	1 1	1 1	1 1	.....	.....	1 1	1 1	1 6	1 6
£45	£45	£45	£40-£50	£40-£50	£40-£50	.....	.....	£45	£45	£40	£40
£12	£12	£12	£12	£12	£12	.....	.....	£12	£12	£11	£11

June 12.		July 10.		Aug. 7.		Sept. 4.		Oct. 9.		Nov. 20.		Dec. 18.	
s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
4 3	5 4	5 4	5 0	5 0	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3	5 3
2 10	2 10	2 10	3 0	3 0	3 6	3 6	3 0	3 0	3 2	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0
13 0	15 0	15 0	14 6	14 6	15 0	15 0	15 3	15 0	15 0	15 3	15 3	15 3	15 3
60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	.....	.....	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0
75 0	75 0	75 0	72 6	72 6	75 0	75 0	.....	.....	70 0	70 0	72 6	72 6	72 6
2 10	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 4	2 4	2 9	2 9	2 2	2 2	2 0	2 0	2 0
3 0	2 9	2 9	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6
50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	45 0	45 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0
1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0
3 1	2 6	2 6	1 6	1 6	2 4	2 4	2 8	2 10	2 10	2 10	2 10	2 10	2 10
4 10	4 8	4 8	4 7	4 7	4 3	4 3	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6
4 2	4 0	4 0	3 4	3 4	3 4	3 4	3 4	3 5	3 5	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6
25 0	25 0	25 0	25 0	25 0	15 0	15 0	25 0	25 0	25 0	25 0	25 0	25 0	25 0
1 6	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 5	1 5	1 5	1 5
£55	£60	£60	£50	£50	£55	£55	£55	£55	£50	£50	£50	£50	£50
£11	£11	£11	£11	£11	£11	£11	£11	£11	£9	£9	£9	£9	£9

June 11.				Sept. 3.		Oct. 1.		Nov. 5.		Dec. 3.	
s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
4 2	4 9	5 0	5 0	5 3	5 3	5 6	5 6	5 6
2 2	2 2	2 8	2 8	3 0	3 0	2 3	2 3	2 3
13 0	15 3	16 0	16 0	15 6	15 6	15 6	15 6	15 6
60 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	60 0	60 0	65 0	65 0	65 0
80 0	80 0	.....	.....	75 0	75 0	75 0	75 0	75 0
1 9	2 1	2 2	2 2	2 0	2 0	2 6	2 6	2 6
.....	2 8	2 6	2 6	2 4	2 4	.....	.....	.....
50 0	55 0	55 0	55 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0
1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	.....	.....	.....
1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 3	1 3	1 3
2 1	2 4	2 3	2 3	2 2	2 2	2 5	2 5	2 5
4 0	3 4	3 6	3 6	3 5	3 5	4 0	4 0	4 0
3 1	2 9	2 10	2 10	2 9	2 9	2 10	2 10	2 10
25 0	25 0	25 0	25 0	26 0	26 0	25 0	25 0	25 0
1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 4	1 4	1 6	1 6	1 6
£50	£40	£50	£50	£50	£50	£50	£50	£50
£8 10	£10	£11	£11	£11	£11	£11	£11	£11

1762.	Jan. 7.	Feb. 11.	Mar. 11.	April 29.	
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
Wheat,	5 0	5 9	5 6	5 6	. . . . .
Corn, . . . . .	. . . . .	2 6	2 9	3 9	. . . . .
Flour,	15 0	16 0	15 9	14 3	. . . . .
Beef,	50 0	55 0	55 0	55 0	. . . . .
Pork,	75 0	75 0	75 0	87 0	. . . . .
Salt, Coarse, . . . . .	. . . . .	2 4	2 9	2 9	. . . . .
Sugar, { Muscavado,	55 0	50 0	55 0	55 0	. . . . .
{ Loaf, { London,	1 2	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
{ Penn,	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 0	. . . . .
Molasses,	2 6	2 6	2 4	2 4	. . . . .
Rum, { West Indies,	4 9	4 6	4 3	3 7	. . . . .
{ New England,	3 3	3 1	2 9	2 9	. . . . .
Tobacco,	26 0	25 0	25 0	. . . . .	. . . . .
Cotton,	1 6	1 6	1 6	. . . . .	. . . . .
Wine,	£50	£50	£50	£50	. . . . .
Powder,	£11	£11	£11	. . . . .	. . . . .

1763.	Jan. 6.	Feb. 10.	Mar. 17.	April 21.	May 19.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	7 0	7 0	6 9
Corn, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	3 6	4 0	3 10
Flour,	19 0	19 0	19 0	19 0	18 6
Beef,	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0
Pork,	85 0	80 0	85 0	85 0	87 0
Salt, { Coarse,	2 9	3 0	. . . . .	1 8	1 6
{ Fine, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	2 8	2 6
Sugar, { Muscavado,	55 0	55 0	55 0	60 0	55 0
{ Loaf, { London, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
{ Penn,	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 0	1 0
Molasses,	2 6	2 5	. . . . .	2 5	2 1
Rum, { West Indies,	4 3	4 3	4 3	4 0	3 4
{ New England,	2 9	2 9	2 9	2 9	2 10
Tobacco, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	25 0	25 0	20 0
Cotton, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Wine,	£60	£50	£60	£50	£55
Powder,	£13	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

1764.			F. Mar. 22.		F. May. 3.
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	5 4	. . . . .	4 3
Corn, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	3 0	. . . . .	2 6
Flour, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	13 0	. . . . .	11 0
Beef, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	50 0	. . . . .	60 0
Pork, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	100 0	. . . . .	100 0
Salt, { Coarse, Lisbon, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	2 0	. . . . .	2 0
{ Fine, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Sugar, { Muscavado, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	40 0-50 0	. . . . .	50 0
{ Loaf, Penn, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	1 0	. . . . .	1 0
Molasses, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	1 9	. . . . .	1 7
Rum, { West Indies, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	3 0	. . . . .	3 0
{ New England, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	2 2	. . . . .	2 1
{ Penn, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	2 2	. . . . .	2 1
Tobacco, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	10 0-25 0	. . . . .	10 0-25 0
Wine, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	£40-£50	. . . . .	£30-£50

June 3.	July 1.	Aug. 19.	Sept. 16.	Oct. 28.	Nov. 25.	Dec. 23.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
5 0	6 0	5 9	5 6	6 0	6 6	7 0
14 3	3 9	4 1	3 9	3 9	4 6	4 0
60 0	17 3	18 0	18 6	19 0	20 6	18 6
95 0	95 0	100 0	100 0	85 0	60 0	53 0
3 6	3 6	3 1	3 1	3 0	85 0	85 0
55 0	55 0	60 0	55 0	3 0	3 3	2 9
1 3	1 3	1 1	1 1	1 1	55 0	55 0
1 0	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1
2 4	2 3	2 1	2 2	2 2	2 3	2 5
4 0	3 9	3 8	3 9	3 9	3 10	4 0
3 0	2 10	2 8	2 7	2 8	2 8	2 8
25 0	25 0	25 0	25 0	26 0	26 0	20 0
£50	£55	£50	£50	£50	£50	£50

June 2.			Sept. 8.	Sept. 29.		
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		
5 9			5 4	5 6		
3 9			15 0	4 0		
17 6			60 0	15 6		
60 0			90 0	60 0		
85 0			2 4	90 0		
1 6			60 0	2 4		
2 8			1 1	50 0		
57 0			1 8	2 0		
1 0			3 2	3 2		
2 2			2 2	2 4		
3 4			25 0	26 0		
2 10			1 11	£50		
20 0			£60			
£55						
£10						

F. June 21.			Sept. 16.	Oct. 11.	Nov. 8.	
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
4 8-5 0			4 3	4 0	4 3	
2 6			2 6	3 0	3 0	
11 6			12 6	12 6	13 3	
60 0			105 0	60 0	70 0	
100 0			1 8	105 0	87 6	
2 0			50 0	1 9	1 8	
45 c-56 0			1 0	2 7	2 10	
1 0			1 8	55 0	50 0	
1 7			2 9	1 0	1 0	
2 9			2 0	1 7	1 9	
2 1				2 10	3 0	
2 1				2 0	2 0	
10 0-25 0						
£30-£60			£60	£60	£50	

1765.			F. Mar. 21.			F. May 23.	
			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	
Wheat,			4 6			4 6-5 0	
Corn,			2 8			2 10	
Flour,			13 0			12 6-12 9	
Beef,			45 0			65 0	
Pork,			75 0			55 0-75 0	
			Lisbon			Lisbon	
Salt, { Coarse,			2 4			1 5	
{ Fine,							
Sugar, Muscavado,			40 0-56 0			40 0-55 0	
Loaf, Penn,			1 0			1 0	
Molasses,			1 7			1 7	
Rum, { West Indies,			2 11			2 7	
{ New England,			2 0			2 0	
{ Penn,			2 0			2 0	
Tobacco,			10 0-30 0			10 0-25 0	
Wine,			£40-£60			£30-£60	

1766.					
Wheat,					
Corn,					
Flour,					
Beef,					
Pork,					
Salt, Coarse,					
Sugar, Muscavado,					
Loaf, Penn,					
Molasses,					
Rum, { West Indies,					
{ New England,					
{ Penn,					
Tobacco,					
Wine,					

1767. *	F. Jan. 22.	F. Feb. 19.	F. Mar. 19.	April 16.	May 14.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	6 3	7 0	5 9	5 9	6 0
Corn,	3 4	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0
Oats,	3 4				
Flour,	16 3	17 6-18 0	17 0	16 0	17 0
Beef,	50 0	55 0	55 0	55 0	55 0
Pork,	72 6	65 0-75 0	75 0	75 0	75 0
Salt, Coarse, Lisbon,	2 2	2 2	1 10	1 10	1 3
Sugar, Muscavado,	40 0-60 0	40 0-60 0	40 0-60 0	40 0-60 0	40 0-56 0
Loaf, Penn,	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 0
Molasses,	1 11	1 11	1 9	1 9	1 7
Rum, { West Indies,	2 10	2 10	2 8	2 10	2 8-2 9
{ New England,	2 2	2 2	2 0	2 0	2 0
{ Penn,	2 2	2 2	2 0	2 0	2 0
Tobacco,	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0
Cotton,				2 0-2 2	2 0-2 2
Wine,	£40-£70	£40-£70	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60
Bar Iron,		£24		£24	
Fig "		£9 10		£9 10	

*1767-1775 taken from the *Penn Gazette* unless marked.

		Aug. 8.	Sept. 5.	Oct. 10.		
		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		
.....	.....	4 6	4 9	4 6	.....	.....
.....	.....	2 10	3 0	3 6	.....	.....
.....	.....	13 6	14 6	14 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	60 0	.....	65 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	72 0	80 0	80 0	.....	.....
.....	.....	1 6	1 10	2 6	.....	.....
.....	.....	1 8	.....	1 9	.....	.....
.....	.....	50 0	50 0	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	1 1	1 0	1 1	.....	.....
.....	.....	1 7	1 8	1 10	.....	.....
.....	.....	2 11	2 10	3 1	.....	.....
.....	.....	2 0	2 1	2 2	.....	.....
.....	.....	F. Aug. 22	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	10 0-25 0	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	F. Aug. 22	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	£30-£60	.....	.....	.....	.....

	F. July 17.			F. Oct. 30.		
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>			<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		
.....	5 9	.....	.....	5 0	.....	.....
.....	4 0	.....	.....	3 2	.....	.....
.....	14 3-17 6	.....	.....	14 0-14 3	.....	.....
.....	60 0	.....	.....	55 0	.....	.....
.....	Lisbon	.....	.....	80 0	.....	.....
.....	1 6	.....	.....	2 0	.....	.....
.....	35 0-55 0	.....	.....	45 0-60 0	.....	.....
.....	1 2	.....	.....	1 2	.....	.....
.....	1 10	.....	.....	1 10	.....	.....
.....	2 9	.....	.....	3 0	.....	.....
.....	2 3	.....	.....	2 2	.....	.....
.....	2 3	.....	.....	2 2	.....	.....
.....	15 0-30 6	.....	.....	15 0-30 0	.....	.....
.....	£30-£60	.....	.....	£35-£65	.....	.....

June 11.	July 9.	Aug. 20.	Sept. 17.	Oct. 22.	Nov. 26.	Dec. 24.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
7 0	6 6	6 0	6 0	5 6	7 0	5 9
3 1	3 0	3 2	2 6	2 6	3 2	2 9
17 6	17 6-18 0	16 9	17 6	16 3	18 0	18 0
50 0	55 0	60 0	60 0	56 0	56 0	65 0
77 6	75 0	77 6	75 0	65 0	65 0	65 0
1 10	1 6	1 6	1 10	1 8	1 6	1 4
40 0-60 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	11	11	11
1 8	1 9	1 9	1 8	1 10	1 10	1 9-1 10
3 4	3 0-3 1	3 1	3 1	3 1	3 2	3 1-3 2
2 4	2 0-2 1	2 2	2 0	2 1	2 2	2 1
2 5	2 0-2 1	2 2	2 0	2 1	2 2	2 1
15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0
2 0-2 2	1 9	1 9	1 10	1 9	1 10	1 10
£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60
£24	£24	£24	£24	£23	£24	£24
£7 10	£9 10	£8	£8	£9 10	£7 10	£7 10

1768.	Jan. 28.	Feb. 18.	Mar. 17.	April 14.	May 19.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,	5 9	6 9	7 0	7 0	7 0
Corn,	2 9	2 9	2 6	2 4	2 6
Flour,	16 6	17 3	17 6	17 6	17 6
Beef,	65 0	56 0	50 0	50 0	50 0
Pork,	65 0	65 0	67 6	67 6	67 6
Salt, Coarse, Lisbon,	1 4	1 4	1 6	1 6	1 6
Sugar, Muscavado,	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0
{ Loaf, Penn,	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 11
Molasses,	1 9-1 10	1 11	1 10	1 9	1 10
Rum, { West Indies,	3 2-3 3	3 5	3 4	3 8	3 2-3 4
{ New England,	2 1	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 3
{ Penn,	2 1	2 3	2 2	2 2	2 3
Tobacco,	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0
Cotton,	1 10	1 10	1 8	1 9	1 9
Wine,	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60
Bar iron,	£24	£24	£24	£24	£24
Pig "	£7 10	£7 10	£7 10	£8 10	£8 10

1769	Jan. 12.		Mar. 23.	April 20.	June 1.
	s. d. s. d.		s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,	6 0-6 3	5 9	5 0	5 0	5 6
Corn,	3 0	2 6	2 6-2 8	2 7	2 7
Flour,	16 0	15 0	14 0	14 6	14 6
Beef,	65 0	52 6	52 6	52 6	52 6
Pork,	70 0	72 6	75 0	85 0	85 0
Salt, Coarse, Lisbon,	1 4	1 6	1 4-1 6	1 6	1 6
Sugar, { Muscavado,	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-58 0	50 0-56 0	50 0-56 0
{ Loaf, Penn,	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 10
Molasses,	1 9-1 10	1 10	1 8	1 9	1 9
Rum, { West Indies,	3 6	3 10	3 4	3 0	3 0
{ New England,	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
{ Penn,	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
Tobacco,	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0
Cotton,	1 6	1 6	1 5	1 7	1 7
Wine,	£20-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60
Bar iron,	£23	£24	£23	£24	£24
Pig "	£8	£7 10	£7 10	£7 10	£8

1770.			Mar. 15.	April 26.	May 31.
			s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Wheat,			5 8	5 9	5 9
Corn,			3 0	3 3	3 6
Flour,			14 9	14 9-15 0	14 9
Beef,			50 0	50 0	50 0
Pork,			75 0	80 0	80 0
Salt, Coarse, Lisbon,			1 6	1 7	1 9
Sugar, { Muscavado,			45 0-55 0	50 0-56 0	47 6-55 0
{ Loaf, Penn,			1 0	1 0	0 11
Molasses,			1 10	1 10	1 11
Rum, { West Indies,			3 0	3 0	2 11
{ New England,			2 1	2 2	2 4
{ Penn,			2 2	2 2	2 4
Tobacco,			25 0-37 6	25 0-37 6	25 0-37 6
Cotton,			1 3	1 3	1 4
Wine,			£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60
Bar iron,			£23	£23	£23
Pig "			£7 10	£7 10	£7 10

June 30.	July 14.	Aug. 18.	Sept. 15.	Oct. 20.	Nov. 24.	Dec. 8.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
7 0	7 6	5 2	5 9	5 3- 5 6	5 6	5 9- 6 0
2 4	2 7	2 4	2 6	2 6	2 6	3 0
17 9	17 9	16 3	17 3	15 3	15 6	16 6
47 0	47 0	47 0	47 0	55 0	55 0	65 0
77 6	77 6	77 6	80 0	90 0	90 0	70 0
1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 4
40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	40 0-60 0	45 0-56 0	45 0-56 0	40 0-56 0
0 11	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 10
1 10	1 10	1 10	1 9	1 9	1 9	1 9- 1 10
3 4	3 2	3 2	3 3	3 5	3 5	3 6
2 6	2 5	2 5	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 3	2 2	2 2	2 2
15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0
1 9	1 9	1 9	1 9	1 6	1 6	1 6
£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£30-£60	£30-£60	£20-£60
£24	£24	£24	£24	£23	£23	£23
£8 10	£8 10	£8 10	£8 10	£3	£5	£5

June 29.	July 13.	Aug. 17.	Sept. 14.	Oct. 12.	Nov. 23.	Dec. 7.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
5 6	5 6	5 6	5 3	5 0	4 9	5 0- 5 6
2 6	2 8	2 9	3 0	2 11	3 0	2 10
14 3	14 9	16 0	15 6	15 3	14 6	15 6
56 0	56 0	55 0	65 0	60 0	50 0	50 0
85 0	85 0	95 0	95 0	90 0	70 0	75 0
1 6	1 6	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 6
40 0-60 0	40 0-66 0	50 0-56 0	46 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	50 0-60 0	47 6-57 6
0 11	1 0	0 11	0 11	1 0	1 0	1 0
2 0	1 10	1 8	1 8	1 10	1 10	1 10
3 2	3 2	3 0	3 0	3 1	3 0	3 1
2 5	2 2	2 1	2 2	2 2	2 1	2 2
2 5	2 2	2 1	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	25 0-37 6	25 0-37 6	25 0-37 6	25 0-37 6
1 6	1 4	1 6	1 6	1 3	1 3	1 2- 1 3
£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60
£24	£24	£23	£23	£23	£23	£23
£8	£8	£8	£8	£8	£8	£8

June 21.	July 19.		Sept. 6.	Oct. 18.	Nov. 15.	Dec. 13.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
5 9	6 0	.....	6 0	6 0	6 6	6 6
3 9	3 9	.....	4 6	4 6	4 6	3 0
15 0	16 0	.....	16 0	15 9	17 0	18 3
50 0	50 0	.....	50 0	50 0	50 0	50 0
77 6	80 0	.....	80 0	75 0	75 0	72 0
2 0	2 0	.....	2 0	1 9	1 6	1 8
50 0-56 0	50 0-56 0	.....	45 0-55 0	50 0-56 0	50 0-56 0	50 0-56 0
1 0	1 0	.....	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 11
1 11	1 10	.....	1 10	1 10	1 11	1 11
3 1	2 11	.....	3 0	2 11	2 11	3 0
2 3	2 2	.....	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
2 4	2 2	.....	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
25 0-37 6	15 0-25 0	.....	15 0-25 0	25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0
1 6	1 4	.....	1 6	1 4	1 4	1 4
£40-£60	£40-£60	.....	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60
£23	£23	.....	£23	£23	£23	£24
£8	£7 10	.....	£8	£8	£8	£8

1771.	Jan. 17.			Mar. 14.		April 4.			
	s.	d.	s. d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s. d.	
Wheat,	6	6		6	9	6	9		
Corn,	3	0		3	4	3	4		
Flour,	16	6		17	0	17	0		
Beef,	52	6		52	6	50	0		
Pork,	72	6		77	6	80	0		
Salt, Coarse, Lisbon,	1	8		1	10	1	10		
Sugar, { Muscavado,	50	0-56	0	50	0-56	0	50	0-56	0
Loaf,	11			11		11			
Molasses,	1	11		1	10	1	10		
Rum, { West Indies,	2	11		3	2	3	2		
New England,	2	2		2	2	2	2		
Penn.,	2	2		2	2	2	2		
Tobacco,	25	0-40	0	25	0-40	0	25	0-40	0
Cotton,	1	4		1	4	1	3		
Wine,	£40-£60			£40-£60		£40-£60			
Bar Iron,	£23			£24		£24			
Pig "	£8			£8		£8			

1772.	Jan. 30.				April 2.		May 14.				
	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.		
Wheat,	7	6				7	0	7	9		
Corn,	3	6				3	9	3	10		
Flour,	19	0				19	6	19	9		
Beef, {	52	6				55	0	55	0		
Pork,	80	0				87	6	90	0		
Salt, Fine, Lisbon,	1	10				1	8	1	6		
Sugar, { Muscavado,	50	0-56	0			45	0-56	0	50	0-56	0
Loaf, Penn,	11					11		11			
Molasses,	1	10				1	7	1	8		
Rum, { West Indies,	4	3				3	3	2	11		
New England,	2	3				2	1	2	1		
Penn,	2	3				2	1	2	1		
Tobacco,	25	0-40	0			25	0-40	0	25	0-40	0
Cotton,	1	2				1	2	1	2		
Wine,	£40-£60					£40-£60		£40-£60			
Bar Iron,	£25					£26		£26			
Pig "	£8					£8		£8			

1773.				Mar. 3.		April 14.		May 5.	
	s.	d.	s. d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat,	8	0		8	0	8	0	8	0
Corn,	3	6		3	3	3	3	3	0
Flour,	20	0		19	6	19	0	19	0
Beef, { Irish,	65	0		70	0	65	0	65	0
Country,	55	0		60	0	60	0	60	0
Pork,	90	0		90	0	90	0	90	0
Salt, Fine, Lisbon,	1	9		1	8	1	8	1	8
Sugar, { Muscavado,	40	0-56	0	45	0-55	0	40	0-55	0
Loaf, Penn.,	11			11		11		11	
Molasses,	1	11		1	8	1	8	1	8
Rum, { West Indies,	3	6		3	4	3	3	3	3
New England,	2	3		2	1	2	2	2	2
Penn.,	2	3		2	1	2	2	2	2
Cotton,	1	4		2	0	1	6	1	6
Wine,	£40-£70			£40-£70		£40-£70		£40-£70	
Bar Iron,	£27			£26		£27		£27	
Pig "	£8 10			£8		£8 10		£8 10	

June 6.	July 4.	Aug. 22.	Sept. 19.	Oct. 17.	Nov. 28.	Dec. 19.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
7 0	7 6	6 6	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0
3 6	3 6	3 9	4 0	3 8	3 9	3 6
17 9	17 9	16 9	18 0	17 6	19 0	19 0
52 6	52 6	50 0	52 6	50 0	50 0	52 6
80 0	80 0	80 0	85 0	90 0	80 0	80 0
1 10	1 10	1 7	1 8	1 8	1 8	1 8
50 0-56 0	50 0-56 0	47 6-56 0	50 0-56 0	50 0-60 0	50 0-56 0	50 0-60 0
11	11	1 0	11	11	11	11
1 10	1 8	1 8	1 9	1 9	1 10	1 10
3 0	3 1	3 3	3 8	3 8	4 0	4 6
2 2	2 2	2 3	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
2 2	2 2	2 3	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 3
25 0-40 6	25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0
1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 2	1 2	1 2
£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60	£40-£60
£24	£24	£24	£24	£24	£25	£25
£8	£8	£8	£8	£8	£8	£8

June 11.	July 16.	Aug. 12.	Sept. 16.	Oct. 14.	Nov. 11.	Dec. 16.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
8 0	8 3	8 0	8 0	8 0	7 9	7 6
4 2	3 9	3 9	3 9	3 9	3 9	3 4
20 6	21 9	21 6	20 6	21 0	21 6	20 6
60 0	80 0	Irish. Country.	70 0	70 0	70 0	70 0
100 0	100 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0
1 9	1 8	100 0	100 0	100 0	95 0	92 6
50 0-60 0	45 0-56 0	1 8	1 8	2 6	3 0	3 0
11	11	45 0-56 0	50 0-60 0	45 0-56 0	45 0-55 0	45 0-50 0
1 9	1 8	11	11	11	11	11
3 2	3 1	1 8	1 8	1 10	1 10	2 0
2 2	2 2	3 2	3 4	3 6	3 10	3 6
2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 3	2 4	2 3
2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 3	2 4	2 4
25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	1 4	1 4	1 4
1 4	1 3	1 4	1 2	1 4	1 4	1 4
£40-£60	£40-£60	£50-£70	£50-£70	£45-£65	£50-£70	£50-£70
£28	£28	£28	£28	£28	£28	£28
£8	£8	£8	£8	£8 10	£8 10	£8 10

June 9.	Aug. 4.	Sept. 8.	Oct. 13.	Nov. 17.	Dec. 8.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
7 0	7 0	7 6	7 6	7 0	7 3
3 0	3 3	3 0	3 0	2 9	2 9
17 6	19 6	18 6	18 6	18 6	18 6
65 0	65 0	65 0	65 0	65 0	60 0
60 0	60 0	60 0	60 0	55 0	55 0
87 6	87 6	85 0	75 0	75 0	67 6
1 8	1 10	1 8	1 9	2 1	1 6
50 0-55 0	45 0-56 0	45 0-55 0	45 0-55 0	50 0-56 0	50 0-60 0
11	11	11	11	11	11½
1 9	1 8	1 9	1 9	1 9	1 9
3 4	3 3	3 1	3 2	3 1	3 1
2 3	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
2 3	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
1 6	1 6	1 5	1 6	1 4	1 3
£40-£70	£40-£70	£40-£70	£50-£75	£50-£75	£50-£57
£26	£26	£26	£27	£27	£26
£8 10	£8 10	£8	£8 10	£8 10	£8 10

1774.	P. J. Jan. 6.			Mar. 16.	April 6.	May 11.
	s.	d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Wheat,	7	6		7	9	7
Corn,	3	9		2	9	2
Flour,	20	0		18	9	18
Beef, { Irish,				60	0	65
Country,	55	0		55	0	55
Pork,	85	0		70	0	85
Salt, { Coarse,	2	6				
Fine,	2	9		Lisbon		
Sugar, { Muscavado,				1	4	1
Loaf, Penn.,				50	0-60	50
Molasses,	1	10		1	0	1
Rum, { West Indies,	3	4		1	8	1
New England,	2	4		3	1	3
Penn.,				2	1	2
Cotton,				2	2	2
Wine,				1	4	1
Bar Iron,				£50-£57	£50-£57	£50-£75
Pig "				£26	£26	£26
				£8	£8 10	£8 10

1775.	P. Packet Jan. 2.			P. G. Mar. 8.	P. G. Mar. 29.	P. J. May 31.
	s.	d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Wheat,	6	9		6	6	5
Corn,	3	0		2	9	2
Flour,	17	6		15	6	13
Beef, { Irish,				60	0	60
Country,				55	0	55
Pork,	60	0		60	0	60
Salt, { Coarse, Lisbon,	1	6		1	4	1
Fine,						
Sugar, { Muscavado,				45	0-56	45
Loaf, Penn.,	1	1		1	1	1
Molasses,	1	10		1	10	1
Rum, { West Indies,	3	2		3	2	2
New England,	2	2		2	2	
Penn.,	2	2		2	2	2
Cotton,	1	10		1	10	
Wine,				£50-£70	£50-£70	
Bar Iron,				£26	£26	
Pig "				£8 10	£8 10	

	1720.	1721.	1722.	1723.
	s.	d.	s. d.	s. d.
Wheat,	3	0-3	2	8-3
Corn,	1	6-1	1	8-1
Flour,	8	0-10	8	6-10
Beef,	30	0-30	30	0-30
Pork,	45	0-50	45	0-45
Salt, { Coarse,	2	0-3	1	2-2
Fine,				
Sugar, Muscavado,	29	0-45	25	0-40
" Loaf, { London,				
Penn.,				
Molasses,	14-	18	12-	15
Rum, { West Indies,				
New England,	2	0-4	1	11-2
Penn.,				
Tobacco,	13	0-14	9	0-11
Cotton,				
Oxenbrig, per ell,	12-	16		
Wine, Madeira,	£16-£20	£16-£22	£19-£22	£19-£22
Powder,	£7 10-£8 10	£8-£9	£7 10-£8	£7 10-£8

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P. J. June 30.			P. J. July 28.					P. J. Oct. 27.			Nov. 23.			Dec. 28.		
<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>			<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
7	0		7	0		.	.	7	0		6	6		6	9	
3	0		3	2		.	.	2	10		3	0		3	0	
17	6		19	3		.	.	18	3		17	6		17	6	
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	65	0		60	0	
55	0		55	0		.	.	55	0		50	0		55	0	
87	6		87	0		.	.	72	6		65	0		65	0	
Coarse																
1	0		2	0		.	.	1	7		.	.	.	.	.	.
Fine																
1	6		1	6		.	.	2	6		1	6		1	6	
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	50	0-60	0	50	0-60	0
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1		1	1	
1	8		1	10		.	.	1	9		1	11		1	10	
3	3		3	3		.	.	3	1		3	0		3	2	
2	3		2	2		.	.	2	2		2	2		2	2	
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2		2	2	
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	4		1	10	
											£50-£70			£50-£70		
											£26			£26		
											£8 10			£8 10		

[illegible]

	1730.	1731.	1732.	1733.
		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,		2 3- 3 0	2 5- 2 10	2 10- 3 9
Corn,		1 6- 2 0	1 8- 2 3	1 8- 2 4
Flour,		7 6-10 0	7 9- 9 0	8 0-12 0
Beef,		30 0-40 0	26 0-35 0	35 0-42 0
Pork,		50 0-65 0	45 0-50 0	40 0-50 0
Salt, { Coarse,		1 4- 4 0	1 6- 2 6	1 6- 3 0
{ Fine,		3 0- 3 6	2 3- 2 9	2 0- 3 0
Sugar, Muscavado,		24 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	18 0-40 0
" Loaf, { London,		1 6- 2 0	1 8- 1 10	1 6- 1 10
{ Penn,				
Molasses,		15- 18	15- 18	14- 18
Rum, { West Indies,		2 2- 3 3	2 2- 2 9	2 0- 2 6
{ New England,				
{ Penn,				
Tobacco,		8 0-19 0	10 0-20 0	10 0-20 0
Cotton,		0 11- 1 4	0 10- 1 1	1 1
Wine, Madeira,				£18-£22

	1740.	1741.	1742.	1743.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	2 10- 4 0	3 8- 6 0	2 9- 4 6	2 6- 3 3
Corn,	1 2- 1 8	1 6- 3 6	2 0- 3 0	1 6- 2 9
Flour,	7 3-11 6	12 0-16 0	8 3-14 0	7 9- 9 9
Beef,	30 0-45 0	40 0-45 0	30 0-40 0	35 0-60 0
Pork,	40 0-50 0	48 0-55 0	40 0-65 0	45 0-80 0
Salt, { Coarse,	1 4- 2 6	1 8- 3 9	2 2- 3 6	1 6- 2 4
{ Fine,	1 6- 3 0	2 0- 3 0	2 4- 3 0	1 6- 2 5
Sugar, Muscavado,	35 0-40 0	35 0-40 0	30 0-50 0	30 0-50 0
" Loaf, { London,	1 6- 2 0	1 10- 2 0	1 8- 2 0	1 6- 1 9
{ Penn,	1 0- 1 8	1 6- 1 8	1 4- 1 8	1 2- 1 4
Molasses,	19- 20	18- 24	26- 28	18- 28
Rum, { West Indies,	2 4- 2 9	2 4- 3 10	3 6- 3 10	2 9- 3 8
{ New England,	1 8- 2 0	2 0- 3 4	2 6- 3 2	2 2- 2 8
{ Penn,				
Tobacco,	12 0-16 0	12 0-18 0	10 0-23 0	13 0-20 0
Cotton,	1 1- 1 6	0 10- 1 4	0 11- 1 2	0 11- 1 0
Wine, Madeira,	£18-£22	£20-£24	£22-£30	£23-£40
Powder,				

	1750.	1751.	1752.	1753.
	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Wheat,	4 1- 4 10	3 11- 4 8	3 6- 4 5	4 3- 4 9
Corn,	2 3- 3 0	2 8- 3 3	2 1- 3 9	2 6- 3 1
Flour,	10 6-15 4	11 0-13 9	12 0-14 0	12 0-14 3
Beef,	35 0-45 0	42 6-60 0	45 0-60 0	40 0-50 0
Pork,	60 0-70 0	65 0-80 0	65 0-80 0	55 0-70 0
Salt, { Coarse,	1 4- 1 8	1 0- 1 4	0 10- 2 0	1 0- 1 8
{ Fine,	1 3- 2 0	1 2- 1 4	1 0- 4 6	1 8- 2 0
Sugar, Muscavado,	45 0-55 0	35 0-52 6	30 0-60 0	40 0-55 0
" Loaf, { London,	2 0- 2 6	1 1- 1 2	1 0- 1 8	1 2
{ Penn,	1 3- 1 6	1 0- 1 1	1 0	1 0- 1 1
Molasses,	18- 24	20- 24	22- 25	24- 26
Rum, { West Indies,	3 1- 3 9	3 2- 4 6	3 2- 3 4	2 10- 4 3
{ New England,	2 3- 3 0	2 3- 2 8	2 4- 2 6	2 5- 2 7
{ Penn,			2 5- 2 6	2 7
Tobacco,	22 0			
Cotton,	18 0-28 0	15 0-30 0	10 0-25 0	10 0-30 0
Wine, Madeira,	1 8- 2 0	2 2- 2 6	1 6- 2 0	1 6- 1 9
Powder,	£27-£30	£30-£35	£30-£32	£25-£36
	£8-£10	£8-£9	£8-£9	£7 10-£9

1734.	1735.	1736.	1737.	1738.	1739.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
3 4-4 4	3 6-4 5	2 9-3 6	3 2-4 4	2 6-4 1	2 6-3 2
1 10-2 3	1 6-1 10	1 8-2 4	1 6-2 6	1 6-2 6	1 3-1 7
9 6-11 6	10 0-13 0	8 3-11 0	10 0-14 0	9 0-12 0	7 0-8 9
28 0-32 0	30 0-35 0	30 0-40 0	30 0-35 0	30 0-40 0	35 0-45 0
40 0-50 0	35 0-40 0	25 0-45 0	45 0-65 0	50 0-65 0	50 0-60 0
1 3-1 4	1 2-2 0	0 10-1 10	1 0-1 6	1 0-1 6	1 0-1 8
1 6-2 0	2 0-2 4	1 8-2 0	2 0-2 6	1 6-2 6	1 8-2 6
20 0-40 0	25 0-40 0	30 0-40 0	25 0-45 0	30 0-50 0	36 0-40 0
1 2-1 9	1 1-2 6	1 0-1 10	1 0-1 8	1 6-1 8	1 4-2 3
16-18	18-24	18-22	17-21	18-20	18-22
2 3-3 0	2 0-3 0	2 0-2 6	2 1-3 0	2 1-2 8	2 1-2 10
20 0	12 0-19 0	10 0-20 0	15 0-20 0	15 0-18 0	14 0-17 0
1 0	0 10-1 3	1 0-1 2	1 0-1 3	1 1-1 6	1 8-1 10
£20-£22	£17-£22	£20-£22	£15-£22	£22	£20-22

1744.	1745.	1746.	1747.	1748.	1749.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
2 3-2 8	2 4-3 0	2 10-3 3	3 0-3 8	3 9-6 8	4 2-7 6
1 5-2 0	1 5-2 0	1 6-2 4	1 10-2 4	1 6-3 0	2 4-3 3
6 9-9 0	6 9-9 6	9 0-11 0	9 0-12 0	11 9-21 0	14 0-21 0
35 0-55 0	35 0-45 0	30 0-40 0	35 0-45 0	42 6-50 0	30 0-42 0
45 0-50 0	40 0-75 0	45 0-70 0	52 6-62 6	57 6-60 0	60 0
1 8-2 6	2 6-3 0	3 0-0 0	2 6-4 0	3 0-3 4	1 5-3 0
1 6-2 6	2 6-2 9	3 0-0 0	3 0-4 0	2 9-3 4	2 0-3 0
40 0-60 0	40 0-50 0	30 0-55 0	45 0-60 0	45 0-60 0	40 0-60 0
1 8	1 8	1 8	2 0-2 6	2 6	2 6
1 3-1 4	1 3	1 0-1 6	1 1-1 8	1 5-1 9	1 4-1 7
20-28	16-30	28-31	30-32	30-36	20-32
2 11-3 6	3 0-3 8	2 11-3 0	3 6-5 0	3 10-6 0	2 10-4 6
2 3-2 8	2 6-2 9	2 7-2 8	2 5-4 3	2 10-4 3	2 4-2 9
11 0-16 0	10 0-18 0	12 0-18 0	10 0-20 0	15 0-20 0	14 0-20 0
1 0-1 8	1 3-1 5	1 6-2 0	1 10-2 0	1 6-2 0	1 6-1 10
£20-£30	£24-£32	£20-£25	£22-£25	£25-£28	£27-£30
£24-£40	£11-£12	£11-£12	£8-£10	£8-£10	£9 10-£12

1754.	1755.	1756.	1757.	1758.	1759.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
3 8-5 0	4 3-4 10	3 5-4 10	3 3-3 9	3 7-4 3	4 6-5 6
2 0-2 8	1 10-2 6	2 4-2 8	1 6-1 9	2 3	2 4-3 7
13 6-15 0	12 6-15 0	13 0-13 6	10 6-12 3	12 9-14 0	13 0-16 6
40 0-50 0	40 0-60 0	40 0-50 0	35 0-55 0	45 0-55 0	40 0-60 0
50 0-70 0	55 0-80 0	50 0-70 0	55 0-67 0	55 0-80 0	60 0-76 0
1 4-1 8	1 3-2 0	1 10-2 6	2 3-3 6	2 0-2 9	1 6-2 10
1 6-2 0	1 4-2 0	1 10-2 6	2 4-3 0	2 3-2 6	2 0-3 0
40 0-60 0	40 0-55 0	40 0-55 0	40 0-77 0	35 0-55 0	35 0-55 0
1 1-1 2	1 1-1 3	1 2-1 3	1 1-1 2	1 1	1 1-1 2
1 0-1 1	1 0-1 2	1 1-1 2	1 0-1 1	1 0	1 0-1 2
23-25	22-23	21-25	30-32	30-32	31-38
3 2-3 6	2 6-3 3	2 8-2 11	2 10-3 4	3 3-4 2	4 2-5 7
2 2-2 7	2 2-2 5	2 3-2 6	2 6-2 10	3 0-3 3	3 6-4 3
8 0-25 0	8 0-20 0	9 0-25 0	10 0-25 0	12 0-25 0	10 0-35 0
1 5-1 8	1 4-1 7	1 4-1 6	1 5-1 6	1 4	1 1-1 8
£25-£35	£25-£30	£30-£35	£35-£45	£35-£50	£40-£50
£8	£8-£12	£10-£12	£10-£11	£9 10-11	£11-£12

	1760.				1761.				1762.				1763.			
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat,	4	3-	5	4	4	2-	5	6	5	0-	7	0	5	4-	7	0
Corn,	2	6-	3	6	2	2-	3	0	2	6-	4	6	3	6-	4	0
Flour,	13	0-	16	6	13	0-	16	0	14	3-	20	6	15	0-	19	0
Beef,	50	0-	60	0	50	0-	65	0	50	0-	70	0	60	0		
Pork,	62	6-	75	0	72	6-	80	0	75	0-	100	0	80	0-	90	0
Salt, {	2	0-	2	10	1	8-	2	6	2	4-	3	6	1	6-	3	0
	Coarse,				2	4-	3	4					2	6-	2	8
Sugar, {	45	0-	50	0	50	0-	56	0	50	0-	60	0	50	0-	60	0
	Lisbon,				1	2			1	2-	1	3				
" Loaf, {	1	0-	1	1	1	1-	1	3	1	0-	1	1	1	0-	1	6
	Penn,				28											
Molasses,	18-		42		25-		33		25-		30		20-		30	
Rum, {	4	3-	5	2	3	4-	4	6	3	7-	4	9	3	2-	4	3
	New England,				2	9-	3	5	2	7-	3	5	2	2-	2	10
Tobacco,	15	0-	25	0	25	0-	26	0	20	0-	26	0	20	0-	26	0
	Penn,				1	4-	1	6	1	6			1	11		
Bar Iron,																
Wine (Madeira),	£45-	£60			£40-	£50			£50-	£55			£50-	£60		
Powder,	£9-	£11			£8	10-	£11		£11				£10-	£18		

	1770.				1771.			
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat,	5	8-	6	6	6	6-	7	6
Corn,	3	0-	4	6	3	0-	4	0
Flour,	14	9-	18	3	16	6-	19	0
Beef, { Irish,								
Beef, { Country,	50	0			50	0-	52	6
Pork,	72	0-	80	0	72	6-	90	0
Salt, {								
	Coarse,							
Salt, {	1	6-	2	0	1	7-	1	10
	Lisbon,							
Sugar, {	45	0-	56	0	50	0-	60	0
	Muscavado,							
Sugar, {	11-	1	0		11-	1	0	
	Loaf, { London,							
Sugar, {	22-		23		20-		23	
	Penn,							
Molasses,	2	11-	3	1	2	11-	4	6
Rum, {	2	1-	2	4	2	2-	2	3
	New England,				2	2-	2	3
Tobacco,	15	0-	40	0	25	0-	40	0
	Penn,				1	3-	1	4
Cotton,	1	3-	1	6				
Bar Iron,	£23-	£24			£23-	£25		
Wine (Madeira),	£40-	£60			£40-	£60		

	1715-1719.				1760-1774.			
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat,	2	3-	3	4	3	9-	7	0
Corn,	1	6-	1	10	4	0-	4	6
Flour,	7	0-	9	6	14	0-	21	6
Beef,	32	0-	36	0	54	0-	72	0
Pork,	45	0			72	0-	96	0
Salt,	1	0-	2	6	11-	2	3	
Sugar, {	40	0-	55	0				
	Muscavado,				12-		13	
Sugar, {	16-		18		21-		23	
	Loaf,							
Molasses,	2	4-	3	4	2	3-	3	0
Rum,	13	6-	22	6	17	6		
Tobacco,	34	0-	39	0	32	0-	35	0
Bar Iron,	5-		7		3½			
Steel Faggots,	14-		20		12-		20	
Oxenbrig,	6½-		10		9			
Nails, 6-20 dw't.,	£40							
Wine (Madeira),	£7	10						
Powder,								

1764.	1765.	1766.	1767.	1768.	1769.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
4 0-5 4	4 6-5 0	5 0-5 9	5 6-7 0	5 3-7 6	4 9-6 3
2 6-3 0	2 8-3 6	3 2-4 0	2 6-3 4	2 4-3 0	2 6-3 0
11 0-13 3	12 6-14 6	14 0-17 6	16 0-18 0	15 3-17 9	14 0-16 0
50 0-70 0	45 0-65 0	55 0-60 0	50 0-65 0	47 0-65 0	50 0-65 0
87 6-105 0	55 0-80 0	80 0	65 0-77 6	65 0-90 0	70 0-95 0
.....	1 6-2 6	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	1 8-1 9	.....	.....	.....	.....
1 8-2 0	1 5-2 4	1 6-2 0	1 4-2 2	1 4-1 6	1 4-1 8
40 0-56 0	40 0-56 0	35 0-60 0	40 0-60 0	40 0-60 0	40 0-66 0
.....
1 0	1 0-1 1	1 2	11-1 1	10-11	10-1 0
.....
19-21	19-22	22	19-23	21-23	20-24
2 9-3 0	2 7-3 1	2 9-3 0	2 8-3 4	3 2-3 8	3 0-3 10
2 0-2 2	2 0-2 2	2 2-2 3	2 0-2 4	2 1-2 6	2 1-2 5
2 1-2 2	2 0	2 2-2 3	2 0-2 5	2 1-2 6	2 1-2 5
10 0-25 0	10 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-30 0	15 0-37 6
.....	.....	.....	1 9-2 2	1 6-1 10	1 2-1 7
.....	.....	.....	£23-£24	£23-£24	£23-£24
.....	.....	.....	£40	£40	£40
£30-£60	£30-£60	£30-£65	£40-£70	£20-£60	£20-£60
.....

1772.	1773.	1774.	1775.
<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>	<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
7 0-8 3	7 0-8 0	6 6-7 9	5 9-6 6
3 6-4 2	2 9-3 6	2 8-3 2	2 9-3 0
19 0-21 6	17 6-20 0	17 6-20 0	13 6-15 6
70 0-75 0	65 0-70 0	60 0-65 0	55 0-60 0
52 6-60 0	55 0-60 0	50 0-55 0	55 0
80 0-100 0	67 6-90 0	65 0-87 6	60 0-65 0
.....	.....	2 6	1 6
.....	.....	1 6-2 9	3 0
1 6-3 0	1 6-2 1	1 3-1 4	1 3-1 4
45 0-60 0	40 0-60 0	50 0-60 0	45 0-56 0
.....
11	11	1 0-1 1	1 1
19-24	20-21	20-23	20-22
2 11-4 3	3 1-3 6	3 0-3 4	2 10-3 2
2 1-2 4	2 1-2 3	2 1-2 4	2 2
2 1-2 4	2 1-2 3	2 2	2 2-2 3
25 0-40 0	.....	.....	.....
1 2-1 4	1 3-2 0	1 4-1 10	1 10-2 0
£25-£28	£25-£27	£26	£26
£40-£70	£40-£75	£50-£75	£50-£70

After 1759.	Before 1723.
Oxenbrig, 1759, 1s. } 1762, 1s. 3d. } 12d.-20d. per yd. " 1s. 6d. } " 1s. 8d. }	1716 14d.-16d. per yd.
Tobacco.	1716, 13s. 6d. per c., 16s.-22s. 6d.
Salt, . . 1770, 1s. 6d.-2s. 3d. per bush. 1774, 11d. per bushel.	1716, 1s.-2s. 6d. per bush. 1720, 3s. 6d. per bush.
Sugar, . . 1762, 43s.-75s. per cwt. 1770, Loaf retailed 12d.-13d. p. lb.	1716, Muscavado 40s. per cwt. Loaf, 18d.-16d. per lb.
Molasses, 1770, 1s. 9d.-1s. 11d. per gal.	1716, 15d.-18d. per gal.
Rum, . . 1770, 2s. 3d.-3s. per gal.	1716, 2s. 4d.-3s. 4d. per gal.
Bar Iron, 1760, 32s. per cwt. 1762, 35s. per cwt.	1716, 34s.-39s. per cwt.
Nails, . . 1771, 9d. per lb.	1716, 6, 8 & 20 dwt. 6½d.-10d. per lb.
Steel Faggots, 3½d. per lb.	1716, 5d.-7d. per lb.
Wine, £12 per ¼ cask.	
Labor, Unskilled, 2s. 6d. per day.	2s. 6d. per day.
Labor, Skilled, 5s. per day.	5s. per day.
Corn, . . 1762, 4s.-4s. 6d. per bush.	1716, 1s. 10d. per bush. 1719, 1s. 6d. per bush.
Oats, . . 1762, 3s. 6d. per bush.	1716, 1s. 5d. per bush. 1720, 2s. per bush.
Wheat, . . 1770, 5s.-6s. per bush. 1774, 3s. 9d.-7s. per bush.	1716, 2s.-3s. 4d. per bush. 1718, 3s. 4d. per bush.
Flour, . . 1770, Supf., 21s.-21s. 6d. p. cwt. Toll or Tail, 19s.-20s. p. cwt. Middlings, 17s. per cwt. Ship stuff, 10s.-14s. p. cwt.	1716, Long test., 7s.-9s. 6d. p. cwt. 1717, " " 8s.-9s. 6d. p. cwt. Kinds not distinguished.
Beef, . . 1762, 9s.-12s. per cwt., or 54s.-72s. per bbl.	1716, 32s.-36s. per bbl.
Pork, . . 1762, 12s.-16s. per cwt., or 72s.-96s. per bbl.	1716, 45s. per bbl.
Hides, . . 1759, 5d. per lb.	1722, 1½d. per lb.
Beer, . . 1762, 25s.-35s. per bbl. 1770, 27s. per bbl.	1716, 18s. per bbl.
Butter, . . 1762, 11d.-12d. per lb.	6d. per lb.
Cheese, 1762, 8d. per lb. 1770, 6d.-7d per lb.	1722, Cheshire, 6¾ per lb.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON RAILROAD POOLING,
AND THE CONDITIONS UPON WHICH POOLING CON-
TRACTS SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED BY LAW.

There is little doubt, I apprehend, that those who are at all familiar with the situation of our railway systems are practically united in favoring some relief from the existing prohibition of "pooling;" and with such persons the principal controversy upon this subject relates to the safeguards which are deemed essential to prevent an abuse of the privilege. Convinced as I am that the interests of the public would be promoted by allowing rival railroads to substitute co-operative for competitive methods, yet believing that such a grant of power should be coupled with certain restrictions, I venture to set forth, in my own way and from my own point of view, some of the reasons which have influenced my own conclusions.

The basis of the argument is found in a perfectly obvious and elemental fact. The most primitive condition of mankind, the first attempts at social contact, involved a place of passage from one habitation to another. The earliest association between families and tribes required a pathway across the intervening ground which separated their rude abodes. The gradual change from the nomadic to the permanent occupation of the soil, with the final outcome of private ownership in land, compelled the dedication of certain portions as public roads to which all had equal access. The simplest conception, therefore, of civil society assumes and includes the common highway. The street is a part of the state. As families united in tribes and tribes grew into nations, with multiplied wants and more complex relations, the keener became the need for these avenues of intercourse; the higher the civilization the greater their necessity. This necessity is not simply for their existence,

but for their common and equal enjoyment without preference or exception. Whether built and maintained at public expense, as are ordinary streets and roadways, or constructed by private capital with the view to private gain, like turnpikes and chartered railways; in either case the right to their use, on like terms to all, is a primary requirement of organized society.

It must be borne in mind that the public road was the sole means of communication by land, the only pathway of internal commerce, until modern discovery utilized steam as a practical motive power. Before this agency was brought into service, while the old highways were yet exclusively employed, the right to their common use was rarely doubted or denied. In recent times certainly,—and this is the point of importance—the established roads, the strips and stretches of land set apart as ways of passage, have everywhere been regarded as common property; and the privilege of using these thoroughfares has been the equal and recognized possession of every person.

All this seems trite enough, yet it is a fact of vital import; it is the essential element of personal liberty. The right to pass to and fro upon the highway, to occupy it at pleasure, for travel and the transportation of property, to use it equally with all others, is among the first of those natural and inherent rights which are termed inalienable. Upon the full enjoyment of this right rests the freedom of the individual and the opportunity for success in the struggle of life.

But the transfer of land commerce from roadways to iron tracks, with the substitution of steam for animal power, has not impaired the nature of this right or diminished in the least its inestimable value. On the contrary, there is no pursuit or employment which is not now more dependent than ever before upon the means provided for public transportation. The railroad has become the principal highway. For long distance movement it has wholly supplanted the

public road, yet it performs the same service and meets the same unique and indispensable need. Hence, the railway of to-day, this wonderful vehicle of modern commerce, has become the chief factor of industrial life the *sine qua non* of its power and progress, the constant and unyielding condition on which personal welfare and social advancement continually depend.

It follows, therefore, from the fundamental office of transportation, that to provide the highways of travel and the agencies of inland exchange is a function of government not merely legitimate but primary and inherent. To regard these agencies as private property, subject to the rules which govern the management of other possessions, is a mistaken and misleading conception. Upon this point there is much confusion of thought and a surprising want of correct understanding. The difference between the facilities of conveyance and the various vocations which depend upon those facilities is often ignored or wholly overlooked. The patrons of our railroads, and sometimes their managers as well, are slow to perceive that the business of public carriage is essentially unlike all private occupations. The agencies by which inter-communication is effected, and by which all the products of labor acquire exchangeable value, are not always regarded as the instruments of a public service, but too often looked upon as mere private belongings to be dealt with as interest or caprice may determine.

But railroad transportation is not a commodity; it is distinctly a *service*. The physical appliances by which this service is performed are property, they are *acquired*; not so the right to their use, that is *enjoyed*. The ownership of the carrier becomes the privilege of the public. In order that private enterprise may furnish this means of conveyance it must possess special and extraordinary powers granted for that purpose by the state. Through the exercise of these powers the railroad participates in the

duties of civil administration and discharges obligations which are innate in the constitution of society. For reasons of expediency the sovereign abdicates its authority in this particular in favor of corporations which it has created, but this circumstance does not change the nature of the service or the principles which should govern its performance.

On this foundation, laid in the nature and necessities of social order, rests the common right to just and impartial charges for public transportation. The railroads are an agency of the state for discharging a public duty of the highest utility. They are not vendors of merchandise, free to make secret and varying bargains with their customers, but the purveyors of a public privilege which all are entitled to enjoy on the same terms. Neither official station, personal distinction nor patronage of unusual volume, furnishes a defensible ground for giving one man cheaper conveyance than another. The right to use the facilities which the carrier affords, like the right to the common highway, is a natural and inalienable right, the very essence of which is equality; and some invasion of that right is found in every deviation from charges usually imposed. If the state should itself undertake to supply the public need in this direction, no discrimination in rates would be tolerated or excused. Every function which government performs, every power which it directly exerts and every activity which it assumes to control, must be exercised for the equal benefit of all. Anything short of this would be deemed offensive and tyrannical. The farmer who sends but one letter a year is entitled to the same rate of postage as the merchant who sends hundreds a day. The measure of import duties is the same whether the entry be a case or a cargo. This should be the rule applied to railroad charges. The larger shipper is entitled to no advantage over his smaller competitor, either in rates or facilities, for both should be served on the same terms.

If concessions to particular persons because of their greater influence or patronage would not be possible under government ownership, they should not be permitted under private ownership. If in one case the rule of equality would be observed, in the other it should be enforced. As I look at the matter, the state has as much right to farm out the business of collecting its revenues, and allow the persons performing that service to vary the rate of taxation according to their own interest, as it has to permit the price of public carriage to be the subject of special contract or secret dicker, to be made unequal by favoritism or oppressive by extortion. No duty of government is more imperative or capable of more useful performance than the duty of enforcing reasonable and impartial charges by the carrying corporations. Yet if these are correct views of the nature and office of public transportation, it is evident that actual competition—as that term is commonly understood—in the *rates* offered by rival carriers is inconsistent with the principles upon which railroad operations should be conducted.

An appeal to experience and the observed results of competitive methods leads to the same conclusion. The difficult situation with which legislation has lately undertaken to deal was the natural outgrowth of excessive construction and unregulated management in the two feverish decades which followed the civil war. In many parts of the country this was an era of visionary schemes and crazy speculation. The eager clamor of the people for the facilities of rail conveyance incited numerous projects which were doomed to financial failure. In the reckless haste to secure railroad transportation, an unwarranted premium was offered to those who would furnish it. Enormous grants of public lands, donations of private property and endless obligations in the form of county, town and municipal bonds were freely and often inconsiderately given to aid the extension of railway lines into remote districts and undeveloped regions. They were built in many instances where little

traffic existed, and where paying returns could not reasonably be expected for many years. The energy thus exhibited was prodigious, but much of it was misdirected. The capital obtained for many of these ventures was secured upon conditions and coupled with exactions which prudence would have shunned, while lavish expenditure and dishonest management added to the evils of premature construction.

Not only were great trunk lines extended to the Pacific, but these were quickly supplemented with branches and feeders designed to control the carrying trade in the territory claimed to be tributary to the original system. In their eagerness to get possession of districts relied upon for future business, the rival companies frequently overlapped each other and duplicated roads in localities where adequate patronage could not be secured for a single line. The fiercest competition for the limited traffic obtainable was the inevitable outcome, while the necessity for sufficient earnings to meet fixed charges and operating expenses tempted resort to every device and allurements by which business could be secured. The same conditions existed, though in lesser degree, in the more developed and productive portions of the United States. At this juncture, also, the Canadian Pacific road was pushed across the continent, built by government aid and subsidized by government bounty, thereby increasing the complication and multiplying the opportunities for transportation abuses.

Generally speaking, the right to engage in the business of railroad transportation has been practically unlimited, because under the laws of the different states the formation of railway corporations is easily effected, and the restraints to which they are subjected meagre and ineffectual. This prolific creation of common carriers by the facile machinery of local statutes, has resulted in an aggregation of railroads, all of which, with few exceptions, derive their origin and power from state authority. The vast operations which

they carry on are controlled by separate boards of management, and the relations between different lines are friendly or hostile as interest or jealousy dictates. Their united capacity greatly exceeds the volume of traffic furnished for transportation, and so a large part of the competitive business must either be parceled out by unstable agreements, or contested for from day to day with ruinous rate-cutting and vicious discriminations. Every new line increases the friction, and frequent receiverships testify of pecuniary burdens which current revenues are unable to bear.

It needs no argument to show that the worst evils connected with railroad transportation are the result of unequal and discriminating charges. By whatever scheme or device one shipper obtains lower rates than another, when both are in similar relations to the carrier, the transaction in every guise is an unwarrantable injury to private rights and a plain violation of public duty. That one man should have an arbitrary advantage over his fellows in respect of a common necessity is repugnant to every notion of equality and offends the rudest conception of justice. Of what avail are industry, enterprise, integrity, or any of the qualities which make for success, if a befriended competitor can secure reduced rates or special facilities? When this indispensable service is performed on varying and uncertain terms, when secret concessions are made to one or more persons in a given line of business, those from whom higher charges are exacted are placed at a serious and sometimes fatal disadvantage. In such case the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong, but to the one whose "cut rates" are the lowest.

The ultimate effect of preferential rates is to concentrate the commerce of the country in a few hands. The favored shipper, who is usually the large shipper, is furnished with a weapon against which skill, energy and experience are alike unavailing. When the natural advantages of capital are augmented by exemptions from charges commonly

imposed, it becomes powerful enough to force all rivals from the field. If we could unearth the secrets of these modern "trusts," whose surprising exploits excite such wide apprehension, we should find an explanation of their menacing growth in the systematic methods by which they have evaded the burdens of transportation. The reduced charges which they have obtained, sometimes by favoritism and oftener by force, account in great measure for the colossal gains which they have accumulated. This is the sleight of hand by which the marvel has been produced, the key to the riddle which has amazed and alarmed the nation. If these combinations were deprived of special and exclusive rates there is little doubt that they would be shorn of their greatest strength and lose their dangerous supremacy. Indeed, I think it scarcely too much to say that no alliance of capital, no aggregation of productive forces, would prove of real or at least of permanent disadvantage if rigidly subjected to just and impartial charges for public transportation.

How to check discriminations of this kind is a most difficult question. Unlawful agreements between shipper and carrier are consummated in secrecy, and are all the more hurtful on that account. The means of concealment are practically unlimited; the mutual interest of the parties compels each to screen and protect the other; detection is often impossible. The fact that rate-cutting and all kindred offences are now criminal misdemeanors is undoubtedly a great restraint, for conscientious men are unwilling to transgress the law and the dishonest hesitate to incur its penalties; but the scruples of the former are sometimes overcome and the latter will often run the risk of discovery. Moreover, the average public sentiment recognizes little moral turpitude in compacts to secure special favors from railroad corporations, and the general refusal to play the rôle of informer covers the transaction with comparative immunity. Arrangements between rival

lines to maintain schedule charges are usually short-lived, for they rest mainly on a pledge of good faith, and do not long survive when interest inclines either party to break them. In addition to this the amount of property to be transported is extremely variable from time to time, while the carrying capacity of the roads is nearly a constant quantity. Hence at certain seasons of the year, or in the periods of commercial depression when the volume of shipments is greatly reduced, the strife to get business is exceedingly fierce. There are occasions where competition is so sharp, where the freights of some large shipper, or combination of shippers, is so needful to a particular road, that when reduced rates are demanded as the alternative of losing the business, the carrier can hardly refuse. Few traffic managers will submit to the diversion of important tonnage when a discount from schedule charges will serve to retain it; and so the unseemly scramble goes on with inevitable injury to the great mass of dealers and unfair profits to a few large concerns.

These observations are made for the most part from the standpoint of public welfare and without special regard to the interests of the carriers. A mere glance at the effect of existing methods upon railway earnings emphasizes the necessity for a change of policy and the adoption of co-operative measures. The situation of many railroads at the present time is not unlike that of the great powers of Europe. Each in a state of armed neutrality watches the other with jealous suspicion, and even in their most amicable relations they maintain an approximate peace only by lavish preparations for war. The process is expensive, the result wholly unsatisfactory. Their revenues are depleted, their management embarrassed, their usefulness greatly impaired. They collect from the people more than three millions of dollars every twenty-four hours—an enormous tax upon industry—yet their surplus receipts frequently fall below the requirements of solvency and are

seldom sufficient to relieve the anxiety of investors. Making ample allowance for dishonest construction, excessive capitalization and wasteful methods of operation, the fact is positively startling that 60 per cent of our railway mileage has never paid a dividend on its stock obligations, while more than a quarter of that mileage is now, or has recently been, in the hands of receivers through inability to meet interest on mortgage indebtedness. It is claimed that reductions in published rates have not been proportionally greater than the reduced cost of moving the traffic resulting from better roadbeds and improved equipment; yet notwithstanding the increase in volume of business the railroads are struggling to keep out of bankruptcy, while the people are frequently complaining that current charges are unreasonable. Now, I cannot take these facts,—the immense sum paid for railroad transportation, the small percentage of that sum actually required for train movement, and the financial condition of the companies at the present time,—I cannot take these facts and reconcile them with any just or defensible theory upon which railway operations should be conducted. I can draw no other inference than that an altogether unwarranted portion of railroad earnings is diverted, and necessarily diverted under present conditions, to purposes which are not legitimate to public transportation. Indeed, I believe that the general run of rates could be considerably reduced, though I do not regard those now in force as excessive save in rare instances, with much better returns to security holders than are now realized, if this wasteful warfare were wholly abandoned and the economies of association applied to railway management.

The benefits supposed to result from railroad competition I believe to be greatly exaggerated. Those who honestly uphold the present policy—to say nothing of those who oppose a change from unworthy motives—apparently assume that the public gets the same advantage from competition between carriers as from competition between

producers and dealers generally. That this is a mistaken and fallacious view I am fully persuaded. I do not see how any one can derive benefit from competition in the matter of his daily wants, unless he is in a situation to choose freely between two or more persons who are each able to supply those wants. The objective value of competition, I submit, rests in the power of selection, and he who is debarred from choice must be deprived of any direct advantage from the rivalry of others.

As to most of our ordinary wants—broadly speaking—every person in every place has the opportunity to choose. If the only merchant in a remote hamlet charges more for his wares than his customers are willing to pay, there is another store at a near-by cross-roads where they can purchase the same commodities; and like liberty of selection is commonly enjoyed as to the various needs of social life, whether simple or complex. But in respect of railroad transportation only a few people comparatively are so situated as to have any available choice between carriers. So that, without amplifying the argument, the simple fact is that only a small percentage of population, and an exceedingly small fraction of territory, are so located as to have any practical opportunity for selection in the matter of public conveyance. To the great majority of people railway transportation is now a virtual monopoly. I do not mean to say that the competition between railroads connecting great cities by different lines has not had an indirect and important influence upon railroad charges at intermediate points which are dependent upon one of those lines alone; but I venture the opinion—again speaking broadly—that the limit of such indirect advantage has already been reached, and that further benefit from that source cannot reasonably be expected. The result is that a few commercial centres and a few large shippers, having this power of choice, and finding their traffic indispensable to the carriers, secure enormous advantages, either by

evasion or violation of law, of which the masses are deprived. It is entirely plain to me, therefore, that co-operative methods, the general discontinuance of competition *in rates* between rival railroads, would tend strongly to remove the inequalities which now exist, and prove a positive and substantial advantage to the great majority of producers and consumers. And I firmly believe that while there is a popular objection to railroad pooling, founded largely upon ignorance of its purpose and misconception of its effects, the principal opposition to legalized co-operation, the opposition which has thus far prevailed, comes from the favored few who are reaping unearned profits by the discriminating practices which they virtually compel and of which they are the sole beneficiaries.

There is a radical difference, which seems to be frequently overlooked, between the "trusts" to which I have referred and a federation of railway carriers. This difference may be stated in a single paragraph. In actual property, the products of labor and skill which we eat and wear and use, *we do not want*—under present economic conditions at least—*uniformity of price*. The producer should be perfectly free to sell for all he can get, the purchaser equally free to buy as cheap as he can. The dealer should always be at liberty to make one price to one person and another price to another person, or to vary the price to the same person as and when he sees fit. In the exchange of goods there should be the utmost freedom of contract between the parties. In all private dealings between buyer and seller the power to bargain should be unrestrained, for in that power is the essence of commercial liberty. Therefore, speaking in general terms, whatever tends to uniform prices for actual property, as by limiting production or controlling the markets, is to be deprecated and prevented. For this reason anti-trust laws, so-called, are defensible, perhaps necessary. But as respects public transportation, which is not property at all but a service, not a commodity but a

function or agency of government, *we do want uniform charges*—under like conditions—*without preference or exception to any person*. Properly considered the tolls paid to the carrier are in the nature of a tax, and the relations between railroads and their patrons are not contract relations, save in a limited sense and for special purposes. Therefore, whatever tends to stability and uniformity of charge by railway carriers is on the whole to be desired and promoted. Indeed, I go to the extent of saying that we cannot have that free and fair competition in the fields of production which is the condition of industrial freedom, without methods and rates for public transportation which amount to a monopoly.

Practically, therefore, the choice lies between competition on the one hand, with the inevitable outcome of discriminations which favor the few at the expense of the many, or like charges for like service, which can be realized only by permitting and encouraging co-operative action by rival railroads. *The power to compete is the power to discriminate*, and it is simply out of the question to have at once the absence of discrimination and the presence of competition. I am forced to the conclusion that the prohibition of pooling which remains imbedded in the present statute is irreconcilably at variance with its other provisions. To my mind the legislation which decrees that all rates shall be just and reasonable, and declares unlawful every discrimination between individuals or localities, is plainly inconsistent with competitive charges. I regard the existing law as presenting this singular anomaly, that it seeks to enforce competition by the mandate of the statute, and at the same time to punish as criminal misdemeanors the acts and inducements by which competition is ordinarily effected.

There are three methods of escape from the difficulties of the present situation. One is through government ownership, a scheme which has thus far made little impression upon public sentiment and exhibits no signs of popular

approval. It is justly regarded as a project unsuited to the spirit of our institutions, and of such dangerous import as to be looked to for relief only when all other remedies have proved unavailing. Neither its feasibility nor its effects are at this time deserving of serious discussion. Another possible plan is universal consolidation; but this is an impracticable recourse, for such is the magnitude of the business, the diversity of interests, the multiplicity of details and the difficulty of securing needed legislation, that the task of bringing this great array of railroad companies into one corporation is quite beyond the power of present accomplishment, to say nothing of the political objections to such a vast combination of private capital.

The third alternative is to allow the various railroads, while retaining their present organization, identity and ownership, with such extensions as naturally result from the growth of systems, and continuing their independent service to the communities with which they are severally identified, to contract freely and lawfully with each other for the movement of competitive traffic, without that demoralizing strife which invariably results in rate discriminations. This implies no general consolidation of corporations, no merger of financial interests, but amicable co-operation in the conveyance of passengers and property between competitive points. This is the one sensible and practicable plan, adapted to present conditions and suited in the highest degree to existing requirements. Such a policy would permit and invite the conduct of transportation upon principles consonant with the nature of the service and beneficial to the people and the railroads alike.

If these views merit acceptance we are further advanced than might be supposed in defining the conditions upon which pooling should be legalized. It may be assumed that a measure conferring this privilege would become part of the system of laws enacted by Congress for the control of interstate commerce. This leads to some consideration

of the scope and purpose of government regulation. In the nature of the case the subject of principal concern is the terms upon which the services of railway carriers may be obtained, whenever or wherever such services are required. Whether these terms are fixed by the railroads themselves, as is the usual custom, or prescribed by public authority, any regulating scheme involves a standard rate, made known by suitable publication, which constitutes, so long as it remains in force, the measure of lawful charges. This being so, two classes of questions at once arise, one relating to the means by which conformity to the standard rate may be secured, the other to the methods by which the standard itself may be altered or its reasonableness tested. It is one thing to prevent the wrong-doing effected by granting to favored persons some discount or deduction from established rates; it is quite another thing to correct injustice resulting from excessive or relatively unfair rates, though properly published and impartially enforced.

This important distinction—between offences by *rate-cutting* and offences in *rate-making*—is frequently overlooked. For this reason doubtless there is much misconception both as to the scope of existing laws and as to the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject. In many quarters it seems to be supposed that the chief duty of the Interstate Commerce Commission is to ferret out the various devices by which preferential rates are obtained, and to punish railroad officials for failing to observe their public schedules. Such a theory, however, is wholly erroneous and misleading. It must be evident upon reflection that the only effective mode of preventing those discriminations between individuals which are caused by deviating from the common rate, is to place them in the category of criminal misdemeanors. Redress by civil proceedings is manifestly inadequate. Such offences are not the disregard of contract obligations, they are violations of public duty. They are delinquencies to be restrained by punishment, not broken

engagements to be made good by compensation. But when transgressions of this nature are made amenable to the criminal law, when the statute has impressed them with this penal character, they must be dealt with in the same manner as other punishable offences. With reference to their prevention, or the methods whereby those who commit them may be convicted, they differ in no important respect from petit larceny or any other wrong-doing which the law declares to be criminal. In enforcing the penal provisions of the Act to Regulate Commerce the ordinary machinery of the criminal courts must be employed, and there is no other way by which those provisions can be enforced. If immunity from these demoralizing practices is secured, it must be through greater vigilance and more vigorous effort by those who are charged with the administration of the criminal laws, and by such wholesome legislation as will take away at once the excuse and inducement for such misconduct.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that the Commission is wholly without authority as respects the discriminations between individuals which are made misdemeanors by that enactment. True, the Commission is charged with the general duty of executing and enforcing its provisions, but it is endowed with none of the functions pertaining to the detection and punishment of delinquents, except such functions as may be exercised by any private citizen. It has no special means for discovering offenders and subjecting them to the disgrace of exposure; much less can it institute criminal proceedings, conduct trials of accused persons, or inflict penalties upon the convicted. But the main point in this connection is that Congress cannot clothe the Commission, or any similar tribunal, with authority to execute the penal provisions of this statute. So far as those provisions are concerned there might as well be no Commission at all. To suppose otherwise is to lose sight of the more important and beneficent purpose of preventing exactions and relative injustice resulting from the strictest observance by railway

carriers of tariffs which they themselves establish and apply. Regulation, therefore, implies vastly more than enforcing conformity to published schedules, and the prevention of discriminations between persons entitled to like treatment; it includes the determination of what the standard of compensation shall be, due regard being had to the rights of the public and the railroads alike. That legislation to this end is a valid and appropriate exercise of the constitutional power possessed by Congress has been affirmed by the highest judicial authority. In the recent case of *Ames v. Union Pacific Railway Company* Mr. Justice Brewer uses the following language:

“Within the term ‘regulation’ are embraced two ideas: One is the mere control of the operation of the roads, prescribing the rules for the management thereof—matters which affect the convenience of the public in their use. Regulation, in this sense, may be considered as purely public in its character, and in no manner trespassing upon the rights of the owners of railroads. But within the scope of the word ‘regulation,’ as commonly used, is embraced the idea of fixing the compensation which the owners of railroad property shall receive for the use thereof.”

Under this decision and others of similar import it may be regarded as definitely settled that, within limitations which preserve to the owners of railroad property the equal protection of the laws and prevent the taking of such property without due process of law, the power of Congress—either by direct action or through the medium of a Commission—to prescribe from time to time the scale of charges for the carriage of interstate commerce is in every respect complete and exclusive. Congress has not undertaken—probably will not undertake—to say by specific enactment what rates shall be charged by any road or on any article. If the tariffs in current use are filed and published as the law requires, they furnish a standard of charges *prima facie* lawful and binding both on the railroads and the public.

So long as they are observed nobody, presumably, is injured and nobody at fault. But if complaint is made that a given rate is too high or relatively unjust, and that specific charge is denied by the carrier complained of, how is the controversy to be decided? Shall it be relegated to the courts, whose methods and rules are unsuited to such an inquiry, or shall the special tribunal created by Congress and exercising its power be vested with authority to determine in the first instance, and with the finality of a *nisi prius* court at least, the merits of the contention? The answer to this question defines the nature and aim of all regulative measures. If these are sufficient to secure needful control of the rates and conduct of railway carriers, they will provide the means for testing the justice of such rates and conduct, when they are asserted to be oppressive or unequal, and furnish the machinery for substituting the standard adjudged to be just and reasonable.

The special weakness of the law as it now stands is the want of any binding force to the decisions of the Commission, though made upon facts ascertained after notice to the carriers and full opportunity for all parties to be heard. The theory of the statute is that if the directions of the Commission are not complied with the courts will compel compliance unless justifying cause for not doing so is made clearly to appear. Hence it was provided that in proceedings in the courts to enforce the decisions of the Commission, the facts found by it in any investigation should be deemed *prima facie* correct for all the purposes of such proceedings. By this I suppose it was expected that the courts would require obedience to an order of the Commission, unless the record of the investigation which led to that order disclosed some error of fact or conclusion sufficient to warrant refusal to decree its enforcement. But this result has not been realized nor will this feature of the law bear such a construction. The consequence is that the disobedient carrier can have practically a new trial in the

courts of the case decided by the Commission. Not only so, but the carrier may not even appear before the Commission when called to account, unless compelled by subpoena to do so, and if appearing may give only such evidence as it chooses; and then if the decision is against the carrier it can meet in the courts the *prima facie* case found by the Commission with such new evidence and defence as it is able to present.

The correction of this defect in the present law is, in my judgment, the most urgent and needful amendment in connection with legalized pooling. It is essential to efficient and useful regulation that the Commission should have authority to determine in the first instance, and to the extent of a court of first instance, whether particular rates or practices, of which complaint is made and which are investigated upon notice and opportunity to be heard, are or are not in violation of the act. When such a question has been thus tried before that tribunal, its decision should stand as a rule of conduct prescribed by public authority, unless the courts, upon examination of the record, should find therein some error plainly prejudicial to the defeated party. It is not proposed that the Commission shall establish schedules by legislative methods or exercise the power of fixing rates by *ex parte* orders. Nothing of the sort is advised or desired. But it is proposed, when a given rate is complained of on the ground that it is excessive or relatively unjust, and that complaint has been examined upon due notice to the carrier and full opportunity to disclose its defense, that the judgment of the Commission *in such case* shall be binding upon both parties to the contention, unless judicial review of the proceedings before the Commission finds adequate cause for declining to decree its enforcement.

Theoretically at least, I find no occasion for specific and exceptional securities against the asserted dangers of legalized pooling. It matters not whether an existing rate is maintained by a single road or by associated roads operating under an agreement for a division of the business

to which that rate is applied. In either case the question of public concern is whether that rate is reasonable, whether it is alike fair to those who pay it and those who receive it, whether it is relatively just as between different communities and different articles of traffic. The people are not interested to know how tonnage is divided or aggregate earnings apportioned, but they are vitally interested and rightfully entitled to relief, if transportation charges are excessive or unfairly adjusted. The constitutional power of Congress to prevent exactions and correct inequalities is no longer open to question. If that power finds expression in wise and adequate laws, whereby charges of wrong-doing may be promptly investigated, and the determinations of the tribunal to which that duty is delegated be capable of speedy enforcement, the railroads may safely be permitted to make pooling agreements, and the wisdom of such a policy will be demonstrated by its operation. What is wanted then, when current rates are challenged, is authority to adjudge with some degree of finality what rates are just and reasonable in each such case, without regard to the origin of those rates or the relations of the carriers by which they are maintained. If ample means are provided for correcting ascertained injustice in the charges of a single line, there is no reason to doubt that the same means would be equally efficient in dealing with the charges of associated lines. The questions which affect the public interest would in nowise be changed, either in their nature or mode of treatment, by the circumstance that railroads were allowed to co-operate with each other in performing their public duties. In my judgment, therefore, the amendments to the statute most needful to accomplish its general purpose constitute the principal and important conditions upon which pooling agreements should receive the sanction of law.

Inasmuch, however, as the commercial theory of transportation has not yet been wholly discarded, either by the public or by railway managers, and because legalized

pooling might lead to unexpected abuses, it would doubtless be prudent to surround the privilege with some additional safeguards. Every such contract should be filed with the Commission and become effective within a reasonable time thereafter—say ten or twenty days—unless in the meantime and upon examination thereof the Commission should discover in its provisions sufficient reason for official disapproval. In such event the contract should not go into effect at all except by decree of a designated court upon appeal thereto. It would also be expedient, I think, to empower the Commission, after a pooling contract has been put in operation and its effects fairly observed, but upon notice to the contracting parties and an opportunity for them to be heard, to order the cancellation of such an agreement, thereby terminating its validity and remitting the carriers to the situation in which they were placed before the contract was executed. In that event the agreement should remain invalid and non-enforceable, unless and until a competent court should direct its restoration. I do not believe that occasion would ever arise for applying so drastic a remedy, yet this power of annulment might properly be held in reserve for extreme cases and peculiar emergencies. Authority to that extent appears to me so comprehensive and complete as to render superfluous all other restrictions.

So far as the whole question is concerned, including a grant of the pooling privilege and the conditions upon which it should be conferred, I am unable, after much reflection, to suggest a more suitable scheme than is contained in the Patterson Bill, so called, which passed the House of Representatives at the last session, but unfortunately failed of consideration by the Senate. Such a measure, or one framed on substantially the same lines would, I firmly believe, prove a positive advantage to the general public and inaugurate an altogether better era in railroad transportation.

MARTIN A. KNAPP.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY.

[Continued from p. 57, Vol. VII, of the ANNALS.]

The Thirty-first Scientific Session of the Academy was held in Philadelphia, on December 18, 1895, at 8 p. m., in the New Century Club.

The session was presided over by Provost C. C. Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania. The Secretary announced that the following papers had been submitted since the last meeting of the Academy:

328. By E. J. McDERMOTT, Esq., Louisville, Ky.: History of a Municipal Charter in Kentucky. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1896.

329. By Professor S. N. PATTEN, University of Pennsylvania: The Theory of Social Forces. Printed as a supplement to the ANNALS, January, 1896.

330. By BOYD WINCHESTER, Esq., Louisville, Ky.: The Doctrine of *Stare Decisis*.

331. By Mr. J. W. MILLER, New York City: The Advantages of the Nicaragua Route. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1896.

332. By Mr. R. M. BRECKENRIDGE, Berlin: Vacation Courses of the *Verein für Sozial politik*. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1896.

333. By Professor L. M. KEASBEY, of Bryn Mawr College: The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1896.

334. By Dr. EMORY R. JOHNSON, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Nicaragua Canal and the Economic Development of the United States. Printed in the ANNALS, January, 1896.

335. By W. HUTCHINSON, M. D., of the Iowa State University: The Economics of Prostitution.

336. By Mr. L. R. HARLEY, North Wales, Pa.: The Ideal High School System.

337. By C. W. MACFARLANE, Ph.D., Philadelphia: Paper Money in the Colony of Pennsylvania. Printed in the current number of the ANNALS.

338. By Professor J. H. GRAHAM, of the Philadelphia High School: Political Representation in Pennsylvania.

339. By Mr. McDONALD FURMAN, Ramsey, S. C.: Special Land Tax Needed.

340. By Dr. F. W. SANDERS, of the University of Wisconsin: The Natural Basis of Interest.

341. By Mr. A. E. OUTERBRIDGE, Philadelphia: Education *vs.* Agitation.

342. By Dr. CONRAD BORNHAK, of the University of Berlin: Rudolf von Gneist. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1896.

343. By Miss ELLEN C. SEMPLE, Louisville, Ky.: Studies in Political Areas.

344. By Professor EDMUND J. JAMES, of the University of Chicago: An Early Essay on Proportional Representation. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1896.

345. By Professor JEROME DOWD, of the University of North Carolina: Compulsory Arbitration.

346. By Professor JOHN DAVIDSON, of the University of New Brunswick: The Growth of the French-Canadian Race in America.

Dr. Samuel M. Lindsay, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper on "Social Observation, or the Modern City as a Laboratory." This subject was discussed by Dr. Wm. Howe Tolman, General Agent of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and by Dr. James MacAlister, President of the Drexel Institute.

The Thirty-second Scientific Session of the Academy was held in Philadelphia on January 22, 1896, at 8 p. m., in the New Century Club.

The Secretary announced that the following papers had been submitted to the Academy since its last meeting:

347. By Dr. C. W. A. VEDITZ, Paris: New Academic Degrees at Paris. Printed in the ANNALS, March, 1896.

348. By Mr. E. DANA DURAND, of the New York State Library: Political and Municipal Legislation in 1895. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1896.

349. By BOYD WINCHESTER, Esq., Louisville, Ky.: Citizenship—Its International Relation.

350. By Mr. E. S. BALCH, Philadelphia: Geography, and Its Position in University Education.

351. By MILES M. DAWSON, Esq., New York City: The Function of Insurance in Modern Society.

Professor George Wharton Pepper, of the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper on "The Methods of Legal Education." The discussion which followed the reading of this paper was started by Professor James Barr Ames, of the Harvard Law School, and continued by Russell Duane, Esq., of the Philadelphia Bar.

The Thirty-third Session was held on February 27, 1896, in the New Century Club, Philadelphia, at 8 p. m.

The Secretary announced that the following papers had been submitted since the last session of the Academy :

352. By Mr. T. C. FREUYEAR, Buffalo: The Ethics of Stock-Watering.

353. By GAMALIEL BRADFORD, Esq., Boston: The Speakership of the House of Representatives.

354. By Mr. F. L. McVEY, New York City: The Quantity of Money and Prices.

355. By Professor EDMUND J. JAMES, of the University of Chicago: Bryce's American Commonwealth. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1896.

356. By Mr. B. H. MEYER, Madison, Wis: The Adjustment of Railway Rates in Prussia.

Mr. Wm. M. F. Round, Corresponding Secretary of the New York Prison Society, read a paper on "The Higher Economics of Penology; or, the Value of Reformatory Efforts." This subject was discussed by Dr. M. V. Ball, of Philadelphia.

The Thirty-fourth Scientific Session was held in Philadelphia, on Thursday, March 26, 1896, in the New Century Club, at 8 p. m.

The Secretary announced that the following papers had been submitted to the Academy since the Thirty-third Session:

357. By Professor LESTER F. WARD, of the Smithsonian Institution: Utilitarian Economics.

358. By Mr. W. C. HAMM, of Philadelphia: How Shall We Vote?

359. By Professor W. S. L. TAYLOR, of the University of Nebraska: Necessary Premises for a Standard of Deferred Payments.

360. By Professor SIMON N. PATTEN, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Formulation of Normal Laws. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1896.

361. By Dr. J. H. HOLLANDER, of Johns Hopkins University: Adam Smith and James Anderson. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1896.

362. By Mr. MAX FARRAND, of Newark, N. J.: The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens. Translated from the German of G. Jellinek.

363. By Professor A. S. HERSHEY, of the Indiana State University: The Recognition of Cuban Belligerency. Printed in the ANNALS, May, 1896.

364. By Mr. C. MERIWETHER, Washington, D. C.: Is Japanese Success Solid?

365. By Dr. E. P. OBERHOLTZER, of Philadelphia: Courses in Politics and Journalism at Lille.

Hon. Martin A. Knapp, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, read a paper on "Railway Pooling. The Conditions Under Which It Could Be Legalized."* This subject was also discussed by Mr. John B. Garrett, of Philadelphia, Mr. Geo. B. Roberts, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Emory R. Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The Thirty-fifth Scientific Session was held in Philadelphia, on Wednesday, April 22, 1896, in the New Century Club.

The secretary announced that the following papers had been submitted to the Academy since the last session:

366. By Mr. E. T. HEYN, of Milwaukee: Postal Savings Banks.

367. By Professor WM. CALDWELL, of the Northwestern University: Professor Patten's Presuppositions.

368. By Professor JEROME DOWD, of the University of North Carolina: Natural Causes of Agricultural Depression.

369. By Professor EDW. A. ROSS, of Stanford University: Uncertainty as a Factor in Production.

370. By Professor F. I. HERRIOTT, of Iowa College: The Logic of Current Discussion.

Daniel S. Remsen, Esq., of New York, read a paper on "The Fusion of Political Parties. Australian Methods and Results.*"

* Printed in the current number.

PERSONAL NOTES.

AMERICA.

Pennsylvania.—Dr. Emory R. Johnson* has been appointed Assistant Professor of Commerce and Transportation at the University of Pennsylvania. In December, 1895, Dr. Johnson who had previously conducted the Book Department of the ANNALS, was appointed associate editor. His recent publications are:

"*Industrial Services of the Railways.*" ANNALS, May, 1895.

"*The Effect of Deep Water Between the Great Lakes and the Sea upon Railway Traffic and Profits.*" Proceedings of First Annual Convention of International Deep Waterways Association.

"*Railway Departments for the Relief and Insurance of Employes.*" ANNALS, November, 1895.

"*The Nicaragua Canal and the Economic Development of the United States.*" ANNALS, January, 1896.

Dr. Samuel M. Lindsay† has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to the publications noted below, Dr. Lindsay has conducted the Department of Sociological Notes in the ANNALS since its inception. His recent publications are :

"*Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy.*" Translated and supplied with an historical introduction and notes (with Leo S. Rowe, Ph.D.). Pp. 44. Supplement to ANNALS, November, 1894.

"*Sociological Field-Work.*" ANNALS, January, 1895.

"*The Distribution of Pauperism in the United States.*" Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the Directors of the Poor and Charities of Pennsylvania. Pittsburg, 1895.

"*Social Aspects of Philadelphia Relief-Work.*" An Introduction to the Civic Club Digest of the Charitable and Educational Institutions of Philadelphia. Pp. 176. Philadelphia, 1896.

Mr. Dana Carleton Munro has been appointed Assistant Professor of Roman and Mediæval History at the University of Pennsylvania. He was born at Bristol, R. I., June 7, 1866, and received his early education in the public and private schools at that town. After two years in the English and Classical School of Providence, R. I., he entered, in 1883, Brown University. In 1887 he received the degree of A. B.,

* ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 281. September, 1894.

† Ibid., p. 419, November, 1894.

and in 1890 that of A. M. from that institution. In 1887 he became teacher of history in De Veaux College, Suspension Bridge, N. Y. The year 1889-90 he spent in graduate study in Germany, at Strassburg and Freiburg. From 1890 to 1893 he taught French and German in the Haverford College Grammar School, at the same time taking a half-year's graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania. In February, 1893, Mr. Munro was appointed Instructor in Roman and Mediæval History at the University of Pennsylvania. He has contributed frequent book reviews to the ANNALS, and has been active in the editorship of the Series of Reprints and Translations from the Original Sources of European History, issued by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania. In that series Professor Munro has edited the numbers:

Vol. I, No. 2. "*Urban and the Crusaders.*" Pp. 16. 1894. Second edition, 1895. Pp. 24.

Vol. I, No. 4. "*Letters of the Crusaders.*" Pp. 36. 1894. Second edition, 1896. Pp. 40.

Vol. II, No. 3. "*The Mediæval Student.*" Pp. 20. 1895.

Vol. II, No. 4. "*Monastic Tales of the XIII Century.*" Pp. 20. 1895.

Vol. II, No. 7. "*Life of St. Columban.*" Pp. 36. 1895.

Vol. III, No. 1. "*The Fourth Crusade.*" Pp. 20. 1896.

Dr. Leo S. Rowe* has been appointed Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to the publications noted below, Dr. Rowe has conducted the Department of Notes on Municipal Government in the ANNALS since its inception. His recent publications are :

"*Factors of Efficiency in Government.*" Public Opinion, December 19, 1895.

"*Report on Municipal Legislation in Pennsylvania to the Committee on Cities of the New York Constitutional Convention.*" November, 1894.

"*The Anti-Semitic Movement in America. An Episode in the Municipal History of Vienna.*" Citizen, March, 1895.

"*Le Gouvernement municipal en Europe, d'après un livre récent.*" La Reforme Sociale, May 1, 1896.

Dr. Henry R. Seager† has been appointed Assistant Professor of Political Economy at the University of Pennsylvania. In January last Dr. Seager was elected Corresponding Secretary of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and in same month assumed

* ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 281. September, 1894.

† Ibid, p. 281.

the direction of the Book Department of the ANNALS. The recently published Proceedings of the American Economic Association contained in abridged form a paper read by Dr. Seager before the Indianapolis meeting, and entitled,

"*The Fallacy of Saving.*" Supplement to Economic Studies, April, 1896.

Wisconsin.—Professor William A. Scott,* of the University of Wisconsin, has recently been appointed to a full professorship, with the title Professor of Economic History and Theory. Professor Scott has of late devoted himself to the cause of University Extension, and has delivered, during the past three years, as many as forty courses of lectures in Wisconsin and other parts of the country. Dr. Scott hopes to relinquish this activity in his new position and devote himself entirely to the work of teaching and investigation. His recent publications are:

"*The Social Aspects of Pauperism and Crime.*" Report of Wisconsin Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1894.

"*Distribution of Wealth in the United States.*" Chautauquan, June, 1894.

"*The State and Higher Education.*" Bulletin No. 7, University of South Dakota.

AUSTRIA.

Krakau.—At the University of Krakau, Count Michael Rostworowski has recently become Privatdozent for International Law and International Private and Penal Law. He was born at Dresden, August 27, 1864, and received his early education at the Gymnasium of Warsaw. He frequented the University of Warsaw 1883-84, and that of St. Petersburg 1884-87. At the latter, in 1888, he received the degree of candidate of law. At the instance of Professor Frederic Martens, he remained at the University, taking part in the lectures and seminary of the historical faculty for the purpose of preparing for an academic career in the field of international law. In 1889 Count Rostworowski went to Paris, where he entered the *Ecole libre des sciences politiques*. After two years' study, he received the diploma of the Diplomatic section of that school with *grande distinction*. In 1891 he matriculated in the law faculty of the University of Krakau, where, in 1894, he received the degree of *Doctor juris*. He has recently pursued scientific studies in Berne, Paris and Vienna. Dr. Rostworowski took an active part as Adjunct Secretary in the sessions of the *Institut de droit international* at Paris, 1894, and Cambridge, 1895. He has written:

* ANNALS, Vol. iv, p. 310. September, 1893.

"*La situation internationale du St. Siege au point de vue juridique.*" Annales de l'Ecole libre des Sciences politiques, 1892.

"*Condition juridique des navires de commerce dans les ports étrangers.*" Ibid., 1894-95.

"*L'union internationale pour la publication des traités.*" Revue générale de droit international public, 1894.

And in the Polish language:

"*L'Ecole libre des Sciences politiques à Paris.*" Krakau, 1892.

"*Penal Jurisdiction of the Merchant Marine in Foreign Ports with Reference to Austrian Law.*" Pp. 109. Krakau, 1895.

FRANCE.

Paris.—M. Léon Say, the eminent economist and statesman, died at Paris, April 21, 1896. Jean Baptiste Léon Say, was born at Paris, June 6, 1826. He was a son of Horace Emile Say and grandson of Jean Baptiste Say, the celebrated political economist. Following the traditions of his family, he devoted himself to the study of political economy and for many years he was the editor of the *Journal des Debats*. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the *Corps Législatif* in 1869, but in February, 1871, he was returned to the National Assembly as one of the representatives of the Department of the Seine. In June, the same year, he became Prefect of that department. In October, 1871, he came to London, accompanied by M. Vautrain, the President of the Municipal Council of Paris, and presented to the Court of Aldermen at the Guild hall, a bronze medal of the Hotel de Ville, and the large gold medal which was struck in commemoration of the revictualing of Paris by voluntary contributions collected in England. At the same time, he, on behalf of M. Thiers, presented the Lord Mayor with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. On December 7, 1872, he was made Minister of Finance by M. Thiers, on whose downfall he naturally left office (May 24, 1873). He again accepted the portfolio of Finance in M. Buffet's administration, in March, 1875. Soon afterward he was elected a Senator for the Department of the Seine-et-Oise; his term of office expired in 1882. He retained his portfolio in the Dufaure cabinet of the tenth of May, 1876, and in the Jules Simon cabinet of the thirteenth of December following, but he retired with the latter May 17, 1877. When a new ministry was formed under the presidency of M. Dufaure in December, 1877, M. Léon Say again became Minister of Finance. He presided over the International Monetary Conference held at the Foreign Office, Paris, in August, 1878. He retained the position of Minister of Finance in the first cabinet formed by President Grevy.

He retired from the Administration, December 17, 1879, with the head of the cabinet, M. Waddington, and resumed his place among the members of the Left Centre. In April, 1880, he was appointed Ambassador in London, with a view to his conducting the negotiations for a Treaty of Commerce, and he met with a cordial reception, but he returned to Paris in the course of a few weeks, in consequence of his having been elected President of the Senate, May 25, 1880, in place of M. Martel, who had resigned on account of ill health. A short time previously to this, the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences had elected M. Léon Say as successor of M. Michel Chevalier (April 24). He was re-elected President of the Senate, January 20, 1881, and he became Minister of Finance in the De Freycinet cabinet, formed January 30, 1882.

M. Say has edited, in conjunction with L. Foyot and A. Lanjatley, the "*Dictionnaire des Finances*," 1883 et seq., and in conjunction with J. Chailley, "*Nouveau Dictionnaire d'Economie politique*," 1891-92. He has edited several translations of English works into French, notably Goschen's "Theory of Foreign Exchanges," and economic writings of Hume and Cobden. His contributions to the *Journal des Économistes* from 1864 till the time of his death embrace a wide variety of topics, although financial questions predominate. In book form he has published:

"*Histoire de la caisse d'escompte*." Reims, 1848.

"*Observations sur le système financier de M. le Préfet de la Seine*." Paris, 1865.

"*La ville de Paris et le crédit foncier*." Paris, 1866.

"*Examen critique de la situation financière de la ville de Paris*." Paris, 1866.

"*Dégrèvement de l'impôt foncier*." Paris, 1866.

"*Discours dans les séances des 21 et 27 juillet 1882 de la chambre des députés*." Paris, 1866.

"*Les finances de la France*." Paris, 1883.

"*La politique des intérêts*." Paris, 1883.

"*Dix jours dans la haute Italie*." Paris, 1883.

"*Le socialisme d'Etat*." Paris, 1884.

"*Droits sur les blés*." *Discours au Sénat*. Paris, 1884.

"*Les solutions démocratiques de la question des impôts*," 2 Vols. Paris, 1886.

"*Discours de réception à l'Académie française*." Paris, 1887.

"*Turgot*" (in collection "*Les grands écrivains français*"). Paris, 1887.

"*Vauban économiste*." Paris, 1891. Reprint from *Compte rendu de l'Académie des sciences morales*.

"*Economie sociale.*" Rapport de l'Exposition Universelle de 1889, groupe d'Economie sociale. Paris, 1891.

"*Discussion générale du tarif des douanes.*" Paris, 1891.

GERMANY.

Marburg.—Dr. Heinrich Waentig has recently become Privatdozent for Political Economy at the University of Marburg. He was born March 21, 1870, at Zwickau, Saxony, and received his early education at Gymnasia, in Dresden and Zwickau. In 1890 he entered the University of Berlin. He subsequently pursued economic and legal studies at Munich and Leipzig. At the latter university he secured the degree of Ph. D. in 1893, and passed the examination for admission to the legal career, and became Referendar in the Courts at Dresden. Subsequently he pursued further scientific studies at the Universities of Vienna and Berlin. Dr. Waentig is a member of the *Verein für Sozial Politik* and author of the works:

"*Die Vorläufer Auguste Comtes.*" Pp. 42. Leipzig, 1894.

"*Auguste Comte und seine Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der Sozialwissenschaft.*" Pp. 393. Leipzig, 1894.

"*Das Problem der Gewerbeordnung in der oesterreichischen Gewerbegesetzgebung des 19. Jahrhunderts.*" Pp. 41. Marburg, 1896.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

MR. ARMITAGE SMITH's little book on the "Citizen of England"* is adapted to the Evening Combination School work under the English Educational Code. It aims to meet the demand for a clear and concise account of the topics connected with the rights and duties of citizens. The descriptions are necessarily brief. Five pages, for example, are given to the parish, twenty-three pages to the central government, ten pages to the system of taxation, etc. It is evidently intended as a manual for boys and girls of twelve to fifteen, and is an evidence of the growing interest in England in the education of the individual for the exercise of his duties and privileges as a citizen.

MR. OSSIAN D. ASHLEY, President of the Wabash Railroad Company, contributed last year to the *Railway Age* a series of fourteen papers, in which he discussed the real and ideal relation of Railways and Their Employes.† The papers have now been printed in book form. The first half of the book deals in a suggestive way with the successful results of co-operation between employers and employed. The evil results of strikes are pointed out; the benefits of railway department relief and insurance; the advantages of profit-sharing, and the successful results of experiments in co-operation are set forth. The second half of the book deals with socialism and is far less satisfactory. The author apparently became more interested in socialism as he proceeded with the preparation of his series of papers, and was led on to the writing of six chapters where two would have been sufficient. While the book makes no important contribution to the subject of the relation of railways and their employes; it is, nevertheless, suggestive and will doubtless accomplish good by disseminating ideas which are, on the whole, sound.

THE SEVENTH VOLUME of Booth's "Life and Labour of the People in London" ‡ continues the analysis and description of the population in respect to employment and conditions of labor which was begun in the fifth volume and continued in the sixth. The method

* *The Citizen of England. His Rights and Duties.* By G. ARMITAGE SMITH. M. A. Pp. 192. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1895.

† *Railways and Their Employes.* By OSSIAN D. ASHLEY. Pp. 213. Chicago: *The Railway Age and Northwestern Railroader.* 1895.

‡ *Life and Labour of the People in London.* Vol. vii. Edited by CHARLES BOOTH. Pp. 503. Price, £3. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

of treatment is the same as that of the preceding volumes, described in the *ANNALS* for November, 1895. This account of trades and occupations, at first designed for one volume, is still incomplete at the close of the third volume. Of the sixteen general divisions of occupations the present volume covers five, viz.: Dress, Food and Drink, Dealers and Clerks, Locomotion and Labor. Four divisions—Public Service, Professional, Pensioners and Means and Domestic Service remain for treatment in the next volume, which is expected to give also "the general results of the investigation summarized and considered."

The author states* that throughout the inquiry he has "leaned to the safe side, preferring to paint things too dark rather than too bright." The present volume deals largely with the poorest paid labor in over-populated London, yet the tone of this, as of the preceding volumes, is decidedly hopeful. The following paragraph is characteristic: "Until comparatively recent years, it was the invariable practice for grocery warehousemen to live and board on the premises, but the custom now appears to be extinct. With the decay of this practice the position of the men seems to have greatly improved; their wages are higher than they were, and the hours very much shorter. The head of the largest firm in London told us that not more than thirty years ago work continued daily till nine o'clock, and on Saturdays till eleven, while holidays were unknown. With shorter hours and better pay there has been a vast improvement in the manners and morals of the men." (p. 216.) "Living in" is still very common, especially for the assistants in retail stores, but is giving way to the general demand for liberty and personal choice.

One of the most gloomy pictures is that of the drapers' assistants: "Unless a girl has an exceptionally strong constitution, the excessive strain soon tells on her health; and thus it happens that many have to leave the trade, whilst others give up for a time, only to be again invalided soon after they return to the shop life. Some of the evil effects might be lessened by the general provision of seats for assistants. . . . Unfortunately, seats behind the counter are only provided in a small minority of shops, and even in these establishments they are seldom used. Assistants are afraid to be seen sitting down." (p. 77.)

Special interest attaches to London dock labor, the conditions of which have been much improved in spite of the greatest difficulties. The simple and casual character of the work makes it available for improvident men who care to work only when driven to it by pressure of want. As a result, according to the estimates made in 1887 some twelve thousand men were depending for their

† Vol. i, p. 5.

livelihood upon the dock labor of East London, which was only sufficient to give steady employment for five thousand men.* Since the strike of 1889 a considerable improvement has been brought about in some of the docks by means of the list system. "There are (1) the permanent men; (2) those having first preference, (list A), all of whom are now engaged by the week; (3) the second preference, (list B); and (4) the third preference (list C); and there may be others who, though not listed, are dock laborers by profession."

Each man has a ticket corresponding to his number on the list. They are moved up and down according to regularity of attendance, and have priority of work, according to their position on the list. Thus the loafers are being forced out. The service has become more efficient, and wages have been increased.

"*Le Problème Monétaire et la Question Sociale*" is the title of an article by Professor Ch. M. Limousin in *La Société Nouvelle*. The chief evil of our modern monetary system he finds in the fact that the business world is in the habit of ascribing fixity of value to the precious metals. As a remedy he proposes the repeal of all legislation defining the standard of value in terms of gold or silver. He would have free coinage of both metals, but the stamp of the government would merely certify to the weight and fineness of the coin without fixing its money value. Gold and silver would continue to be used as a medium of exchange, but, no longer constituting the standard, they would vary in price like all other commodities. The standard of value--the money in terms of which all prices would be expressed--would be a paper currency, varying in purchasing power with the efficiency of labor. He has not shown how the increase in the efficiency of labor can be measured or the fall in prices can be made to conform to it, but seems to think that if the paper circulating medium were relieved of all dependence on commodities and made a mere sign or symbol of value, its purchasing power would be exempt from all variations except such as might be traced to changes in the value of individual commodities.

MR. MARCH'S BOOK on the "Paris Commune of 1871"† will disappoint all thoughtful readers, and will certainly fail to engage the attention of any other class. While the work is not without a formal accuracy it exhibits no philosophical grasp of the subject, and its style would deprive even the most exciting and dramatic events of

* Vol. i, pp. 18-25.

† *History of the Paris Commune of 1871*. By THOMAS MARCH. Pp. 372. Price, \$2.00. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1896.

interest. Mr. March has chosen to begin *in medias res*. He conceives that the popular movement which he describes took its rise, matured and ended in the brief space of a year. It is easy to see how false a treatment such a thesis implies. One may reasonably doubt whether the author knew much of the history of modern France. He certainly makes no pertinent references to the numerous archetypal occurrences which go so far to explain the events of 1871. The style is heavy, although the reader is occasionally startled by the sudden interjection of a pseudo-Carlylean phrase. There are abrupt transitions from the past to the present tense, presumably with the purpose of heightening the effect, as, for example, "This Commune of Paris must be put down, thought the assembled Deputies at Versailles, and the little man, Thiers, is eager to execute their orders." The reader's interest is stimulated by such phrases as "A vociferating crowd denounced him as a gendarme, and the crowds' ears had to be tickled with his blood." While the author scoffs at the French habit of "affixing an inoffensive and intrinsically meaningless date" as the most convenient label on their "kaleidoscopic political events," he is unable to discover any more effective system of rubrics, and his chapters are headed: "January, 1871," "April 14, 1871," "May 13, 1871," "May 17, 1871," etc. This entirely deprives the works of that amiable quality which the Germans call *Uebersichtlichkeit*. It is a pity that another volume should be added to the vast aggregate of poor and mediocre historical treatises.

THE CALL for the third edition of Professor Nicholson's lucid exposition * of the principles and problems of monetary science is a hopeful sign. Two essays of the former edition, "Living Capital," and "Capital and Labor—their Relative Strength," have been omitted. The only addition to notice is the new second part to the treatise on money. This new part deals almost entirely with the effects of the recent gold discoveries and the depreciation of the price of silver on prices and industry, and sets forth the necessity of an international agreement as to the ratio at which governments will coin gold and silver. There is considerable reiteration, with new illustrative materials, of principles enunciated in the first part. Professor Nicholson insists that money is not "a mere commodity," and comes again to the defence of the quantity theory.

THE STRONGEST OBJECTION to the introduction of political economy into the courses of study of secondary schools is the absence of

* *A Treatise on Money and Essays on Monetary Problems*. By J. SHIELD NICHOLSON. Third Edition (with new second part to Treatise on Money). Price, \$2.00. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

suitable text-books. This objection was urged by the "Committee of Ten;" by the members of the American Economic Association, who, in the New York Session of 1894, took ground against the formal study of economics in secondary schools; and, most strongly of all, by the teachers themselves, many of whom have confessed to the present writer their utter inability to find a suitable text. Professor Thompson's "Political Economy for High Schools and Academies"* will not satisfy objectors of the first and second classes, but possibly the teachers, who, after all, will decide the matter, may find it more nearly the precise thing they need than any previous work.

The chief defect of this book is its meagreness. With barely a hundred duodecimo pages, no index, one-half page table of contents, no bibliography or suggestions for collateral reading, no notes or diagrams: the book obviously lacks both essentials and conveniences. Some statements tempt controversy; *e. g.*, "good government costs more than bad:" "the United States of America . . . has four governments—National, State, County and Township or Municipal—at every point"—(p. 62). "It (protection) has the sanction of even free traders in their wiser moments, and can be defended as a benefit to all classes"—(p. 102). But the text is straightforward and candid, and the discussion of even such subjects as Bimetallism and Free Trade is in excellent temper. There is little at which to cavil in Dr. Thompson's statement of the position of his opponents, however incomplete the argument in behalf of his own position may appear.

The book is entitled to much more than this negative praise. It is written in a lucid, vigorous style, a most important consideration in text-books. It abounds in happy and telling illustrations. The condensation is wisely managed, not by over compact development of the subjects discussed, but rather by the omission of many topics altogether. The author's faculty for seeming continuity, without omitting any of those aspects of his subject, which are likely to prove most interesting, which has been tested in many University Extension courses, does good service in the present work. He has made political economy interesting, and at the same time has indicated its close relation to the political issues of the day, concerning which high school students already have their opinions.

REVIEWS.

The Law of Civilization and Decay; An Essay on History. By BROOKS ADAMS. Pp. 302. Price, \$2.50. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

* *Political Economy for High Schools and Academies.* By ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON, A. M., S. T. D. Pp. 108. Price, 55 cents. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1895.

The inadequacy of our methods of historical study has long been felt by all philosophic minds. Nothing which has thus far appeared has been able to satisfy us or leave us any less doubtful of the methods of investigation employed. In history all is chaos; and the intellectual anarchy is made more apparent by the enormous accumulation of details which modern research has achieved. A philosophy of history is lamentably needed, yet no attempt is more discredited. Since Montesquieu we have had attempts to explain the underlying law of human actions. To-day these attempts have left nothing more than the memory of the names of the men responsible for them. In the face of all this we have before us a book which shows plainly that its author has not been the least disconcerted by the fate of those who have gone before.

Mr. Adams states very clearly in his preface the steps which led up to the making of the "Law of Civilization and Decay." He became aware of the irreconcilable nature of the theories usually put forward to explain some of the religious aspects of the Reformation. His studies in theology led him to the conviction "that religious enthusiasm, which by stimulating the pilgrimage, restored relations between the West and East, was the power which produced the accelerated social movement, finally culminating in modern civilization." (p. v.) Further studies in the manifestations of the religious and mercantile spirits led him to another conviction, "that the intellectual phenomena under examination, fell into a series which seemed to correspond, somewhat closely, with the laws which are supposed to regulate the movements of the material universe." (p. vi.) Then comes the hypothesis, "based upon the accepted scientific principle, that the law of force and energy is of universal application in nature, and that animal life is one of the outlets through which solar energy is dissipated." (p. vii.)

His first deduction is, "that, as human societies are forms of animal life, these societies must differ among themselves in energy, in proportion as nature has endowed them, more or less abundantly, with energetic material.

"Thought is one of the manifestations of human energy, and among the earlier and simpler phases of thought, two stand conspicuous—Fear and Greed. Fear, which, by stimulating the imagination, creates a belief in an invisible world, and ultimately develops a priesthood, and Greed, which dissipates energy in war and trade." (p. vii).

As society becomes more centralized and consolidated "fear yields to greed, and the economic organism tends to supersede the emotional and marginal." (p. vii.) In other words, "energy ceases to find vent through the imagination, and takes the form of capital;

hence, as civilizations advance, the imaginative temperament tends to disappear, while the economic instinct is fostered, and thus substantially new varieties of men come to possess the world." (p. 245.) Finally, with unrestricted economic competition comes loss of energy, manifested by a gradual dissipation of capital, ending in social disintegration.

This hypothesis Mr. Adams supports by a series of studies in European history, from the time of Rome to the present century. His eleven chapters deal respectively with the Romans, the Middle Ages, the First Crusade, the Second Crusade, the Fall of Constantinople, the Suppression of the Temple, the English Reformation, the Suppression of the Convents, the Eviction of the Yeomen, Spain and India, and Modern Centralization. The material of these chapters is interesting reading, for it is thrown into a form and relation which one will not find in the traditional history of the periods covered. To establish *a priori* the abstract doctrine that social changes have the same character of uniformity as physical changes, is by no means easy. But let us once obtain a body of undeniable generalizations of social facts, as universally admitted as are our established truths of physical science, and we shall hear no more of the skeptical theory of arbitrary interposition. Nevertheless, the proof that the social series is analagous to the physical series is lacking, and Mr. Adams, like other philosophical historians, must be content to lie under the imputation of employing an hypothesis as the basis of his reasonings. Still the interpretation of history presses itself upon the attention as the first condition of practical wisdom, and whether this has been gained in the work under consideration can best be determined by a reference to the book itself.

At the outset his "estatic" and "economic" stages seem to place him in the position of sacrificing history to symbolic notation, and suggest very strongly Comte's law of three states. History may be looked at from the æsthetic-religious or from the economic points of view. But two aspects are not two successive states. From the fact that it is natural for the mind to look at things in all these ways, it in nowise follows that it is necessary or even natural to look at them one after the other. In fact, just because it is so natural to look at things in all these ways, it is not reasonable to suppose that the one mode will be exhausted, gone through, before the other is entered on, but that they will be simultaneous in origin and parallel in development.

The author's conception of "economic" activities lacks clearness; it certainly bears no relation to the results of contemporary economic analysis. "The economic goal of civilization is to turn the whole

natural environment of man from a relation of hostility or indifference into a relation of utility."* This quotation is fairly characteristic of the thought of present economics, and carries in it the germs of incalculable importance for future social analysis. The social philosophy with which Mr. Adams has come prepared to work out his problem, ignores the elements upon which the social forces rest. His political economy is the political economy of England in 1840; and he is still under the influence of those analogues of physics and economics so characteristic of the thought of fifty years ago.

A further consideration which shakes the claim of the solar energy proposition to be a "Law," is the evident necessity of limiting its application to but part of Europe, and ignoring not only the history of the most significant of early civilizations—that of Greece—but all study of civilization external to Europe. Despite the statement in the Preface that he was urged to the study of European history, Mr. Adams' work is hardly more than chapters in English history with other chapters on Rome and the Middle Ages as introductory to the body of the book. Mr. Adams has not added to our knowledge of the Romans in his first chapter, so colored is it by this modern medium. The study of Roman history affects some men disastrously, putting them into what has been called "the Fall of Rome state of mind." Our author has not escaped this influence, nor will the danger be any less until historians, trained as economists, come to the study of the later republican and early imperial period of Italy.

About half the book, from Chapter VII., on, deals with English history distinctly. This choice is one to which no objection can be made. In commerce and manufactures, England may be said to have conducted, on behalf of the world, the one great commercial experiment that has yet been made. Her practice has been so extended and diversified, that from it alone, with but little reference to that of the other trading nations of antiquity, or of modern times, the laws of economics have been inferred, and a new science constructed on a solid and indisputable basis. But the rapid and abnormal growth of English manufacturing interests within the last century has revolutionized the social aspects of the country, has distanced precedent, and complicated the English social fabric with new and unknown agencies to an extent hitherto without parallel. Mr. Adams does not overlook all this, but he does overlook the fact that modern society has completely annihilated the political effects of many of the economic and social evils of the ancient world. We find him constantly paralleling English, mediæval and Roman history, ignoring the fact of difference in environments and all that

* Smart's "Introduction to the Theory of Value," p. 13.

difference implies. Similar as our modern and ancient problems may appear upon the surface, there are still significant differences which are constantly being ignored by literary-ideological historians. The land question, for instance, in modern Europe, especially on the Continent, is not the land question of Rome. The ancients regarded landed property as the accessory of the citizen, even when its amount determined his rank in the commonwealth ; but the moderns view the proprietor as the accessory of the landed property ; and the political franchise, being inherent in the estate, is lost by the citizen who alienates his property. This has altered the character of the consequence of the accumulation of debts which, under the Roman provincial administration produced such injurious effects. The demoralization produced, was one of the most powerful agents in political revolutions, but the greater freedom afforded to the transference of landed property, and the ease with which capital now circulates, have given an extension to the operations of banking, which has remedied this peculiar defect in society.

So small and insignificant, when compared with the whole social area, has been the area from which the *data* have been drawn, that we are justified in insisting that, highly instructive and fertile of application as Mr. Adams' generalization may be, it cannot support the pretension to be a scientific law from which deductive inferences can be confidently drawn. Nor has the application of the generalization any tendency whatever to place history upon the basis of the inductive sciences. The difference in kind between historical facts and the facts of physics is seen at once. A physical law is a universal and constant property. But Mr. Adams' "Law" is but a collection of observations made under certain pronounced limitations, both as to time and place and mental attitude. That fixed laws of social changes exist is undoubted. That we possess a collection of observations sufficient to establish those laws is very doubtful. That these laws have not, as yet, been established is certain. But the history of a particular society, or group of societies, such as those of Western Europe, will not give us those laws. European progress must of course have conformed to the general laws of progress; and until we know those general laws, we cannot prove, as Mr. Adams claims to have proved, "that when a highly centralized society disintegrates, under the pressure of economic competition, it is because the energy of the race has been exhausted." (p. viii.)

To search history, ancient or mediæval, with a controversial object, destroys the mental conditions which are necessary in order that a past time may mirror itself on the mind in true outline and proportions. But when a speculative mind turns to history, especially

the history of foreign countries, there is an equally dangerous result. Knowing their affairs only, or chiefly from books, the understanding is not baffled by the complexity and contradictoriness of the phenomena. Such history can be turned into a doctrine, reduced to general theorems, with a rapidity and undoubtingness which fails us when we attempt our own. It is here, and because of this, that Mr. Adams has failed. His book reads like a tract for the times. As a latter-day pamphlet it is to be welcomed, but as an essay on history it is to be rigorously criticized. Whatever value the work possesses is independent of the argument put forward in the preface, but is to be found in the method of grouping historical phenomena; a method which in the future will be of immense value to the historian equipped for its application. That method is the method of economic history.

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Fallacies of Race Theories as Applied to Race Characteristics.

Essays by WILLIAM DALTON BABINGTON, M. A. Pp. 289. Price, \$2.00. London and New York. Longmans, Green & Co., 1895.

The essays published in this book were collected by a friend of the author after his death, and printed, as containing matter worth preserving. The general thesis of the book may be taken to be that there are no such things as national or race characteristics; no peculiar qualities which are to be explained by the hereditary character of the stock, but that all differences in the political and other institutions of different races may be attributed to other and more probable causes. Heredity is of little importance, environment of supreme importance.

The author calls attention to the simplicity with which writers of different nations speak of certain excellent qualities as if they were characteristic *par excellence* of the races to which they themselves belonged; and of the opposite qualities, as if they belonged primarily to other races, and were to be found in specimens of their own only by way of exception. Thus, the English writer is apt to point out what a kindly person the Englishman is, how brave and wise, how true, how prudent and pious. The opinions of other nations may be summed up, on the contrary, in the expression "perfidious Albion." Germans, in the same way, have formed for themselves the main conception of the German whose qualities they are wont to emphasize by speaking of *German* daring, *German* patience, *German* diligence, etc. It is easy to see how these national types come into existence, but not easy to establish any sure foundation for them. The author

points out that if we take immutability as a test there is no truth in the ancestral theory of national character. Popular modes of thought and feeling may change utterly and completely, and frequently do so with great rapidity and are probably not more in one nation than in another.

The first essay in the book is devoted to a review of the history of the Roman Empire in its relation to race theories. The current notion that the Roman race was thoroughly degenerate and had lost its vitality, while the barbarian races possessed not only vitality but a high type of the qualities which are necessary for civilization, is vigorously combatted by the author. And he undertakes to show that other causes having little or no relation to the vitality or decaying of the stock are sufficient to account for the fall of the Empire. The second essay is given to the character of the Gauls before and after the Roman invasion, showing how completely the Gauls had changed their supposed national character within a comparatively short period. Another essay is given to the examination of the supposed virtues of the early Germans, in which the author tries to show that they had the ordinary traits of all barbarians.

Still another chapter is given to Mommsen's characterization of the Celtic and German races. It ends with the suggestion that a famous passage from Mommsen's *History* might be read as follows: "In the accounts of the ancients as to the Teutons of the Elbe and the Main, we find almost every one of the characteristic traits we are accustomed to recognize as marking the Irish. Every feature reappears." "In fact," he says, "an examination of Mommsen's parallels between the ancient Gauls and the modern Irish shows pretty clearly that a closer parallel might be drawn between the Irish and the Teuton." This need afford, however, no surprise to any one who, in Gibbon's words, "condescends to reflect that similar manners will be produced by similar situations." The author takes up an equally extreme case in the contrast of the Saxon in England and the Celt, and maintains that "it is not possible to formulate any set of qualities as characteristic of one or the other." "Differences of personal condition are sufficiently accounted for by long-continued difference of environment. Local position, convenience or remoteness, climate and soil, social influences, legislation and administration of the law, political history and religion, or its absence—these are true and sufficient causes and there is no reason for imagining any other."

The author does not hesitate to take a still more extreme case and maintains that the progress of China was arrested not by its racial characteristics, but by its philosophy; and maintains that, if we had adopted the same method of handing over government to the control

of an intellectual aristocracy, western Europe would be as unprogressive as we imagine China to be.

Much might be said in the way of criticism of the positions which the author defends. But the circumstances under which the essays were published rather preclude severe criticism, and on the whole we are inclined to agree with the editor, that the matter was worth publishing. It may be said, however, apropos of the point raised in regard to China, that even if we agree that it was philosophy and not racial peculiarities which arrested Chinese development, we have still to explain the fact that the Chinese were willing to accept a system of government by philosophers, while the Aryans would not. Nor would it be an easy thing, we fancy, to demonstrate that racial peculiarities had no place in fixing the relative position of the black and red races toward the white race in the history of civilization; unless, indeed, we should maintain that living in Africa would make the white race black, or living in America make it red, with all which that implies.

EDMUND J. JAMES.

University of Chicago.

Geschichte der Nationalökonomischen Krisentheorien. By EUGEN VON BERGMANN. Pp. viii, 440. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 1895.

Professor Cossa has conveniently subdivided the general history of economic theory into an "external" history, dealing with economic systems as wholes, and an "internal" history, tracing the development of particular economic doctrines. The first method is largely biographical; the second is essentially doctrinal. The relative utility of the two methods need not be determined. They are obviously complementary rather than competitive. It is impossible to adopt a cross-sectional treatment until the broad strata of economic thought have been laid open. On the other hand, it is only by tracing the history of particular economic doctrines that the real interrelation of economic life and thought is revealed, and the fullest interpretation of economic theories, past and present, afforded. This logical succession of methods, hastened perhaps by the enduring influence of the historical school and of Roscher pre-eminently, explains the recent livelier study of economic "*Dogmengeschichte*,"—exemplified in the writings of Berens, Leser, Pierstorff, Gross, Mataja, Zuckerkandl, Ricca-Salerno, Böhm-Bawerk, Bloch, Cannan, Seligman, Taussig and a series of others.

The monograph before us, a history of theories of crises, represents a substantial contribution to this growing body of economic literature. The author's prefatory statement, that the interpretation of economic crises forms so central a point in the writings of many economists as

to afford the only avenue to a correct appreciation of their general thought is but one of a series of reasons that invite such a study. Dr. von Bergmann has shown by his critical acumen, his judicial temperateness, his skillful exposition and his easy acquaintance with a large literature, an eminent fitness for historical critical work, and the resultant monograph is one that no future student in this or adjacent fields can lightly neglect.

At the very outset of his work, the prospective historian of an economic theory is confronted by a troublesome alternative. Shall his enumeration of earlier theories be chronological or classificatory! A critical examination of successive theories in the order and in connection with the environment in which they occur, means clearer light upon the exact course of development and greater emphasis upon the respective influences of condition upon theory, of theory upon condition. A precise classification of related theories into sharply distinguished groups means more exhaustive treatment and a smaller residual. Obviously the choice, or rather the accent, will be determined partly by the temper of the writer, more largely by the nature and extent of the subject-matter. The best results will follow a combination of the two methods—a scientific classification of theories, corresponding more or less exactly with their historical succession. To such a combination, unfortunately not often possible, the history of theories of crises lends itself, and Dr. von Bergmann has profited by the opportunity, if not to the greatest degree possible, at least to the extent of making the chapters of his monograph, in general, both precise in classification and successive in time.

The general crisis of 1825 was virtually the first of international importance, and as such the first to receive careful and independent study at the hands of economists. But modern industrial depressions begin with modern industry itself, and some incidental examination of their nature and occasion is to be found in the writings of mercantilist and physiocratic writers, and of Adam Smith. These earlier views—potential theories of crises—found ordinarily in connection with theories of production and consumption, of demand and supply, are considered in the introductory chapter of the monograph.

Lauderdale, Thomas Spence, Storch and Ganiilh were among the earliest writers to attempt an adequate explanation of industrial depressions, and their writings may fairly be said to contain formal theories of crises. Industrial crises and resultant stagnation are therein explained as the result of general over-production made possible by the enormous increase in productive power. The remedy, in so far as one exists, lies in a corresponding increase of consumption. These theories, with certain others closely analogous or directly

influenced, are grouped together as "simple" or "naïve over-production theories."

In the writings of the classical economists, James Mill, Say, Ricardo, McCulloch and Senior, with their forerunners and followers, is to be found the familiar interpretation of industrial disturbances, here classed as the second group of theories. It is pre-eminently the classical theory of crises. It asserts the ultimate and inevitable equilibrium of total production and total demand. General over-production is impossible. Apparent over-production is but partial under-production. Industrial stagnation is the result not of excessive, but of misdirected productive power.

Malthus, Sismondi and Chalmers represent the retort of the over-production upon the under-production or classical theory. But the "simple" or "naïve" has now become the "developed" or "perfected" over-production theory, and as such constitutes a third distinct category. General over-production is still the effective cause of industrial crises; but it in turn is brought about not merely by increased productive power, but by dynamic changes in social organization and in social consumption. The distinction between the "simple" and the "perfected" over-production theories is in degree rather than in kind, but it is marked enough to warrant differentiation.

A fourth class of theories dates from the currency controversy raging in English economic thought in the decade from 1830 to 1840. The category embraces a long list of names, from Lord Overstone and Tooke to Mangoldt and Walker, and discloses marked diversity in detailed exposition. A common characteristic of the group is, however, the explanation of industrial crisis as largely the result of an abnormal reduction of circulating capital, effected either by the positive losses of wild-cat speculation, or by an unwarranted conversion of circulating into fixed capital.

The periodic recurrence of crises distinguishes a fifth class of theories, extending from Petty's "cycle within which dearths and plenties make their revolution," to Jevons' elaborate exposition of periodicity. The essential characteristic of these theories is accordingly a close association of industrial depressions with physical rather than with socio-economic conditions. In this respect, the category is sharply distinguished from the three remaining groups which complete the author's classification. The sixth is largely eclectic, embracing a series of writers who explain crises as the result of specific economic relations. The seventh and eighth represent the contribution and influence of socialistic thought. The one class treat crises as the necessary consequence of the present distributive system; the other interpret them as the inevitable outcome of the capitalistic organization of industry.

Dr. von Bergmann has not spared in his exposition of particular theories, and the monograph is a stout volume of four hundred and forty pages. His fullness of treatment in places suggests a history of theories of consumption rather than of crises. But the text is nowhere padded, and even the passages which impress the reader as not strictly relevant are read by him with interest and care. The broad field has been well covered, and Robertson and Hobson are among the few writers of importance omitted from consideration. The exposition of widely-different theories is ordinarily fair and sympathetic and the author's comments, while often regrettably scant, are never superficial or hypercritical. The book can fairly be described as a needed piece of work skillfully done.

J. H. HOLLANDER.

Johns Hopkins University.

The Key of the Pacific. The Nicaragua Canal. By ARCHIBALD ROSS COLQUHOUN. With numerous illustrations, plans and maps. Pp. xvii, 443, including eight appendices. Price, \$7.00. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1895.

Mr. Colquhoun tells the reader that he will "find in these pages the results of an examination of the problem in all its varied bearings." As a matter of fact, however, only the technical and descriptive aspects of the Nicaragua Canal project receive adequate consideration.

The book opens with a general description of the three main schemes of isthmus transit, the Tehuantepec ship railway, the Panama canal, and the Nicaragua canal, and at the close of the first chapter the author gives his reasons for deciding in favor of the Nicaragua route. The route itself is then briefly described and in this second chapter the operations of the present Maritime Canal Company and the Construction Company are also set forth. Then follows a rather superficial discussion of the important question of the guaranty of the bonds of the Maritime Canal Company by the United States Government. Though an Englishman, Mr. Colquhoun thinks that the canal should be placed under the auspices of the United States Government. He believes, however, that the canal route should be neutralized among the powers, and refers to Suez for his precedent. But it is a question how far the neutralization of the Suez Canal is effective while the English continue to occupy Egypt and control the outlet of the Red Sea. Then, again, the reference to Suez is not apposite, for this eastern canal is distant from the countries concerned and does not affect their problems of national defence and internal communication. But as President Hayes said, the Nicaragua

Canal will virtually constitute part of the coast line of the United States and join their Atlantic and Pacific seaboard. On this account American statesmen have come to believe that the ownership and political control of the canal cannot well be separated. This is indeed an interesting question of international politics, and deserves more careful consideration than the author has accorded it.

The engineering problem receives much more adequate treatment, and this discussion, covering two chapters, constitutes the best portion of the book. It is interesting to compare the conclusions reached by Mr. Colquhoun with those lately set forth by the United States Canal Board. Mr. Colquhoun is, on the whole, more optimistic as to the present plans than are the government experts. He recognizes the difficulties involved in the Ochoa dam, the Great Divide, and Greytown Harbor; but does not find the obstacles insurmountable. The Canal Board, on the other hand, hesitates to recommend the present proposals on the basis of the data thus far collected. Both authorities agree, however, in considering the project of a ship canal through Nicaragua feasible. In regard to the matter of probable cost the two are also substantially in accord. The Canal Company's estimate of \$70,000,000 is regarded by both as far too low. Mr. Colquhoun allows \$150,000,000, and the Canal Board gives a provisional estimate of \$133,472,893.

Mr. Colquhoun's "Historical Sketch of Interoceanic Projects" is accurate as far as it goes; but there are so many important omissions that the historical aspects of the question are practically not considered at all.

The descriptive portion of the work which follows is interesting, instructive, and well written. This account of Nicaragua's people and resources is also of present importance; for when the canal is built, all this fertile depression will be opened up, and the region traversed is indeed rich in latent opportunity.

The demand of the age for ship canals is next considered, and under the caption, "The Value of Canal and Lake," a summary is given of the views of European and American statesmen on the political aspects of the transit question.

The concluding chapter, dealing with the commercial effects of the canal, is very suggestive. The natural markets for the products of our Atlantic and Gulf seaboard and the Mississippi Valley are situated in the Pacific, and Mr. Colquhoun shows quite clearly how the United States will be benefited by having the countries of the west coast of South America and those of the Far East brought into close communication with their manufacturing centres. The author is an authority on the trade problems of the Far East, and his conclusions

should therefore be carefully noted by our merchants and manufacturers. Mr. Colquhoun fully recognizes that the canal will do far more for the United States than it will for Europe, and he says, speaking from the English standpoint, "The facts embodied in this work point with irresistible force the lesson that, with increased competition with the United States in the Far East as the inevitable result of the opening of the Nicaragua Canal, we shall have to bestir ourselves if we desire to maintain our commercial supremacy."

The book contains many maps, plans and charts, but nothing new is added in this way to the material already published by the Canal Company. The illustrations also are numerous, and add greatly to the attractive appearance of the work.

LINDLEY M. KEASBEY.

Bryn Mawr College.

Proportional Representation. By JOHN R. COMMONS, Ph. D. Pp. 298. Price, \$1.75. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1896.

Within the last few years the advocates of proportional representation have won so many adherents in this country and have been making such active efforts to further their cause that an adequate book explaining the views of the chief representatives of that system has been much needed. This work by Professor Commons, one of the most active members of the Proportional Representation League, gives the most complete and the fairest explanation of the different systems that has yet appeared in English; indeed, with the exception of the work, "*La Représentation Proportionnelle*," published in 1888 under the auspices of the Society for the Study of Proportional Representation in Paris, there is nothing in any language that may be compared with it. The earlier work gives more historical matter than does the later, but Professor Commons has given us in many ways a more practical exposition of the different systems than was given in the earlier work, and his book brings the subject up to date.

It is easy to be seen from the work itself that it is written by a man who not only ardently believes in the system, but by one who wishes to convert others. It opens with a brief chapter on the "Failure of Representative Assemblies," in which some of the well-known weaknesses of our present system are pointed out. A very suggestive chapter on the origin and development of representative assemblies follows, which gives a very satisfactory explanation of the reasons why our present system that somewhat earlier seemed satisfactory enough, now proves so very inadequate. The same subject is continued in much greater detail in the chapters on "The District System at Work." In perhaps no other place can one find in compact shape, so complete

a statement of facts regarding the gerrymander, the inequalities of representation that come from the district system without any effort on the part of partisans to gerrymander the state, the injurious effect of that system in preventing the rise of worthy leaders in our representative assemblies and the advantage that it gives to the lobby. The chapter is not at all a declamatory statement regarding these evils such as we find in our partisan press, but is rather a statistical study of the same question. Incidentally it is shown also how the legislative caucus normally grows out of the district system of representation and carries its evils still further.

The rest of the work is devoted to an explanation of the different systems of proportional representation that have been recommended from time to time, and of the effects that might be anticipated if such a system were to be put in force in our own states. In the chapters on "General Ticket," the "Limited Vote," and the "Cumulative Vote," a brief study is made of those incomplete proportional systems as they have been exemplified in the State of Illinois, in Boston, and in certain places in England. The author passes, however, almost immediately to a discussion of the more important systems, the "Hare System," and the different forms of proportional representation found in Switzerland, and recommended by the American Society for Proportional Representation. It is clear that Professor Commons, while doing full justice to the "Hare System," nevertheless, himself, believes that the "Swiss System" is more practical for immediate adoption here, and is the one that should be advocated in this country. Inasmuch as there have been so decided differences of opinion within the ranks of the advocates of proportional representation themselves, as to the relative merits of the different systems, Professor Commons acted wisely in not merely explaining with great care, and in a spirit of perfect fairness the Hare and Gove systems, but he also has put in an appendix to his work a form of law for the election of municipal boards in California, prepared by Mr. Alfred Cridge, of San Francisco, perhaps the most ardent and ablest advocate of the Hare System in the United States, and has also printed the Gove bill that was presented to the Legislature of Massachusetts two years ago, one that has been advocated by many reformers in this country.

The later chapters of the book giving the author's opinions as to the application of the system in city government, and in the promotion of various social reforms, are written in a temperate manner and are full of good sense. The author recognizes not merely the necessity, but also the advantages of the party system of government, and in the advocacy of the Swiss plan, presents a form of law that

could be adapted with no constitutional change to the Australian ballot system as found in most of our states. The objections of the practical politicians to the plan are met in a candid spirit, and their validity, so far as they are valid, fully recognized; but the additional advantages of the system that he advocates are, of course, also suggested. The most ardent advocate of the present party system, could have little to say against the spirit with which the subject is treated in these chapters.

The author believes that it would be wise for this system to be applied first in the election of boards of aldermen of city governments, and like local bodies, and then, after it had shown its excellence, it might gradually be extended to our states, and possibly, with certain modifications, to our national government. Special students of the subject will be grateful for the large amount of carefully prepared statistical material, and for a detailed explanation of some of the more intricate systems that are not generally known, and regarding which it is somewhat difficult to get material.

It is to be hoped that the work will have an extensive sale, and will thus spread the knowledge of the system widely among our voters. A system that has proved so successful, especially in Switzerland, and that would apparently exercise so strong an influence toward reforming our political abuses, ought to be understood by our more thoughtful citizens, whether they would be ready to vote for its immediate adoption in our city governments or not.

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The Development of Parliament During the Nineteenth Century.

By G. LOWNDES DICKINSON, M. A., Fellow of Kings College, Cambridge, Pp. 183. London. Longmans, Green & Co., 1895.

During the last twelve months there has appeared a series of publications on modern political development, which stands in curious contrast with earlier publications on the same subject. By far the greater number of these have taken the advance of democracy during the nineteenth century for their text. The more recent publications are characterized by a tone of pessimism which was foreign to the political thought of the '60's and '70's. As in most of the writings on politics, England and English political development have been made the main subjects of discussion. In the volume under review, Mr. Dickinson gives a succinct account of the successive steps in the extension of political privileges from the Reform Act of 1832 to the present time. The tendency of political parties to bid for the support of different elements of the population, and the extension of the

suffrage, which is the inevitable result, are admirably described by the author. A clear political insight into the forces, both economic and social, which have been at work in determining this development, gives to Mr. Dickinson's discussion of the subject more permanent value than belongs to the discussions of many better known writers. He seems to grasp the idea that democracy, in spite of Sir Henry Maine's authority, means something more than a mere form of government, and must be judged by standards other than purely political.

In the development of the democratic spirit and of democratic ideals we have mirrored a great social process as irresistible as the development of the other subjective characteristics in national life. In losing sight of this fact many of the modern political writers have been led into an opportunist, and narrowly critical attitude toward this problem.

Instead of placing the emphasis upon the new subjective qualities, which advancing democracy demands, they have endeavored to place themselves in opposition to manifest tendencies by an effort to show the utter futility of democratic principles, and the hopeless absurdity of government by the masses. Into this snare the author has not allowed himself to fall, although his views and instincts are manifestly conservative.

In the last two chapters he sums up in the space of some fifty pages the present political situation in England. He endeavors to show that a form of socialism, until recently foreign to English political life, is making itself felt, namely, the more revolutionary type of Marxist socialism. The acceptance of socialistic platforms by a number of labor unions and labor congresses impresses the author far beyond its real significance. He sees in it a near future when the majority of the representatives in the House of Commons will represent this tendency, which is rapidly becoming the political creed of the working classes.

In one respect Mr. Dickinson's views are in close harmony with those advanced by other recent writers, such as Mr. Lecky. The change in the constitution and the position of the House of Commons which has taken place since the Reform Act of 1867 is regarded as an indication of political decline. It is curious to note that the close relation existing between representatives and constituencies which we are accustomed to regard as one of the main elements of strength in the English form of government is viewed by the author as a source of political weakness and a cause of increasing legislative inefficiency. It involves the loss of independence of judgment on the part of the House of Commons. The fact that the House of Commons merely registers the opinions dictated by the country at large, that

all the important acts are decided in the political discussions of the people, and that the debates in the House of Commons have been reduced to mere matters of form, have taken from the passage of measures the safeguards of careful consideration and minute parliamentary debate. In taking this stand the author does not seem to realize that this condition is one of the signs of political progress, a proof of the superior political education of the English people as compared with that of other civilized peoples. Although it involves manifest dangers incident to the increasing complexity of English institutions, to magnify these tendencies into indications of political decline is both unscientific and unhistorical. It indicates a lack of careful analysis of political conditions; a result of the failure to bring social and economic conditions in close relation with political principles. With these few criticisms of Mr. Dickinson's conclusions it may be said that his exposition of facts, and the clear perception of political methods and principles are such as to make the work of great value to the student of contemporaneous English politics.

L. S. ROWE.

University of Pennsylvania.

State Railroad Control, with a History of its Development in Iowa.

By FRANK H. DIXON, Ph. D. With an Introduction by Henry C. Adams, Ph. D. Pp. ix, 250. Price, \$1.75. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1896.

In Volume IX of the Library of Economics and Politics, Dr. Dixon deals with the subject of State Railroad Control. An introduction to the book is written by Professor Henry C. Adams, "to show the bearing of a detailed study upon railroad control in a particular state to the great railroad problem." Professor Adams believes that the solution of the railroad question in this country must come about either through government ownership or through railroad regulation by means of commissions, and he rejects the former method as an undesirable and impossible one. The commission system is on trial both by the states and by the national government. The detailed study of the history and results of a typical railway commission, such as that of the State of Iowa, has value, because it must inevitably show what are the possibilities of the commission plan of railway regulation.

Dr. Dixon divides his book into four parts, in the first of which he deals with the Railroad History of Iowa before 1878. Part II., is devoted to the discussion of the Advisory Commission, established by the State of Iowa in 1878. The author goes into the work of the Commission with much detail, and shows an intimate knowledge of

the subject he is treating. In Part III., the history of the Commission with Power is given. In 1888 the State of Iowa substituted for the Advisory Commission another one having mandatory powers, the body that still has charge of the regulation of railroads in the State of Iowa. Part IV., is devoted to a brief presentation of general conclusions.

The author began his study believing that the Advisory Commission was more desirable than the one having mandatory powers; but his investigation has led him to alter his views. He believes that the change which Iowa made in 1888 was wise; the only mistake made by that law being that of changing the office of railroad commissioners from an appointive to an elective one. Although Dr. Dixon feels that the mandatory commission has proven more successful in Iowa than the advisory commission would have proven had it been continued, still he does not draw the conclusion that mandatory commissions are in all cases more desirable than the other type. Which form of commission organization a state should adopt depends upon the character of its population, its commercial and industrial interests, and its geographical situation.

The author's general conclusion is that the commission plan of regulation has been a success, and that it should be adhered to in the future. He believes that the degree of national regulation should be increased to correspond with the ever growing importance of interstate as compared with intrastate traffic. Both Professor Adams and Dr. Dixon believe that the state commissions will always have a function to perform, and that the development of national regulation will never render state regulation useless. Some combined system of national and state control is the thing to be desired. The conclusions of the author are conservative and thoroughly sound.

Dr. Dixon's book is a temperate, careful and valuable study of an important subject. The work has, however, the serious literary defect of containing far too much quotation. The book could have been made a fourth smaller, and would have been made more readable by avoiding quotation wherever it was possible. Even in the chapter on Conclusions, at the close of Part II., one-third of the matter presented is quoted. In the conclusions of Part III., fully one-half is quoted. This is, however, only a literary defect, and does not detract from the scientific value of the work. EMORY R. JOHNSON.

A Treatise on International Law. By WILLIAM EDWARD HALL. Fourth edition. Pp. xxvii, 791. London: Oxford University Press, 1895.

When a book has passed into its fourth edition critical comment is bound to be well nigh exhausted. Moreover, this edition derives a

personal rather than a scientific interest since the sad event of the author's decease interrupted the work of revision in its midst. Fortunately the original work was so carefully done and the succeeding editions have been so fully revised that not much remained to be done except to bring the work up to date.

The most interesting and important events in the domain of international law, since the third edition appeared in 1889, have been the partition of Africa and the settlement, on paper at least, of the Bering Sea dispute. Of these, the first is made noteworthy by the advent of a new term in law—the Sphere of Influence. The development of the concept herein contained is significant as an illustration of the process by which all international law is evolved. At present, in respect to this new term, it may justly be urged that “in its indefiniteness consists its international value.” In other words, events have compelled a new set of rules for procedure, and they will in turn fashion it to suit the exigencies of the future. Meanwhile the vagueness of their content leaves the possibility of adaptation to new conditions continually open.

The second event of importance, to us in the United States at least, which is added to this volume, is the decision of the Arbitration Tribunal in the Bering Sea dispute. Following the author's custom, no concise history of this case is given, but the points at law are discussed under their appropriate headings. For a *résumé* of the history, the student may be referred to Walker's “Science of International Law,” or to the work of the late Dr. Snow, of Harvard. The decision of the Commission merely reaffirmed the already accepted principles with respect to the control of territorial waters, and rejected the novel pretensions of Secretary Blaine; so that in reality there was not much to be added in any case. Of far greater importance is the subsequent recommendation of the *Institute de Droit International* at its session at Paris in 1894, that the littoral state of three marine miles ought to be doubled. The arbitrary limit having formerly been fixed to conform to the range of the cannon of that time, it seems but reasonable that the modern limit of possession ought to correspond to the limit of modern defence.

This volume is considerably enlarged from the third edition, and it more than ever warrants the unstinted praise which has always been accorded to it. Too comprehensive for a college text-book, it will remain the modern standard for reference, a lasting monument to the eminent authority whose labors ceased with the preparation of this edition.

W. Z. RIPLEY.

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CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BOOKS PUBLISHED FROM MARCH 15, TO MAY 10, 1896.

[In this list are included the titles of only the more important works on Politics, Law, Economics and Sociology.]

I. POLITICS AND LAW.

(a) *Political History.*

Influence of French Immigration on the Political History of the United States. By ELIZABETH H. AVERY. Pp. 75. Price, 50c. Redfield, S. D., by the authoress, 1896.

Studies in Diplomacy. From the French of COUNT BENEDETTI. Pp. lxi, 328. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

[Contains chapters on the Triple Alliance, Armed Peace and its Consequences, and an account of the author's mission to Ems previous to the Franco-Prussian war.]

An Ambassador of the Vanquished. Viscount Éliede de Gontaut-Biron's Mission to Berlin, 1871-77. From his Diaries and Memoranda. By the DUKE DE BROGLIE. Translated with Notes by Albert D. Vandam. Pp. 282. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

The United States of America, 1765-1865. By EDWARD CHANNING. Cambridge Historical Series. Pp. 352. Price, \$1.50. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

The Development of Parliament During the Nineteenth Century. By G. LOWES DICKINSON. Pp. 183. Price, \$2.50. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1895.

[Reviewed in the current number of the ANNALS, Vol. viii., p. 176.]

The Balance of Power, 1715-89. Period VI. By ARTHUR HASSELL. Pp. 433. Price, \$1.60. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

[An interesting description of the changing relations of European Powers during the eighteenth century. The author also gives a clear analysis of the relation of the United States and American Independence to the European conflicts.]

History of the Post Office Packet Service Between the Years 1793-1815. Compiled from Records, Chiefly Official. By ARTHUR H. NORWAY. Pp. 312. Price, \$3.50. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

[An interesting popular account of the dangers and vicissitudes which attended the packet service during the years of the Napoleonic wars. Particular attention is given to the influence of the American war, and several naval engagements are described in a spirited manner.]

Colonial Origins of New England Senates. By F. L. RILEY. Johns Hopkins University Studies, Fourteenth Series, No. 3. Pp. 76. Price, 50c. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, March, 1896.

[In this work the author examines not only the early constitution of the Upper House in the New England States, but also the separation of executive, judicial and legislative functions. The idea of legislative checks and balances as introduced into the American system of government forms an important part of this monograph.]

History of Prussia under Frederick the Great, 1756-57. By HERBERT TUTTLE. With a biographical sketch of the author by Herbert B. Adams. Vol. iv. Pp. xlv, 159. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1896.

(b) *Political Theory.*

The Separation of Governmental Powers in History, in Theory, and in the Constitutions. By WILLIAM BONDY. Columbia College Studies. Vol. v, No. 2. Pp. 185. Price, \$1.00. New York: Columbia College, 1896.

[Contains an exhaustive discussion of the relation existing between executive, legislative and judicial powers in the American Constitution. The question of checks and balances which played so important a part in the Federal and State Constitutional Conventions is examined both as an abstract question of political science and in its actual operation.]

Democracy and Liberty. By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. Two Vols. Pp. 1212. Price, \$5.00. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896.

[The two volumes of Mr. Lecky contain a mass of information on all the important political problems of recent times. In fact this work is rather a cyclopedia of political questions than a philosophical treatment of the question of democracy in its relation to liberty.]

An Examination of the Nature of the State. A Study in Political Philosophy. By WESTEL W. WILLOUGHBY. Pp. 448. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

[This work is rather an examination of the development of political theories than an examination of the nature of the state. The exposition of the subject is clear, although it is often difficult to ascertain the author's own view touching the most important questions.]

(c) *Miscellaneous.*

Die Gemeindeverwaltung der K. K. Reichshaupt—und Residenzstadt Wien in den Jahr 1889-93. By Dr. RAIMUND GRÜBL. Pp. xxvii, 742. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1895.

[This exhaustive report of the Mayor of Vienna covers an important period in the history of the city. The consolidation of surrounding districts in 1890 has brought new problems to the city government. The success of the attempts to meet these new needs is well described in this volume.]

Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain. By S. H. JEVES. Public Men of To-Day Series. Pp. 258. Price, \$1.25. New York: Frederick Warne & Co., 1896.

Official History of the Discussion between Venezuela and Great Britain on their Guiana Boundaries. Pp. 445 and map. Washington: Venezuelan Legation, 1896.

A Treatise on the Law Pertaining to Corporate Finance. Including the Financial Operations and Arrangements of Public and Private Corporations as Determined by the Courts and Statutes of the United States and England. By WILLIAM A. REID. Two Vols. Pp. 1503. Price, \$12.00. Albany: A. B. Parsons, 1896.

[An exhaustive examination of the financial relations, external and internal, of private and public corporations. The chapters on the fiscal management of public corporations (county, township and city), are especially deserving of attention by students of public finance. The chapter on taxation by public corporations gives a succinct account of the law of this important branch of the subject.]

A Treatise on the Law of Employers' Liability Acts. By CONRAD RENO. Pp. xiv, 423. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1896.

[Contains a complete and careful exposition of the legal development of the relations between employer and employe. Judicial and statutory legislation are kept distinctly apart, and this enables one to clearly distinguish between the view of the courts and the view of the Legislature.]

II. ECONOMICS.

(a) *General and Theoretical.*

Heures de Travail et Salaires. Étude sur l'Amélioration directe de la Condition des Ouvriers industriels. By MAURICE ANSIAUX. Pp. 299. Price, 5 fr. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1896.

[An exhaustive consideration of the practical bearings of the wages question and of the length of the working day. The author favors state interference to shorten the day and fix a minimum wage, and believes that the present competitive system with its reliance on the laborer's "standard of comfort" cannot be permanently maintained.]

The Coming Individualism. By A. EGMONT HAKE and O. E. WESSLAU. Pp. xi, 347. Price, \$4.00. London: Constable & Co., 1895.

[A review of present economic conditions and theories in England in their relation to historic political economy from the radical, individualistic point of view. An appendix contains an essay on Municipal Government, by Frances Fletcher-Vane.]

Classes and Masses: Wealth, Wages and Welfare in the United Kingdom. A Handbook of Social Facts for Political Thinkers. By W. H. MALLOCK. Pp. xvi, 139. Price, \$1.25. London: A. & C. Black. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

[Eudeavors to show that the condition of the lower and middle classes has improved in recent years more rapidly than that of the upper or rich classes. It is entertaining and suggestive.]

Letters of David Ricardo to John Ramsay McCulloch, 1816-23. By J. H. HOLLANDER, Editor and Annotator. Publications American Economic Association. Vol. x, Nos. 5 and 6. Pp. xxii, 182. Price, \$1.25. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895.

[In addition to forty-one letters from Ricardo to McCulloch, there are two written to Malthus, one from Malthus to Ricardo, and James Mill's letter to McCulloch, describing Ricardo's death. The editor has enriched the letters by a critical introduction and interesting explanatory notes.]

Der Objektive Wert und Preis. Grundlegung einer realen Wert-und Preistheorie. By JOHANNES WERNICKE. Pp. 116. Price, 2.40 marks. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

[This is a precise restatement of the theory of value, employing modern nomenclature and modern illustrations, but differing little from the familiar cost of production theory. Wants are declared to be relatively fixed and invariable, while the means of satisfying them are variable. Considerable attention is given to money and the causes determining the value of the precious metals.]

Finanztheoretische Untersuchungen nebst Darstellung und Kritik des Steuerwesens Schwedens. By Dr. KNUT WICKSELL. Pp. xiv, 352. Price, 8 marks. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

[In addition to an interesting history of the taxing system of Sweden from the earliest times down to the present, the monograph contains a chapter on the "theory of incidence," and on a "new principle of just taxation." The latter are deductive and show the influence of the Austrian School.]

(b) *Money and Banking.*

The Bullion Report and the Foundation of the Gold Standard. By F. W. BAIN. Pp. 19. Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1896.

[A criticism of the "Bullion Report," based on the theory that money is not a commodity.]

History of Monetary Systems: A Record of Actual Experiments in Money Made by Various States of the Ancient and Modern World. By ALEXANDER DEL MAR. Pp. 444. Price, \$2.00. Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 1895.

[A popular American edition of the work first published in England last year. Is clear and scholarly. Will be noticed at length in the Book Department of the ANNALS.]

The Science of Money. By ALEXANDER DEL MAR. Pp. 205. Price, \$2.25. Second edition, revised. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

[The author discusses several topics that have arisen since the appearance of the first edition in 1885. The leading thesis of the book is the necessity for state regulation of money.]

Money and its Relations to Prices: being an Inquiry into the Causes, Measurement, and Effects of Changes in General Prices. By L. L. PRICE. Pp. 200. Price, \$1.00. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896.

[The six chapters of this work treat of methods of measuring changes in prices, the economic effects of such changes, and then in succession of the rise of prices in the sixteenth century, the fall of prices during the Napoleonic period, the rise in prices after 1848, and the fall since 1873. Originally delivered as a course of lectures, the matter presented is descriptive rather than statistical.]

Do We Want an Elastic Currency? By F. M. TAYLOR. Publications of Michigan Political Science Association, Vol. ii, No. 1. Pp. 28. Price, 25c. Ann Arbor, 1896.

[The methods by which the currency systems of leading European powers are given a certain degree of elasticity, together with the advantages this brings to them, are considered, and some statistics show how our own monetary needs fluctuate, and emphasize the defects in our present circulating medium.]

What is Money? or, Popular Remedies for Popular Ills. By T. MAY THORPE. Pp. 75. Price, 25c. New York: J. S. Ogilvie & Co., 1896.

[An attack upon monometallism. Holds that a "gold syndicate" is squeezing the people at will. Advocates paper money and the free coinage of silver.]

Money in Politics. By J. K. UPTON. With an Introduction by Edward Atkinson. Pp. xxii, 292. Price, cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50c. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., 1895.

[A popular sketch of monetary legislation and operations in this country; marked by a strong bias in favor of monometallism.]

(c) *Miscellaneous.*

The Financial and Economical Condition of Netherlands India, since 1870, and the Effect of the Present Currency System. By N. P. VAN DEN BERG. Pp. 61, xxvii. Third edition, revised and brought up to date. Hague: Netherlands Economic and Statistical Society, 1895.

State Railroad Control, with a History of its Development in Iowa. By FRANK H. DIXON. With an Introduction by Henry C. Adams. Library of Economics and Politics, No. 9. Pp. ix, 251. Price, \$1.75. New York and Boston: Thos. Y. Crowell & Co., 1896.

[Reviewed in current number of the ANNALS, Vol. viii, p. 178.]

Les Finances des États-Unis Mexicains. D'Après les Documents Officiels. By PROSPER GLONER. Pp. viii, 703. Price, 26 marks. Berlin: Puttkamer & Mulhbrecht, 1896.

Taxation and Taxes in the United States under the Internal Revenue System, 1781-1895. An Historical Sketch. By FREDERIC C. HOWE. Pp. xiii, 293. Price, \$1.75. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1896.

[Starting out with an explanation of the relation between the need of revenue and the adoption of the constitution, the author gives a very clear account of the early attempts at internal taxation. The present system is shown to date from the war period beginning in 1812. Special attention is given to the income tax and to the excise taxes, and chapters are devoted to the administration of the internal revenue system and to internal taxes since 1870.]

Ragioneria delle Cooperative di Consumo. By GIOVANNI ROTA. Pp. xv, 456. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli.

Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle. Ouvrage commencé par VIVIEN DE SAINT-MARTIN et continué par LOUIS ROUSSELET. Seven Vols. Pp. 6550. Price, 205 fr. Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1896.

III. SOCIOLOGY,

(a) *General and Theoretical.*

The Principles of Sociology. An Analysis of the Phenomena of Association and of Social Organization. By FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS. Pp. xvi, 476. Price, \$3.00. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

[Reviewed in current number of the ANNALS, Vol. viii, p. 1.]

Les Principes du Positivisme Contemporain. Exposé et Critique. By JEAN HALLEUX. Pp. 351. Price, 3.50 fr. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1895.

[A brief statement of the philosophical principles of modern positivism, with a discussion of the same from the point of view of Roman Catholic theology.]

Étude sur l'hérédité. Dissertation pour le Doctorat en Philosophie Selon S. Thomas. By H. MALIÈRE. Pp. 153. Louvain: Université, 1895.

[A discussion of the problem of heredity in connection with the biological and philosophical systems of many thinkers viewed historically. The point of view so far as any critical part of the work goes, is that of a Roman Catholic theologian.]

Social Rights and Duties. Addresses to Ethical Societies. By LESLIE STEPHEN. Two vols. The Ethical Series, No. 3. Pp. 492. Price, \$3.00. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

Voluntary Socialism. By FRANCIS D. TANDY. Pp. 228. Price, cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50c. Denver: Crusade Publishing Co., 1896.

[An argument against state socialism, and a discussion of the inadequacy of political methods for social reform.]

(b) Miscellaneous.

Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina. By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT. Johns Hopkins University Studies. Fourteenth Series, Nos. iv-v. Pp. 86. Price, 50c. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896.

[This monograph considers in six chapters the numerical importance of the slaves in North Carolina, their legal status, religious and social life, and contrasts the negro slaves with the native Indian servants and indentured whites.]

Die Denkschöpfung umgebender Welt aus kosmogonischen Vorstellungen in Cultur und Uncultur. By A. BASTIAN. Pp. 211. Berlin: Fred Dummlers, 1896.

[This book contains material presented originally to the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Primitive History, to explain the significance of certain additions to the collections illustrating Buddhism which seem to show that the Buddhistic philosophy reduces itself to a few simple elementary ideas common to many other peoples of the world.]

Life and Labour of the People in London. Vol. VII,—Population Classified by Trades (Continued). By CHARLES BOOTH. Pp. viii, 508. Price, \$3.00. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

[Noticed in current number of the ANNALS, Vol. viii, p. 158.]

P. J. Proudhon. Seine Lehre und sein Leben. Dritte Abtheilung; Sein Leben und seine Sozialphilosophie. By KARL DIEHL. Sammlung nationalökonomischer Abhandlung, VI. Bd., 4 Heft. Pp. 239. Price, 4.50 marks. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

Armenzorg in Nederland. In opdracht der Vereeniging voor de Staathuishoudkunde en de Statistiek bewerkt door. PH. FALKENBURG. Gemeente Rotterdam. 1^e Aflevering. 2^e Deel. Pp. 284. Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1896.

Civic Club Digest of the Educational and Charitable Institutions and Societies in Philadelphia. Compiled by a Committee of the Social Science Section of the Civic Club. With an Introduction on Social Aspects of Philadelphia Relief Work by SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY. Pp. clxiv, 201. Philadelphia: By Civic Club, 1895.

[A classified list of the charitable and educational institutions of Philadelphia, preceded by a general discussion of the problems of modern charity, with special reference to local needs and conditions in the city.]

Present Evolution of Man. Part I, Organic Evolution. Part II, The Present Evolution of Man. By G. ARCHDALL REID. Pp. 370. London: Chapman & Hall, 1896.

[An elaborate study of organic evolution contrasted with the present evolution of man as viewed from both the biological and psychological sides of the current discussions of this subject.]

MISCELLANY.

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

The second annual meeting of the National Municipal League, which was, at the same time, the Fourth National Conference for Good City Government, was held in Baltimore on May 6, 7 and 8, and brought together representatives of thirty-five civic associations from various sections of the country. As usual, a number of papers of a general character were presented. As regards the reports on municipal conditions, the southern cities were made the central feature of the program. It has been the policy of the League during the last few years to bring to these conventions reports on municipal conditions in different sections of the country. Each year a different group of states is selected. In this way the proceedings of the various conventions will give a general picture of the municipal conditions throughout the United States.

In the Annual Report of the Secretary of the League, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, an account of the progress of reform during the last year was presented. One of the significant facts which this report emphasized is the rapid increase of civic associations, founded for the purpose of effecting reform in municipal administration. In the North Atlantic group, there were 27 such associations in 1894; 79 in 1895; and 121 in 1896; in the South Atlantic, 2 in 1894; 13 in 1895; and 17 in 1896; in the Northern Central, 14 in 1894; 54 in 1895; and 78 in 1896; in the Southern Central, none in 1894; 7 in 1895; and 15 in 1896; in the Western States, 2 in 1894; 23 in 1895; and 36 in 1896. The work of these associations is making itself felt in local elections and in some cases, as, for example, in Baltimore, Buffalo and Syracuse they have controlled the local elections or dictated the candidates. The report dwelt at some length upon the progress of municipal civil service reform. In this respect the eastern cities are still far ahead of the West, although the recent Civil Service Reform Act of Illinois as applied to Chicago constitutes a great step in advance.

At the afternoon session of Wednesday, May 6, Charles Morris Howard, described the results of the recent reform movement in Baltimore,* and Merritt Starr, read a paper on "Chicago Since the

* See ANNALS, May, 1896, "Notes on Municipal Government" for description of this movement.

Adoption of Civil Service Reform." In the evening, James C. Carter, of New York City, delivered the president's annual address. Mr. Carter dwelt upon the close alliance between municipal and state politics, holding that this close connection and the opportunity for political manipulation which it afforded, were at the root of municipal mismanagement. He argued strongly for the complete separation of local and municipal politics.

The morning session of Thursday, May 7, was devoted to a discussion of the relation of the municipality to quasi-public works, with special relation to the street railway service. Frank M. Loomis, of Baltimore, read a paper, arguing strongly against municipal ownership. Mr. Loomis pointed out the dangers which the extension of municipal functions must necessarily bring; the increased possibilities of patronage and corruption. The paper of Mr. Richardson, of Philadelphia, which followed that of Mr. Loomis, strongly advocated municipal ownership. The contention of Mr. Richardson was that the gigantic corporations controlling the franchises of the city, constituted one of the gravest menaces to the honesty of municipal administration. He showed that the interest of stockholders in such companies acted as an obstacle to the proper control of such corporations. William M. Salter, of Philadelphia, presented a paper on the same subject, emphasizing the duties of such corporations to the public and to their employes. The afternoon session of May 7 was devoted to reports on the municipal condition of Richmond, Va.; Atlanta, Ga.; Nashville and Memphis, Tenn. The favorable comment on the administration of these cities was somewhat of a surprise to the convention, especially when compared with the pessimistic reports which the convention has been accustomed to hear from representatives of northern and western cities.

The session of May 8 was occupied with papers on general municipal problems. Frederick William Holls presented a paper on "State Boards of Municipal Control," a subject to which he has given special attention. Mr. Holls' plan has been incorporated in a bill submitted to the legislature at its last session.* In addition, the following papers were presented: "The Reform of Our Municipal Councils," by Henry W. Williams, of Baltimore; "Should Municipal Legislators Receive a Salary?" by James W. Pryor, Secretary of the City Club of New York; "Shall We Have One or Two Legislative Chambers?" by Samuel B. Capen, President of the Boston Municipal League, and John A. Butler, President of the Milwaukee Municipal League; "The Necessity of Excluding Politics from Municipal Business," by Colonel

* See ANNALS for March, 1896, "Notes on Municipal Government," p. 178.

George E. Waring, Chief of the Bureau of Street Cleaning, New York City. Of these, the paper by Colonel Waring was of special interest, as it contained an admirable exposition of the effect of eliminating politics from the administration of municipal departments. The opposition which was encountered, the perseverance and determination of the head of the street cleaning department of New York City, and the success of the reform principles, offered the most encouraging prospects for similar work in other cities.

At the afternoon session of Friday, May 8, the following papers were read: "Municipal Condition of Springfield, Massachusetts," by George A. Denison, of Springfield; "Municipal Condition of Albany, New York," by Hon. John Boyd Thatcher, Mayor of Albany; "Municipal Condition of Pittsburg," by George W. Guthrie, of Pittsburg; "Christian Citizenship Leagues," by Rev. Albert G. Lawson, D.D., of Camden.

In addition to the valuable information which is brought together at these meetings, the contact with those who are engaged in this work throughout the country, and the mutual help and encouragement which this contact brings with it, constitute one of the most important and valuable features of these conventions.

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NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

AMERICAN CITIES.

New York City.—The Greater New York bill was signed by Governor Morton on Monday, May 11, 1896. Its history is of special interest, as it illustrates the working of the new constitutional provision, which was intended to give to the municipalities of the state a certain control over legislation directly affecting them. It will be remembered that, in 1894, the question of consolidation was submitted to the electors of the districts directly interested, namely, New York, Brooklyn, Long Island City and certain adjacent districts in Kings, Queens and West Chester counties, and resulted in a majority in favor of such consolidation. When the bill came before the legislature, in 1895, its passage was strenuously opposed by a considerable section of the population of the districts, on the ground that the small majority which had expressed itself in favor of consolidation was not to be considered as conclusive of the sentiment of the community; that during the year which had intervened many who had formerly favored consolidation were now opposed to such a step. The bill, however, passed the Assembly and the Senate as a special city bill, that is one applying to less than all the cities of one class, as defined in the constitution. The constitution provides that such bills, after passing both Houses, shall be submitted to the mayors of the cities of the first class and to the mayor and councils of the cities of the second and third classes. After a number of public hearings, the mayors of Brooklyn and New York City passed unfavorably upon the measure. The Mayor of New York in his message to the legislature stated that while favoring consolidation in principle, he objected to the procedure prescribed in the bill. To understand his objections it is necessary to give the leading provisions of the bill as passed. The bill declares that the territory affected by the vote of 1894 upon consolidation, is consolidated in one municipal corporation, but that the present local government shall be left in full operation until the new government is established. For the purpose of framing a charter for this new consolidated city, a commission is to be appointed, to consist of the President of the existing Greater New York Commission, of the Mayors of New York City, Brooklyn, and Long Island City, the State Engineer, the Attorney-General, and nine other persons residents of the territory affected, to be appointed by the Governor, with the approval of the Senate. This

Commission is given full power to examine witnesses under oath, and to procure all information by legal process; the powers to this effect being the same as that of the Supreme Court of New York State. The Commission is to report to the Legislature on or before February 1, 1897, and the officers of the new municipality are to be elected in November, 1897.

Mayor Strong in considering this bill strongly emphasized the necessity of framing a charter before effecting final consolidation. In this sentiment he is supported by many of the reform organizations in New York City, among others the City Club. It is argued that consolidation is not of such urgent necessity as to make it necessary to declare solemnly in a legislative enactment that this vast territory is to constitute one city without giving any clue as to the form of government under which this great city is to be administered. The importance of obtaining a satisfactory form of government for a city with a population of nearly 3,000,000, and a territory of over 138 square miles, has been seemingly lost sight of in the consolidation bill.

The veto message of the Mayor of Brooklyn was still more emphatic than that of the Mayor of New York City. The constitution provides, that in case of a negative attitude of the cities toward special city bills, the bills are to be returned to the House in which they originated and must again pass both Houses. It was thought by the members of the Constitutional Convention that questions involving fundamental principles of municipal policy would only in the most extreme cases be passed over the negative attitude of the cities affected. This expectation, however, seems to have received but little support from the experience of the cities since the new constitution went into effect. In the case of the Greater New York bill, a majority declared in favor of it in both the Senate and the Assembly and the bill was signed by the Governor.

A work of great responsibility now devolves upon the Commission and the form of government devised by them will be followed with great interest by all students of municipal problems.

Limitation on the Height of Buildings. In the belief that the rapid increase in the number of extremely high buildings calls for some restrictive legislation in the interests of public health and safety, the City Club has secured the introduction of a bill in the legislature to limit the height of buildings in the city to fifteen times the square root of the width of the abutting street in each case. Certain necessary exceptions are, however, provided for in the bill. That the situation is serious may be inferred from the fact that the plans for more than forty buildings over one hundred feet in height are now pending in the building department.

Appropriation of City Money by State Legislature. Several bills are now pending making special appropriations from the treasury of New York City for private charitable institutions. The history of grants of this kind makes this subject one of great and increasing importance to this city. The constant, and apparently inevitable, tendency is for such grants to increase in amount with each institution from year to year. More than this, the tendency is to increase the number of institutions to which grants of city money are made by the state. Most of those who are interested in charitable institutions in New York know that if one institution profits in this way, others of like character are equally entitled to the same advantages. It is impossible to set probable bounds to these demands upon the city treasury. It is an unsound principle of public policy to permit the grant of city funds by an extraneous authority especially when made to institutions which are in no manner under city control.

Philadelphia.—A recent report of the Director of Public Works to the Chairman of the Finance Committee of City Councils throws considerable light upon the municipal management of gas works. The dangers to which municipal industrial enterprises are subjected, owing to the desire of Councils to maintain a tax rate at as low a figure as possible, is illustrated in the information furnished by this report. It is not so much inefficiency in the administration of the gas works, as the lack of far-seeing business policy in Councils which accounts for the unsatisfactory condition of the city's plant. During a period of over thirty years, from 1835 to 1887, the gas works of the city were in the hands of a Board of Gas Trustees, which was an irresponsible administrative board, over which neither Councils nor the Mayor was able to exercise adequate control. In 1887, when the last bonds for the purchase of the works and for the payment of which the trustees were created had been cancelled, the gas works were placed under the direct charge of one of the departments of the city government. During this whole period, and even during the ten years of direct city management, the methods of gas manufacture in the city's works have not kept pace with the improved methods adopted in other cities. Councils has steadily refused to make sufficiently large appropriations for the purpose of introducing these new processes. As has been the case in so many other city departments, small sums were allowed each year for improvements, but these were rendered practically useless by a lack of corresponding improvement in other portions of the works. In this report the Director points to the fact that, owing to the inadequate size of the mains, twenty per cent of the total product is lost through leakage, which means an annual loss

of nearly \$600,000. With the additional pressure which the rapidly increasing consumption renders necessary, this loss will probably increase with each succeeding year. The great pressure required also reduces the quality of the gas, owing to the loss of hydrocarbon, due to friction.

The expenditure of \$1,500,000 would greatly decrease the loss by leakage, and would also enable the city to furnish gas of a better quality. According to the Director's estimate, such gas might be furnished with profit at seventy-five cents per thousand cubic feet. With the present attitude of Councils, however, on the question of the tax rate, and with the city's indebtedness close to the constitutional limit, it is probable that the Director's recommendation will be ignored for some time to come. In the meantime, private companies will continue to make bids for the purchase of the gas works. Some of these offers have been coupled with an assurance of an expenditure of over \$5,000,000 to bring the plant into efficient working order.

The Second Annual Report of the Woman's Health Protective Association contains an interesting description of the work which has been undertaken by the society. The important place which such associations have acquired in maintaining a close supervision over the work of municipal officers, in co-operating with them in the enforcement of ordinances, and in bringing to the attention of the community the more urgent needs of the municipality, is well illustrated by this report. The work of the association seems to have been particularly effective in connection with the street cleaning service and the condition of the public schools. In addition, the association has strongly agitated in favor of a filtration plant for the city of Philadelphia and, in spite of the adverse position taken by Councils on the subject, has been successful in keeping the question continually before the public. The work which the association has done, and the possibilities of future activity are among the most encouraging signs of municipal progress in Philadelphia.

Buffalo.*—The Grade Crossings Commission, after a struggle of eight years, has now placed its work in a fair way toward completion as far as the making of contracts with the various railroad companies is concerned. The work of abolishing the grade crossings is now fairly under way at several places, and is expected to cost a little over \$4,000,000, of which the city will pay \$800,000 and the railroads the remainder. In addition, there will be consequential damages by reason of structures erected in some of the streets. The companies are to bear 50 per cent of this burden, the city paying the other half. In the case of two of the roads, which were practically

* Communication of A. C. Richardson, Esq.

bankrupt and in the hands of receivers, the city has agreed to advance the money for their portion of the work and allow them twenty years for repayment. This action was taken on the advice of the attorney of the Commission, in order to expedite the work. In the case of the Lackawanna Railroad, which failed to come to an agreement with the Commission, an application was made to the Supreme Court for the appointment of commissioners to determine the shares of the expense to be paid by the respective parties, and their report apportions 55 per cent of the cost to the railroad and 45 to the city. It will take about five years to complete the work of abolishing the grade crossings.

Charges of serious "irregularities" have been made against certain employes of the Department of Public Works, and an investigation is now in progress before the Mayor. Three employes have already been indicted, arrested and held to bail on the charge of placing fictitious names on the pay-rolls of city works and appropriating to their own use the money thus obtained. An indirect result of this episode has been to hasten the adoption of civil service rules. In accordance with the power vested in him, the Mayor recently adopted certain amendments to the rules in force. The amended rules extend the competitive system to a number of offices not before included, and provide for a system of registration of laborers similar to that which has proved successful in Boston, New York, Brooklyn, and other cities. This system, however, will not go into effect until July 1, 1896.

In April last the Buffalo Street Railway Company and its rival, or supposed rival, the Buffalo Traction Company, came to an agreement whereby the former was to withdraw its opposition to the latter, and the latter was to secure, if possible, legislation at Albany making its grant of franchise good notwithstanding the refusal of the State Railroad Commissioners to grant a certificate of necessity and convenience. This has since been done, and the bill overruling the State Railroad Commission has been signed by the Governor. It is in form a general bill, covering cities of the first and second classes, but applying only to "consents" obtained between December 1, 1895, and February 1, 1896. These provisions make it, in fact, a special bill covering Buffalo only.

The attorney of the Traction Company stated in a letter to the Mayor that the agreement between the companies is "verbal," and amounts to this:

1. The Traction Company is to be and remain an independent company, building and operating its own lines, but is to revise its lines so as not to parallel those of the old company unnecessarily.

2. The Traction Company is to use the tracks of the old company under conditions to be settled hereafter, paying compensation for such use.

3. The two companies are to arrange for an exchange of transfers, so that any part of the city may be reached from any other part by payment of a single fare.

The Traction Company's bill having become law, their franchise, which had been deprived of all value by the refusal of the certificate from the State Railroad Commissioners, becomes fully effective, and the above agreement, if carried out, will make the two companies practically, though not nominally, one. There is no longer any talk of competition or lower fares. Thus, by the short-sighted policy of the city authorities, every available street in Buffalo has been turned over for a period of sixty-six years to what practically constitutes one company.

The Mayor has started his "potato-patch" scheme this year under more favorable auspices than last, when it was eminently successful. The city has appropriated \$3500 for the purchase of seed and preparation of the ground, and it is expected that a larger number of families will be aided than last year, when the value of food products raised was over \$12,000.

Cincinnati.*—The adjournment of the Legislature *sine die* on April 27, has been awaited with impatience. Last fall the *personnel* of the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) delegation was such as to inspire great confidence, it was hoped that the city would be spared harmful and vicious legislation. Now, that the effect of last winter's work has been studied, the real nature of the legislation may be judged.

One of the most harmful acts was the Dana Law so amending the Australian Ballot Law as to effectually prevent the endorsement of good party candidates by independent movements. In Ohio, the blanket ballot is in vogue, and straight tickets can be voted by the placing of an X in the circle under the device of the party, with which the voter is identified. Heretofore independent voters would organize and endorse good candidates selected by the leading parties. Thus a good candidate would often be elected by means of fusion; and by this means many branches of the administration and also the local judiciary have been kept somewhat free from bossism. Under the new law, a candidate's name may appear but once on the ticket, and if he be fortunate enough to receive endorsement from other parties, he must select under which banner he will march. This cuts off all indepen-

* Communication of Max B. May, Esq.

dent action, and materially weakens the bar movement this fall. It is hoped that within two years this political move will lead to the adoption of the true Australian system.

In the March number of the ANNALS an account was given of the Municipal Civil Service bill which had been introduced into the Senate at the suggestion of the local association. After a month's delay, the bill was with difficulty withdrawn from a hostile committee to which it had been referred, and placed upon the calendar. After a lengthy and thorough debate the bill passed the Senate with but two dissenting votes. But a short time thereafter this same body of men reconsidered the vote and the bill failed of passage.

All further municipal reform must be deferred until 1898, in the meantime the local Civil Service Association will continue its labors and the recent order of the President extending the national law may have a good effect upon the electors of the city.

The local machine appreciating that its lease of life is gradually drawing to a close has made a strong effort to gain control of additional patronage and to have charge of the expenditure of millions of dollars. To this end a bill authorizing the construction of a new water works at a cost of \$6,500,000 was railroaded through the legislature. One of the sections of the bill provides for the appointment by the Governor of a commission of five men, one of whom shall be a member of the Board of Administration. In the Senate, largely through the influence of Senator Herron, an amendment was adopted providing that the commission should be appointed and then the bill submitted to the people at a special election. This, at least, would have insured the selection of a competent commission. The House struck out the amendment and the Senate by a narrow majority concurred in this action. Unless the law is declared unconstitutional, and within the past few weeks the Supreme Court has decided several cases which indicate this action, the taxpayers will be burdened without their consent to the extent of about ten million dollars. A better water supply is needed, and the citizens are willing to incur an increase in taxation to obtain one, but they desire to have the work done under the supervision of a competent commission over which they may have some control.

There was likewise much opposition and public outcry against the Rogers bill, which provides for the consolidation of various street railways and the extension of the franchises for a period of fifty years. Some concession was obtained in the power given to the authorities to regulate the fare at the end of the first fifteen years, and at the end of each five years thereafter a better and more liberal system of transfers is put into operation.

A few years ago the Teachers' Association of this city established a pension fund for the aid of old teachers. This year the legislature has enacted a law which establishes a pension fund and recognizes the merit system in the appointment of teachers. It provides that teachers who have served five years shall not lose their positions except for cause. To remove a teacher of five years' experience, written charges must be presented to the Board of Education, which may cause the removal of the accused after investigation; high school teachers are removable after investigation by the Union Board. Then the teacher is further helped by the establishment of a pension fund, the assessment to be one per cent of his salary, and to be invested by a Board of Pension Fund Trustees. There are to be seven of these trustees, two elected from the membership of the Board of Education, one chosen by the Union Board, three by the common school and high school teachers, the Superintendent of Schools being the seventh trustee ex-officio. In cases of physical or mental disability, teachers may become beneficiaries of the pension fund after a service of twenty years, three-fifths of which must have been in the Cincinnati schools. Otherwise women teachers may be pensioned after thirty years of teaching, and men after thirty-five years, three-fifths of which must have been in Cincinnati. The annual pension is to be one-half the teacher's salary at the time of retirement, but shall not exceed \$600. The fund is to be allowed to accumulate until 1899 before any pensions are to be paid.

One of the best measures adopted by the recent legislature was Senator Garfield's Corrupt Practices Act, which regulates the amount of money that may be spent by candidates for nomination and election. Its main features are as follows: No candidate shall by himself or by or through any agent or agents, committee or organization or person or persons spend or contribute to secure a nomination or election, an amount in excess of a sum to be determined as follows: For five thousand (5000) voters or less, one hundred dollars; for each 100 voters over 5000 and under 25,000, \$1.50; for each 100 voters over 25,000 and under 50,000, \$1.00, and nothing additional for voters over 50,000. Any payment, etc., in excess shall be unlawful and the elections in such cases shall be void. Sworn statements must be filed by the candidates after the nomination and election and the treasurers of the respective campaign committees must also file sworn statements of receipts and expenditures accompanied with vouchers. There are ample provisions for the enforcement of the law. It is now in force, and strict compliance therewith during the fall campaign will be demanded.

Williamsport.—A general feeling of distrust towards local representative institutions has found its expression in recent constitu-

tional amendments and statutory enactments. The attempt to limit the action of city councils; to prevent, as far as possible, the free exercise of legislative discretion; to provide positive restrictions wherever possible, seems to be the general tendency throughout the United States. If this movement continues with its present rapidity, the next step will probably be the establishment of a municipal referendum to still further control the action of local legislatures. At the present time, considerable agitation in this direction is being carried on in various cities in Pennsylvania. Recently an ordinance was introduced into the City Councils of Williamsport providing for such a system, and, although the ordinance has not as yet been passed, this expression of the new movement deserves attention. It provides that five per cent of the registered voters of the city, upon making a deposit of a sum sufficient to cover the expenses of a special election, may call upon Councils to submit any municipal question to the people, the result of such municipal election is to be binding upon Councils. With the present attitude of the courts the validity of such an ordinance is extremely doubtful, as the courts have steadily held that the municipal legislature cannot divest itself of legislative powers which have been entrusted to it. It must be said, however, that the specific question here considered has not, as yet, been made the subject of judicial adjudication.

In many of the states the courts have held that where the applicability of a general law to a local district is in question the principle of local option may be applied. Where, however, a question is submitted primarily to the local electors the courts regard it as a delegation of legislative power and therefore unconstitutional. Of course this could be cured by means of a constitutional amendment giving specific authority to adopt such a system. As regards municipalities the case against the validity of such a procedure seems all the stronger inasmuch as such bodies may only exercise the powers given them in their charters.

FOREIGN CITIES.

London.—During the present year a number of conferences of delegates from local districts in the County of London have been held, for the purpose of discussing questions of administration, but partly to arrive at some conclusion as to the proper division of functions between the County Council and the parishes. The result of these conferences will be of great value in furnishing material for a plan of unification which will give to London and adjoining districts a fully

organized municipal machinery. To judge from the proceedings of these conferences, the authorities of the local districts are by no means in harmony with the County Councils as regards the proper line of division of functions between the central municipal authority and the parishes.

Recent Assessment of Real Estate in the County of London. The recent quinquennial valuation shows an increase of rental valuation of nearly \$14,000,000, an increase of 8 per cent over the valuation of 1890. The increase, however, has not been uniform throughout the district, some of the parishes showing an increase of 19 per cent, others remaining almost stationary. The increased valuation means a large increase in the tax receipts of the County Council. With the same rate to the pound, the general fund will receive \$5,000,000 more than last year; the school fund, \$4,000,000; and the police fund, \$3,000,000.

Toronto.—Within the last few years the city of Toronto has entered into important contracts with private corporations in such matters as street railways, gas, water, etc. In all these, provisions have been inserted providing for annual percentage payments to the city treasury and assuring to the city participation in increasing profits. One of the more recent of these contracts has relation to the telephone service. The contract provides that the company shall pay into the city treasury a percentage of gross receipts from the service within the city. The payment is fixed at five per cent, and the company is compelled to "permit its books evidencing such gross receipts to be examined and audited quarterly by the city auditors, or some other persons appointed by the Council." The contract further provides that the rate per annum for telephone service in private dwellings shall not exceed twenty-five dollars; for business houses, forty-five dollars. Further provisions prescribe with great detail the rights of the city and company as to conduits laid by the company.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

Sociological Field Work.—Since we published under this title a brief statement* of an attempt to utilize those object lessons, especially accessible in large cities whereby the theories discussed in practical courses in economics and sociology may be better illustrated and brought home to the minds of the students, Professor Richard T. Ely and Mr. Edward D. Jones have published† some account of similar work in the University of Wisconsin. Further experience at the University of Pennsylvania confirms our earlier estimate of the utility and high pedagogical value of frequent excursions with small classes or sections of large classes whereby the student may be brought into direct contact with the facts of industrial economics as they are exhibited in the factory and workshop and with the opinions and points of view of the average *entrepreneur*, labor leader, union and non-union man, and with their view of the problems with which they are daily concerned. Such work, if properly directed, not only reacts favorably on the text-book or lecture course, but familiarizes many a student with real pictures of our complex social life which he would not otherwise get. Apropos of the discussion in a recent number of the *Charities Review*, of the Method of Teaching Charities and Corrections in the University of Wisconsin, we would say that the excursion plan doubtless yields more immediate results in connection with courses on Charities and Corrections, where large institutions may be visited, than in other more general sociological courses. The instructor also experiences much less difficulty in obtaining the necessary permission and the co-operation of the authorities of an average institution, especially a public one, than in dealings with private organizations and business enterprises. The results of the work, however, in its effect on students are none the less important and possible in the one case than in the other. It seems hardly necessary to further discuss the advisability of the general plan. The idea has already gained sufficient ground in many institutions to warrant us in proceeding to another stage of inquiry, namely, to discuss methods whereby the results of such visits may be of the highest value, and at the same time be made permanent. At the University of Pennsylvania, our plan at first was to hold a session after every two or

* *ANNALS*, Jan., 1895, Vol. v, p. 584.

† *Lend a Hand*, 1895, and *Charities Review*, April, 1896.

three excursions, at which a ten or fifteen minute report of each excursion was read by some one especially delegated for that purpose.

Following these formal reports there was a general discussion on the basis of the notes which every one was expected to take in connection with every excursion and, in this way, guided by the instructor in charge who sometimes furnished additional material for purposes of comparison of local conditions with those existing in other parts of the country or in foreign countries, an attempt was made to collect and fix any valuable information that may have been secured. Of course frequent reference by way of illustration was made in the ordinary lecture courses to these excursions. But all the excursion work is entirely outside of and independent of the regular courses. It has been compulsory for a few students and voluntary for others. Latterly in addition to the above plan and in part superseding it it has been found advisable to require the students to write short essays on the institutions or industries visited. To do this he must make use of his notes as a basis but also use additional material so far as the instructor is able to furnish him with reading references. This plan has worked remarkably well in connection with the excursions to charitable and reformatory institutions where the additional material was abundant and readily accessible in the volumes of the reports of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy and other well-known sources. Mr. Jones in the article already referred to describes another method whereby each person who goes on the excursion writes out a slip giving a summary of his own observations and suggestions. The points of value on these slips or individual reports are tabulated by the instructor and the final report, made by him, distributed to the class.

Copies of two of these reports are appended in Mr. Jones' article. The value of any particular method depends so much upon the temperament and habits of the individual instructor that it is probably unwise to criticise. It seems that the method outlined by Mr. Jones might commend itself in cases where the time of the student is too much taken up with his general work to allow of more than a hasty review of the excursions. But unless carefully guarded against by the instructor it seems that these reports might be hastily made in a dogmatic way, the burden of the work thrown upon the instructor, and the students fail to get the benefit that would come from a broader and more detailed discussion or statement on their own part concerning their work.

Classification of the Feeble-Minded.—Nordan's discussion of degeneration has doubtless awakened a new interest in many of the

pathological questions that arise in sociology. His distinctions of classes of degenerates are by no means well made, and much confusion is sure to arise in the minds of the unwary student who has to use books of the Nordau type. The feeble-minded constitute a large proportion of degenerates in general, and it is really helpful to find a clear and concise discussion of a simple classification of this class, with which the ordinary charity worker as well as students of social pathology come into frequent contact. One of the leading institutions in the United States, where about one thousand feeble-minded are receiving thorough treatment, is the Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble-minded Children at Elwyn, Pa. This institution owes its present splendid equipment largely to Dr. Kerlin, who was himself a widely recognized authority on the treatment of neurotic diseases. His first assistant, Dr. M. W. Barr, who is now, since Dr. Kerlin's death, chief resident physician of the institution at Elwyn, made the following admirable explanation of the classification employed at Elwyn to the Directors of the Poor Association of Pennsylvania when recently in session at Philadelphia: *

"The later diagnoses of alienists determining racial characteristics show traits unmistakable by which can be traced the wonderful influences of degeneration; working downward, producing the idiot, the imbecile, the abnormally backward or peculiarly precocious child, developing not unfrequently the moral imbecile or the habitual criminal; working upward, by the expanding of one side of the being to the detriment or prejudice of the other, producing the monomaniac developing into the artist in many lines; in short, the man of genius towering above his fellows by abnormal growth, overtopping alike their weakness and his own.

"Let us look a little nearer at this classification. Broadly considered, we find two groups—imbecility representing the improvable, idiocy the unimprovable—both of these modified and influenced by the potent factors of epilepsy and paranoia. But, according to the nomenclature given so clearly by Dr. Kerlin, and now generally recognized, mental defectives are divided into four general classes:

- 1—The Idiot—Apathetic and Excitable.
- 2—The Idio-Imbecile.
- 3—The Imbecile—low, middle and high grade.
- 4—The Moral Imbecile.

"This nomenclature is capable of further subdivisions based on pathological and ethnic classification. For instance we have in the first

* "Children of Day" was the title of Dr. Barr's address, which is printed in the Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Convention of Directors of Poor and Charities of Pennsylvania, Phila., 1895, and was also privately printed.

class the microcephalic idiot and hydrocephalic idiot—children with heads abnormally small and abnormally large. In the idio-imbecile we have Mongolian and the Malayan types, so called from physiological resemblance to these races.

“Poorly developed physically, the idiot rarely, if ever, stands alone. He delights in being rocked and held, cries when he is hungry, and in fact, his intelligence is that of a babe who recognizes his nurse and but little more.

“Some exceptions to this rule show physical development apparently normal. The apathetic idiot is more common than the excitable who usually either dies in infancy, or sinks into apathy.

“The idio-imbecile, as the name implies, stands between the idiot and the imbecile, and includes not only the Mongolian but the Cretin. He is mostly dwarfed, with speech and hearing not infrequently defective, and is susceptible of improvement in but a slight degree. He may learn some simple thing as to knit, to weave mats or hammocks, or indeed any of the simple manual occupations, but never to read or write. For these two classes, as may readily be seen, we provide little beyond the custodial care best adapted to their peculiar needs, the real benefit being found in the families relieved of such burdens; it is computed that for every idiot sequestered, two if not four useful members are released to society.

“We come now to speak of the imbecile whom we have cited as the improvable class, grading from low, through middle, to high. The first of these is susceptible of training, always under direction, for good service in the garden, the farm, the laundry, and the various departments of household service, or in the simplest occupations of the workshops. He develops no aptitude for intellectual work in the schools, rarely if ever learns to read, and after a certain point his improvement is but relative.

“The middle grade shows children capable of some advance in intellectual training in reading, writing, color, form and number work; but mental development is for them best obtained through the medium of simple handicrafts having their initiative in the occupations of the kindergarden. Our children of this grade contribute largely to the work of the institution in its various departments.

“The third, or high grade, shows children frequently strong in body and but slightly deficient mentally, capable of progressing slowly as far as the ordinary grammar school grade, and developing often an aptitude for music, drawing and the various manual arts. These are the backward children that the schools complain of, whose development under excessive pressure or the excitement of competition, would inevitably be arrested. So nearly normal are some of these,

that their defects would perhaps be noticed only by the initiated. It is chiefly that lack of will power and judgment which not only precludes the attainment of success in life, but which also renders them an easy prey to the designing and the vicious. Here, working under direction, sheltered from the world, and what is of still greater moment, society preserved from them, they lead a life of happy occupation, contributing largely to the support of themselves and others.

"To this class chiefly belongs the moral imbecile; as a child we find him the *bete noir* of the nursery, the terror of the neighborhood; in youth often conspicuous in the police courts; difficult to control within the walls of an institution, in the world doubly so, he must there inevitably join the ranks of the habitual criminal. The absence of moral nature—what we term not immoral but amoral—is often united with extreme mental precocity, which, together with a pleasing exterior and engaging manners, renders him a dangerous member of society from which he should be forever secluded.

"Of this class Dr. Kerlin repeatedly affirms:

"'There exists a small class of children to whom the offices of the school room should not be applied. . . . They but tender to foster the ill we would suppress. In teaching them to write, we give them an illimitable power of mischief. In educating them at all, except to manual labor, we are adding to their armament of deception and misdemeanor.'

"A lifelong detention of this class is most desirable. Under strict unceasing surveillance, constant congenial employment and happy environment, many of them will contribute largely to the support of the community of which they are members, their sequestration preventing production and reproduction, preserving the nation from a flood of the worst type of imbecility and crime. . . . That imbecility is rapidly on the increase there cannot be the slightest doubt, and that heredity is a potent factor in its production is also true. The census of 1880 reports six thousand five hundred and three idiots and feeble-minded in the State of Pennsylvania alone. In 1890 eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-three are reported. As people are loath to acknowledge the existence of this defect in their own families, we are sure that many remain unaccounted for, thus we may well estimate the total in round numbers to be ten thousand if not more, and that to-day there are nearly one hundred thousand, if not more, mentally defective children in the United States."

Public Baths, Laundry and Public Comfort Stations in New York City.*—All the larger cities in the United States have had some

* The substance of this note has been furnished by Dr. Wm. H. Tolman, Secretary of the Mayor's Committee on Public Baths and Comfort Stations.

facilities for public baths and a few inadequate provisions for public urinals, etc., in recent years as a result of the private enterprise of benevolent individuals and societies. Nowhere have the municipal authorities as yet tried to provide anything but a mere palliative for the sufferings of the very poor in hot weather. How much might be done that would prove of great social value to many classes beside the very poor and help to instil really healthful habits among the people is seen from a study of foreign experience, especially that of London and English cities in general. In New York the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor has taken the matter up in a thorough way, and has demonstrated its need and possibilities on a small scale and is just now turning the matter over to the public authorities where it properly belongs. The Mayor has had a special committee at work to examine plans and that committee has reported to a public meeting, held recently at City Hall under official auspices. The plans then adopted, which will be carried out substantially in New York, are so significant of a line of social preventive work greatly needed in all our large cities that we give them here in some detail. These plans have already been approved by General Charles H. T. Collis, Commissioner of Public Works.

They include a public bath (the first of a series) to be built in Tompkins Square. The bath is in the style known as Italian, and is very simple and dignified, and while it will be as low as possible so as to be unobtrusive and not to obstruct the air and sunshine of the park, it will yet have sufficient dignity and massiveness not to appear insignificant or trivial in comparison with the higher buildings on the avenue. Light material will be used, giving a suggestion of purity and cleanliness, and bringing out well the lines and details. The piazzas running along each side form a connection between the designs of the ends, and at the same time give a shady place for benches where people can rest. At the end of the piazza a public drinking fountain will be provided. The entrance for men and boys will be from Avenue B, while the women will enter from the park side, the approaches to their part being screened by shrubbery.

The plan has been drawn with a view of entirely separating males and females the moment they enter the building. The men's waiting-room contains seats for 100, the women's will seat over fifty. Both of these rooms are overlooked by a circular office; this office and the partition between the rooms being seven feet six inches in height. Every person who enters can be observed by the person in charge, and no one in any part of the building where there are females, whether bathers or employes, can go to any part where there are males, or *vice versa*, without passing through the central controlling office on the main

floor. The waiting-rooms, as well as the main bathing hall, will be very cheerful, with an abundance of light.

On the main floor there are 28 rain baths for men, and 17 rain baths for boys, and on the second floor there are 14 rain baths and 10 tub baths for men, making in all 69 baths for men and boys. The arrangement is such that the proportion of boys' and men's baths can be reversed at times when most men are at work, and public schools are not in session. For women there are 17 rain baths on the main floor and 10 tub baths on the second floor, a total of 27 baths. Altogether there are 96 baths, a number which should readily accommodate more than one million bathers a year.

All of the rain baths are divided into two equal parts by a rubber curtain, the room first entered serving as a dressing-room. The bath compartment will have rain or ring showers, the latter arranged not to strike the head, and generally preferred by women. In each bath floor will be sunk a marble foot bath. Each set of compartments will be arranged to drain separately. The object of providing some tub baths is for such women and men as are too delicate to stand showers. In order to avoid having too many attendants, each bather, excepting those in tub baths, will be allowed to control his own hot and cold water faucets, but the pipes and faucets will be so arranged that the bather cannot possibly scald himself. In case a bather attempts to overstay his time limit when the baths are crowded, the attendant will be enabled, by cocks placed outside of each bath, to shut off entirely the supply of water, both hot and cold. The attendant will control the quantity and temperature of the water in tub baths to avoid waste. The water will be heated by the well-known German Gegenstrom System. Under this system only the actual amount of steam which is necessary to heat the water is used.

The partitions of the compartments will be mainly of glass, the metal parts being painted with enamel paint, and the doors of light metal similarly painted. At the bottom of the glass partitions will be enameled wire work in slate frames to promote thorough ventilation; the tops of the compartments will be covered with heavy enameled wire work to prevent thieving. The seats and all similar parts are made movable so as to be more easily cleansed. Throughout the main floor solid masonry is used as a foundation; this will avoid cracking due to expansion and contraction of iron beams. A series of passages in the masonry foundation will be utilized for plumbing pipes and for ventilation purposes. The flooring will be of vitrified tiles, which can be used on top of the masonry without any danger of cracking or opening of joints.

The engine and boiler rooms are placed in the basement, and by

means of the brick passages the engineer can readily control all of the main lines of plumbing, as well as the heating and ventilating apparatus, and the air ducts. Fresh air will be drawn down through a large fresh air shaft (which will be built up high above any other part of the structure) by means of fans and electric motors. The temperature will be regulated by the engineer and the air blown to the various parts of the building at a height of about five feet above the floor, and so arranged as to avoid all draughts. The exhaust ducts will all be connected with the large exhaust duct in the roof, where the fans and motors will exhaust the air, and blow it out of doors. In winter the air will be allowed to escape by natural means, but the inlet fans will be used to force in the fresh air. All of these ducts as well as the ceiling lights, skylights, etc., will be controlled by electricity from the engine room. Speaking tubes from all parts of the building will give the engineer a thorough knowledge of the wants of the building at all times.

The laundry is placed on the second floor, so as to obtain the best light and air. There will be accommodation for nineteen women, each of whom will have two tubs for her own use. Centrifugal wringing machines, hot-air drying rooms and other necessary apparatus are provided. A small fee will be charged. The laundry will be thoroughly ventilated and lighted, and an elevator will be provided for the women. It is expected that the laundry will be greatly appreciated by women living in one or two rooms who have no convenience for doing their washing at home. In connection with this building there will be two Public Comfort Stations, one for men, containing sixteen water-closets, twenty urinals, and three wash-basins, and one for women containing fourteen water-closets and four wash-basins. These can be used at any time without entering the main building. Throughout the building everything will be arranged with a view to the avoidance of dust and dirt, so that any part can be hosed out thoroughly at any time.

It is estimated that the amount of the appropriation by the Legislature, \$150,000, will be sufficient to carry out the plans in a proper and substantial way.

Besides this bath-house the Mayor's committee submitted plans for two underground stations, which they think can be built within the appropriation of \$50,000. One of these will be situated in City Hall Park, and the other in Greeley Square, at the junction of Broadway and Sixth avenue and Thirty-second street. The ceilings will be entirely of mason work thus avoiding the expansion and contraction of iron beams and the consequent dampness and leaks. Sufficient height will be left above to fill in with earth and loam so as not to lose

any of the verdure or breathing space now existing. The entrances for men and women will be located at opposite points of the park, and will be screened by shrubbery and ornamental iron railings. The ventilation will be by means of electric exhaust fans which will draw the air from over every water-closet bowl, as well as from over every water-closet and urinal. It is then blown out through an ornamental shaft on top of which will be placed an electric light. There will be rooms for a male and a female attendant, and for coal and heating apparatus. Where the sewer level is above the plumbing fixtures these will discharge into a tight cesspool sunk below the floor, and the matter in the latter will be pumped out and into the sewer at regular intervals by the attendant. The walls will be of light glazed brick, and the partitions mainly of glass, which will be sufficiently opaque to secure proper privacy. Everything will be arranged to avoid dust and to give the utmost light and cleanliness.

These conveniences are very much needed in New York, and should they prove a success, as is expected, it is hoped that others may be erected at intervals throughout the city.

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financial departments in all the forty-nine commonwealths for information on points which it was impossible to find out in any other way. From thirty of them answers were received—of varying degrees of length and utility, but in the main of great assistance. The reports of the treasury officers of the different commonwealths were also of considerable service in throwing light on the administrative methods in vogue, and in furnishing concrete illustrations of their differences.

The results of my study of the constitutions and reports I have tabulated, thus presenting the constitutional provisions on this question in the most concise and convenient form. These tables appear at the end of this article.

We can perhaps best trace the course of financial legislation in our commonwealths by following its progress in one state and then noting wherein the others differ from or resemble this typical one. For this purpose, and because the size of its budget entitles it to particular consideration, I have selected New York.

In New York, the fiscal year extends from October 1 to September 30. The lack of uniformity among the commonwealths in the fiscal year alone well exemplifies the differences and want of a unified system which exists in almost all fiscal matters. Eleven other commonwealths, together with New York, close their accounts for the year on September 30; in fourteen, the fiscal coincides with the calendar year; nine have followed the example of the federal government and end on June 30; four each on November 30 and October 31: while the remaining six assert their independence by selecting dates which no other commonwealth has in common with them. However, it is principally in minor matters that such variety exists: in essentials we shall find considerable uniformity.

Early in October the Comptroller issues his annual report to the Legislature, in which it is his duty to exhibit "a complete statement of the funds of the state, of its revenues, and

of the public expenditures during the preceding year, with a detailed estimate of the expenditures to be defrayed from the treasury for the ensuing year, specifying therein each object of expenditure and distinguishing between such, as are provided for by permanent or temporary appropriations, and such, as require to be provided for by law, and showing the means from which such expenditures are to be defrayed."*

The materials for this report are furnished the Comptroller by the heads of the different departments, and of the various state institutions, by the Canal, Park and other Commissioners; by the various boards; by banks, corporations, etc. The various items are distinctly arranged under different heads, usually termed "funds," as the general fund, canal fund, school fund, etc. It being also a part of the Comptroller's duty to suggest plans for the improvement and management of the public revenue, the tables of figures are prefaced by a written report and explanation of some of the principal items.

This introduction often contains some excellent advice and such information as would be of most benefit to the committees in framing new bills. As to whether the advice so offered will be followed, depends entirely upon the Legislature. The estimates are never anything but recommendations. When, as not infrequently happens in some of the states, the Auditor and the Legislature are of different political color, the warnings contained in the report are more likely to be construed as an unnecessary interference by the executive in legislative business than as legitimate suggestions of a policy that ought to be followed. As a rule the Comptroller has to beg for more economy on the part of the Legislature, rather urge them to greater liberality. All of the reports, however, do not contain such prefatory or explanatory notes, many contenting themselves merely with the bare presentation of the public accounts.

* Revised Statutes, 1895.

The office of Comptroller exists in eleven states only, but in most of the others an equivalent officer, the Auditor makes similar reports. In Oregon and Wisconsin, however, the Secretary of State performs this duty; while in eight commonwealths the Auditor's report contains a statement of the expenditures and receipts for the past year only, leaving to the legislative committees the labor of preparing estimates from these data for the coming year. In about half of the commonwealths the report is made to the Governor and transmitted by him to the Legislature, while in the others it is sent directly to the Legislature; in Delaware, however, the report is made to a joint committee on finance, and in Vermont to the Committee on Ways and Means. In eight commonwealths a biennial report only is made.

These estimates are not read in the Legislature, though any member who desires can obtain a copy of the report and study the needs and resources of the state for himself.

The framing of the general appropriation and supply bills, which are based upon these estimates, is left to the House Committee on Ways and Means.

The Legislature meets annually on the first Wednesday in January, for a session of four to six months. The sessions of all the Legislatures, whether annual or biennial, are called in January; if biennial, usually in the odd years, so as to avoid the entangling influence of a Presidential election. The length of the session is limited in many states by their constitutions, the period varying from forty days in Georgia, Oregon and Wyoming to one hundred in California. Mississippi limits every other biennial session to a period of thirty days; the intervening sessions being unrestricted as to length. Twelve states limit the period of the session absolutely; thus Louisiana provides that all legislation after a certain time shall be null and void. Five others, like Georgia, provide a term beyond which it cannot be extended, unless by a two-thirds or three-fifths vote, or in cases of impeachment. Virginia, in such cases, forbids an

extension of more than thirty days; Missouri and Texas reduce the pay of members after a certain period. Again seven others, like California, cut off their pay entirely.

"The first few days of the session are occupied with the election of Speakers and with the more or less disgraceful scramble for positions on committees by members in the interests of powerful corporations or political combinations."* By far the most important committee is the House Committee on Ways and Means,† and to the chairmanship of this committee of eleven members the defeated candidate for the Speakership is always appointed. It is by no means unusual for a man to run as a candidate for the Speakership, knowing that he cannot be elected, in the hope that he may secure votes enough to entitle him to this important chairmanship. This position makes him at the same time the recognized leader of his party on the floor of the House. The other most important man on this committee is the leader of the minority in the House, who belongs, of course, to the opposite party to that of the chairman. It is always the endeavor of the committee to report its bills as early in the session as possible, but they usually drag on to the last minute possible. With an energetic, possibly rather arbitrary chairman, however, they are often made ready in a few weeks. Provision is usually made for their early submission to the Legislature by some resolution or rule, if not by a constitutional provision. Thus Rule 19 of the Joint Rules in the Legislative Manual for 1895, reads as follows: "The supply bill and annual appropriation bill shall be reported by March 15, and printed immediately thereafter, and made the special order for March 25, or some day prior thereto, immediately after the reading of the journal."

* Question of the Day, No. XXII. "Defective and Corrupt Legislation," by Simon Sterne, p. 3.

† This name is used in about half of the commonwealths as in New York. In most of the others the Equivalent Committee is known as the Committee on Appropriations, which name designates much more aptly the duties of the body.

Some of the states have constitutional provisions forbidding the introduction of appropriation bills after a certain period of the session has elapsed, and many of them forbid their introduction within a few days of the end. But in New York this is left to the discretion of the Legislature itself. The provision, however, which was inserted in the Constitution of 1894, providing that all bills must be printed and on the members' desks at least three days before enactment, has the same effect, mainly of prohibiting the rushing through in the last day of appropriation bills, as to whose items no one possessed the slightest knowledge. It "prevents some of the worst evils which heretofore attended the closing days of the legislative sessions. The orderly and decorous procedure of the closing days of the legislative session of 1895 (and 1896), as compared with prior legislative sessions, attests the efficiency and wisdom of this Constitutional Amendment and shows that much good can be produced by the introduction of method and order and by properly systematized legislative procedure."

When the Committee on Ways and Means has been finally selected it usually starts to work energetically to make a record for itself. Committee meetings are held frequently. The Comptroller and heads of departments, bureaus and state institutions are invited to attend and explain their needs and requests for larger or unwonted appropriation. Usually their estimates are cut down, since the committee wishes to come before its constituents with a reputation for economy. The relations between the committees and the heads of departments and other executive and administrative officers of the commonwealth are subject to no rule, but the various commonwealth officers volunteer information when they see fit, or when they desire changes in the previous grants, or when they are invited to appear before the committee when the latter feels itself in the need of enlightenment. In many of the states legislative committees are invested by the constitution with all the power of a judicial

body to take testimony and examine witnesses. The Constitution of New York is silent on this matter. The commonwealth officers do not, of course, appear on the floor of either House, but confine their explanations to communications in the committee rooms. The committees are at the same time exposed to influences of another sort from all interested persons. It is at their more or less informal meetings that powerful and specious arguments are made by trained lobbyists who infest every one of our important State Legislatures as well as the halls of Congress. In fact, the procedure in the committee rooms of the Legislature at Albany does not differ materially from that of the Congress at Washington. In both the accessibility of the committees to outsiders permits the same exercise of corrupting influences. Though by no means final, the estimates of the committee as presented in their bills are largely decisive as to the size of the grants made to the specific objects named therein. In this they have followed the precedent both of the English and our own federal government. "The Houses of the State Legislatures, too, being separated from the executive in such a way as to be entirely deprived of its guidance, depend upon standing committees for the preliminary examination, digestion and preparation of their business, and allow to these committees an almost unquestioned command of the time and conclusions of the Legislature. As they have grown larger they have grown more dependent upon their advisory parts, their committees." * The same criticism is pertinent to the State Legislature that may be made with regard to Congress, namely, that much time is spent by the committee in preparing plans which ought to be used discussing these plans before the whole House. This seems, however, to be an evil inherent in our present system of short terms and frequent changes. Every year a large proportion of the members of the assembly comes to its sessions without any legislative

* Woodrow Wilson, "The State," p. 506.

experience whatever or any intimate knowledge of the needs and resources of the state; every second year this is true of the Senate. A large portion of the time at the beginning of each session is, therefore, spent virtually in instructing these new men as to their duties, and financial measures which should be reported to the Legislature within a couple of weeks of the opening of the session are often delayed till the end.

In several of the states there are constitutional or statutory provisions requiring that legislative committees shall report bills within a certain time. In New York Assembly Rule 15 was intended to effect this end by providing that it shall be the duty of each of the several committees to consider and report without unnecessary delay upon the respective bills and other matters referred to it by the House.

Assembly Rule 60 also requires a report on all bills before a certain time. These provisions, however, are not complied with.

It is the practice in almost all the states for bills appropriating money to originate in the lower branch of the Legislature, though there are explicit provisions to this effect in the constitutions of four states only, Georgia, Louisiana, Nebraska and New Hampshire. In Georgia the words "or appropriating money" are added to the provision that revenue bills shall originate in the House; in Massachusetts and New Hampshire it is provided that all "money bills" shall originate in the lower branch—a term broad enough apparently to include both the raising and appropriating of money. By a recent decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, however, it has been decided in that state that bills appropriating money may originate in either branch of the Legislature.

As a rule the committee which prepares the bill, drafts it as well, without outside assistance, the chairman usually undertaking this work, or perhaps some member with a

turn for legal phraseology.* Only in Massachusetts, which state may serve as a model in fiscal as in so many other matters, are these bills prepared by a specially trained agent—in this case by the Chief Clerk of the Committee on Ways and Means, who is elected for that purpose. The loose and often dangerous phraseology of many of the laws passed by our State Legislatures has long been a crying evil, and its effects are quite as vicious in the case of financial legislation as in more general laws. Provision should certainly be made for the submission of all bills to trained lawyers† or a carefully selected committee before their third reading while there is yet time for amendment, in order to correct any inconsistencies or undesirable items which may have crept in while they were being drafted; this plan has already received substantial recognition in legislative procedure in New York State, in the form of the Committee on Revision of the Assembly. By Rule 16 of that body this committee is charged with the duty of examining and correcting all bills prior to their third reading, “for the purpose of avoiding repetitions and unconstitutional provisions, insuring accuracy in the text and references and consistency with the language of the existing statutes.”

This rule was only adopted in 1890, since which time it has done a great deal of good; but to insure proper results a like committee should be appointed in the Senate, and both should be provided with counsel of experience and talent. At present the Attorney-General is the only legal

* A friend, who was at one time a prominent member of the State Legislature, told me that during his stay at Albany one of his colleagues, who had a natural gift for drawing up legal documents, was enabled to make this a source of very material profit to himself. Members who desired to introduce bills on their own account would appeal to him for assistance in drawing them up, and his income from this source probably exceeded his pay as Representative. Bills introduced for special interests are usually drawn up outside by trained lawyers, and presented to the Legislature by men who often are ignorant of their very contents.

† This is the plan recommended by the commission which Governor Morton appointed in 1895 “to recommend changes in methods of legislation.” See their report, p. 15.

authority in the service of the state on whom the legislative committees can call for advice or information, and his time is too much taken up with the duties of his own office to permit him to devote any of it to this work. Of course such a committee considers not only financial measures but all bills which are brought before the House.

In New York the Committee on Ways and Means prepares two bills—the annual appropriation bill and the supply bill. Of these the former includes the permanent appropriations, such as the salaries of the state officials, fixed appropriations to state institutions, etc.; the supply bill includes indeterminate and changing items of expenditure, such as appropriations for improvements on the canals, new state buildings, etc. The grants made by the appropriation bill are not good until the following October, while those made by the supply bill may be drawn upon immediately after its passage. As noted before, the general appropriation bill is passed toward the beginning or middle of the session, or at least comes up for discussion by that time; the supply bill is usually printed at the end of the session, just in time to meet the constitutional requirements, and is then rushed through without due examination or debate. It is therefore never possible to determine exactly what the appropriations of the Legislature have amounted to until the very end of the session; or, indeed, even then, for many bills making appropriations of the public money are every year left in the hands of the Governor after the adjournment of the Legislature, to receive his signature. Not until these bills are finally disposed of, therefore, can the amount of the year's appropriations be exactly determined. For all practical purposes, however, the calculation made at the end of the session suffices.

There are some portions of the public expenditure which are not dependent on the annual grants of the Legislature, being provided for by statutes that run without limit of

date. "In the ordinary financial transactions of government it is the custom to prepare a budget giving all the receipts and then appropriating these receipts by grant among fixed objects of expenditure. Not so in the United States. In most of our commonwealths there is no general table of receipts to be appropriated by legislative grant for definite purposes. On the contrary, the receipts are divided among a number of separate accounts called funds, and the expenses again are defrayed out of these various fund receipts, each of these accounts being kept separate from the others." *

The number of funds is entirely arbitrary, ranging from two to forty-six. Sometimes new funds are added by every Legislature when it is desired to take certain classes of receipts out of the general revenue and to place them in fixed categories beyond the reach of legislative whim. In Georgia and Maine we find a number of so-called funds which apply only to expenses and simply denote so many purposes of appropriation.

The proportion of those parts of the public expenditures and receipts which do not require to be legislated upon annually, but which are provided for by statutes which run without limit of date, differs greatly in different states.

There is no apparent rule in the matter which differentiates the commonwealths according to either age or geographical position, unless it be that the older commonwealths provide for their expenditure, and the newer commonwealths for their receipts, by means of permanent statutes rather than by current legislation. In Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, Tennessee, Texas and Washington all of the commonwealth expenditures are made in virtue of current legislation; in Indiana, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, South Dakota and Utah, almost all are so made; in Michigan and Montana three-fourths; in Minnesota and North

* "Finance Statistics of the American Commonwealths." By E. R. A. Seligman, p. 5.

Dakota about three-fifths; in California, Colorado and West Virginia one-half. On the other hand, South Carolina and Vermont provide for nearly all of their expenditures by permanent statutes; Iowa and New Hampshire so provide for three-fourths of theirs. When we turn to the revenues of the commonwealths and inquire how that is determined, we find a larger proportion of commonwealths establishing revenue by means of statutes which run without limit than was the case with the public expenditures. North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and West Virginia obtain all their commonwealth receipts in virtue of permanent statutes; Kentucky, South Dakota and Washington raise almost all of theirs thus; Vermont and Massachusetts four-fifths and two-thirds of theirs respectively; Colorado and South Carolina each one-half. On the other hand, California, Indiana, Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska and Tennessee raise all revenue by means of current legislation; Michigan all but educational funds; Nevada and Utah almost all thus; Montana and New Hampshire three-fourths and two-thirds respectively of theirs.

"The General Fund is found in all the commonwealths and corresponds to the budget of most governments. It consists of all the ordinary receipts not especially appropriated to other funds, and thus serves as a sort of drag-net of commonwealth finance." * It will thus be seen that it is only over the General Fund that the Legislature can exercise unrestrained control, and in proportion as the amount of revenue which flows into this is diminished by permanent grants to other funds, just to that extent is the financial independence of the Legislature decreased. This is especially true of those commonwealths where the rate of taxation is limited by statute or constitutional provision, since in these the amount of state revenue is fixed, and can grow only with the increase in value of the taxable property of the state, or by finding new sources of revenue.

* Seligman, p. 7. Finance Statistics.

The main source of revenue for commonwealth purposes is the general property tax. Usually a certain percentage of the general taxes or a special commonwealth tax is devoted to the support of the free public schools; in a number of commonwealths a poll tax of small amount is levied for this or a similar purpose.* In the same manner the proceeds of other taxes or sources of revenue are devoted to certain specific ends, and are removed entirely from the power of the Legislature to change them. Thus, though the Legislature may nominally dispose of large sums and make large grants to various objects, their real authority is very much circumscribed. This is especially true where any large part of the revenue is derived from Trust or Investment Funds, and particularly so if the proceeds of these funds are devoted by statute to some specific object. Appropriations made under such statutes are placed on the annual appropriation bills and are submitted to the finance committees who have, however, no power to materially alter them. They can, at most, run up or down the scale of a certain number of appropriations which must in any case be kept up. No money can be drawn from the public treasury except upon appropriation made by the Legislature, so all grants must be acted on at least biennially.

When the appropriation and supply bills are introduced to the Assembly, which is usually done on a date before determined upon, the Assembly immediately resolves itself into committee of the whole. The bills are then considered item by item, and section by section, criticisms and suggestions being very freely offered by members of the committee. The bills are defended by the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and explanations of new appropriations or changes in the old are made by him. It is always the endeavor of the Ways and Means Committee to have their bills passed with as little alteration as possible, and to this end they devote all their energies. It

* See Seligman for list of funds, etc.

shows not only that they enjoy the confidence of the Legislature, but also that they are in touch with their constituents and familiar with their needs, and upon this they particularly pride themselves.

This is the nearest approach to the responsible English ministry, upon the acceptance of whose budgets depends their stay in office, which we possess. It is, however, less a matter of responsibility with our Committee on Ways and Means than a desire to make political capital out of it; to be able to point to the record made as chairman of that committee when putting forward a claim to the nomination for Governor next term.

The Assembly is invariably delayed with amendments or with bills containing new appropriations by individual members. Members with pet little appropriation bills of their own endeavor to have them accepted by the Committee on Ways and Means, and to have them inserted in the supply bill, as they then stand a better chance of being passed than if they were exposed alone and unsupported to the fire of criticism of the House. Many of the states have inserted provisions in their constitutions forbidding the inclusion in the general appropriation bill of any appropriations except those "for the ordinary expenses of the executive, legislative and judicial departments of the state, interest on the public debt and for public schools. All other appropriations shall be made by separate bills, each embracing one subject." This provision prevents also the addition of "riders" to the general appropriation bills. It is found in the constitutions of Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, West Virginia and Wyoming. A new section was inserted in the revised Constitution of New York which aims to prevent this abuse in that state. It is as follows: "No provision or enactment shall be embraced in the annual appropriation or supply bill, unless it relates specifically to some

particular appropriation in the bill; and any such provision or enactment shall be limited in its operation to such appropriation."

Although in accordance with a long-established precedent, bills appropriating money usually originate in the lower branch of the Legislature, the Senate has always reserved to itself the fullest possible privileges in the matter of amendments to these as well as all other bills. The Senate invariably makes amendments, if for no other reason than to show its right to do so, and to justify the popular belief that the Senate is a more competent body than the Assembly. There is not that great difference of opinion in the two branches, however, as to the proper size of the appropriations in our State Legislatures which distinguishes the passage of the federal appropriation bill by Congress. In the State Legislature it is difficult to say which is the more liberal or economical, though in the long run the Senate is probably the more conservative. As has been noted before, only four states have constitutional provisions as to the place of origination of appropriation bills. When such bills reach the Senate after having been sent from the Assembly they are referred first to the Finance Committee, and then reported by it to the Senate. Their treatment in the Senate is similar to that in the lower branch; and after passing the Senate they are returned with their new figures and amendments to the Assembly.

In case the bills as returned are not accepted by the Assembly, a Conference Committee is appointed of members from each House to adjust the differences. They seldom fail to agree, and more often than not adopt the Assembly's figures in the bill they finally report. It happens very infrequently that supplies are refused because of a failure to agree. The same mode of procedure is followed in all the states in this respect.

There is not the same chronic complaint of under appropriations heard in our State Legislatures, as in the case

of Congress, where a deficiency bill is to be considered as regularly as the annual session opens. In fact there is greater danger of too large than of too small appropriations.* Toward the end of the session, however, a supplemental supply bill is often introduced to make provision for deficiencies under the other grants or provide for new items of appropriation.

Such is, in brief, the method of dealing with general appropriation bills in the New York State Legislature. Far different is the treatment of individual appropriation bills introduced by members. As soon as the committees are organized any member can introduce bills, and the right is practically without limit until toward the close of a session; and then only because of the physical impossibility on the part of the committees of considering new bills and the practical certainty that they will be "smothered" if they are referred. Private appropriation bills are not necessarily referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, as might be expected, but to the committee on canals, cities or what not, for which the appropriation is designed. In other words, if a bill making an appropriation for deepening the Erie Canal in a certain locality were introduced by a member, it would be referred to the Committee on Canals and reported by them to the House. As such a committee is made up of men who live along the borders of the canal and who are pledged to their constituents to spend money on it, there is little chance of the bill being unfavorably reported. It is chiefly in connection with these bills that "log-rolling," as this exchange of political favors is called ("you roll my log and I'll roll yours") occurs, and of course the rooms of these committees are the chief scene of this sport. Mississippi is the only state whose constitution

* In a recent Legislature one of the members, on being asked how he was going to vote on a certain rather questionable measure making a large grant of public money for purely local purposes, replied that "he had never voted against an appropriation bill during his entire term and he would not vote against this." And he did not stand alone in this position.

recognizes the existence of this evil and attempts to prohibit it by legislative enactment. "Log-rolling" is there defined as a felony, punishable by imprisonment of from one to ten years.

Hearings, usually anything but formal, are given to interested parties on proposed bills, and it is often possible to influence the chairman of a committee to report favorably. They are seldom averse to so reporting appropriation bills. When a day is appointed by a committee for hearings on a proposed bill, notice is given to the advocates of the bill; and if, by any happy accident* adversaries to the bill know that a measure is pending which they wish to oppose, they also have a chance to be heard. There is no attempt made to take proof and the treatment of bills at these hearings is anything but judicial. If the bill involves large interests, the more effective work is done by trained lobbyists. After a bill has reached the Legislature, too, its course may be and usually is favored by lobbying. So great had this latter evil become in some of our states that in three of them—California, Georgia and Oregon—lobbying was declared a felony. In New York it is forbidden on the floor of the House!

The length of time for which appropriations are granted and during which they are available varies in different states. In New York, and in eight other states, the constitution provides that all payments under any specific appropriation must be made within two years of the passage of such appropriation act. All balances then unexpended revert, usually, to the General Fund, unless reappropriated. In sixteen other commonwealths the period is limited by

*A gentleman, whose business requires him to keep himself posted on the various measures before the Legislature, informs me that he has for years paid a large annual sum to a certain man in Albany, whose sole business it is to keep track of all bills introduced in the Legislature and notify his client when any which he considers injurious to the latter's interests are brought before the committees. This man has a large clientage, by whom he is paid for work which should be performed by the Legislature. He keeps a large staff of clerks busy and draws a large income from this business.

legislative enactment to two years, or a similar period terminating after the opening of the next session of the Legislature. In six of the commonwealths appropriations are good until they are exhausted or until the act making them is repealed. I could find no mention of the subject in either the constitutions or statute law of the remaining commonwealths, so that we may infer that no time limit is set to the period of their availability.

ERNEST L. BOGART.

Princeton, N. J.

[See pages 42-46 for tabular statements in connection with this paper.]

TABLE I.

STATES.	Date of adoption of constitutions.	Length of term in years of:			Biennial or annual session.	Number of days to which session is limited.	Bills must contain one subject only expressed in title (except gen'l appro. bills).	No bill considered unless referred to committee and printed.	Bills must be read three times (usually three days).	Bills must be passed by majority of members elect, voting by ayes and noes.
		Governor.	Upper House.	Lower House.						
Alabama,	1875	2	4	2	B	50	*	*	*	*
Arkansas,	1874	2	4	2	B	60	*	*	*	*
California,	1879	4	4	2	B	100	*	*	*	*
Colorado,	1876	2	4	2	B	90	*	*	*	*
Connecticut,	1818	1	1	1	A	.	.	.	.	.
Delaware,	1831	4	4	2	B	.	.	.	.	.
Florida,	1885	4	4	2	B	60	*	*	*	*
Georgia,	1877	4	4	2	B	40	*	*	*	*
Idaho,	1889	2	2	2	B	60	*	*	*	*
Illinois,	1870	4	4	2	B	.	*	*	*	*
Indiana,	1851	4	4	2	B	60	*	*	*	*
Iowa,	1857	2	4	2	B	.	*	*	*	*
Kansas,	1859	2	4	2	B	50	*	*	*	*
Kentucky,	1891	4	4	2	B	60	*	*	*	*
Louisiana,	1868	4	4	2	B	60	.	*	*	.
Maine,	1820	1	1	1	A	.	.	.	.	.
Maryland,	1867	4	4	2	B	90	*	*	*	*
Massachusetts,	1780	1	1	1	A	.	.	.	.	.
Michigan,	1850	2	2	2	B	.	*	*	*	*
Minnesota,	1857	2	2	1	A	.	*	*	*	*
Mississippi,	1890	4	4	4	B	30 ¹	*	*	*	*
Missouri,	1875	4	4	2	B	70	*	*	*	*
Montana,	1889	4	4	2	B	60	*	*	*	*
Nebraska,	1875	2	2	2	B	.	*	*	*	*
Nevada,	1864	4	4	2	B	60	*	*	*	*
New Hampshire,	1792	2	2	2	B	.	.	.	.	.
New Jersey,	1844	3	3	1	A	.	*	.	.	*
New York,	1894	2	2	1	A	.	.	*	*	*
North Carolina,	1876	4	2	2	B	60	.	.	* ²	.
North Dakota,	1889	2	2	2	B	60	*	.	*	*
Ohio,	1851	2	2	2	B	.	*	.	*	*
Oregon,	1857	4	2	2	B	40	*	*	*	*
Pennsylvania,	1873	4	4	2	B	.	*	*	*	.
Rhode Island,	1842	1	1	1	A	.	.	.	.	.
South Carolina,	1868	2	4	2	B	.	*	.	*	.
South Dakota,	1889	2	2	2	B	60	*	.	*	*
Tennessee,	1870	2	2	2	B	75	*	*	*	*
Texas,	1876	2	4	2	B	60	*	*	*	.
Utah,	1895	4	4	2	B	60	*	*	*	*
Vermont,	1793	2	2	2	B	.	.	.	.	.
Virginia,	1870	4	4	2	B	90	*	.	*	*
Washington,	1889	4	4	2	B	60	*	.	.	*
West Virginia,	1872	4	4	2	B	45	*	.	*	.
Wisconsin,	1848	2	2	1	A	.	*	*	.	*
Wyoming,	1889	4	4	2	B	40	*	*	.	*

* Denotes that there are provisions to that effect.

¹ Only the special sessions, held every other biennial term, are limited.² Bills to impose taxes or contract debts.

TABLE II.

STATES.	11 General appropriation bill must contain nothing else.	12 No bill except general appropriation bill can be introduced after 30 days of session.	13 Governor may veto separate items in appropriation bills.	14 Number of days within which Governor must sign or veto bills.	15 Number of votes necessary to override Governor's veto.	16 Only if returned with approval and filed.	17 If not returned with veto and filed.	18 Bills appropriating money must originate in House of Representatives.	19 Bills for raising revenue must originate in House of Representatives.	20 No money paid out of treasury except on appropriation bill and warrant.
Alabama,	*	*	*	5	Maj.	*	*	*	*	*
Arkansas,	*	* ¹	*	5	Maj.	*	*	*	*	*
California,	*	* ²	*	10	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Colorado,	*	*	*	10	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Connecticut,	*	*	No veto	3	Maj.	*	*	*	*	*
Delaware,	*	*	No veto	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Florida,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Georgia,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Idaho,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Illinois,	*	*	*	10	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Indiana,	*	*	*	3	Maj.	*	*	*	*	*
Iowa,	*	*	*	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Kansas,	*	*	*	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Kentucky,	*	*	*	10	Maj.	*	*	*	*	*
Louisiana,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Maine,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Maryland,	*	*	*	5	3-5	*	*	*	*	*
Massachusetts,	*	*	*	5	3-5	*	*	* ³	*	*
Michigan,	*	* ¹	*	10	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Minnesota,	*	*	*	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Mississippi,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Missouri,	*	*	*	10	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Montana,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Nebraska,	*	*	*	5	3-5	*	*	*	*	*
Nevada,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
New Hampshire,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
New Jersey,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
New York,	*	*	*	10	Maj.	*	*	*	*	*
North Carolina,	*	*	No veto	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
North Dakota,	*	*	No veto	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Ohio,	*	*	No veto	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Oregon,	*	*	No veto	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Pennsylvania,	*	*	No veto	10	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Rhode Island,	*	*	No veto	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
South Carolina,	*	*	No veto	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
South Dakota,	*	*	No veto	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Tennessee,	*	*	*	5	Maj.	*	*	*	*	*
Texas,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Utah,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Vermont,	*	*	*	5	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Virginia,	*	*	*	5	Maj.	*	*	*	*	*
Washington,	*	*	*	10	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
West Virginia,	*	*	*	5	Maj.	*	*	*	*	*
Wisconsin,	*	*	*	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*
Wyoming,	*	*	*	3	2/3	*	*	*	*	*

* Denotes that there are provisions to that effect. ¹ Fifty days. ² Twenty-five days. ³ Provision is same as in case of New Hampshire, but by a recent decision, the Massachusetts Supreme Court has decided they may originate in either.

TABLE III.

STATES.	21 No appropriation made for sectarian or non- state institutions.	22 Credit of state cannot be loaned or aid given to corporations, etc.	23 State cannot become a stockholder in cor- porations, etc.	24 Amount of state debt, except for purposes of defence, limited to (in \$)—	25 Rate of taxation for state purposes can- not exceed—	26 Length of time for which appropria- tions are granted, and after which credits lapse.
Alabama, . . .	*	*	*	100,000	$\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 p. c. ⁹	
Arkansas, . . .	*	*	*	forbidden	1 p. c. ⁹	{other appros.†
California, . . .	*	*	*	300,000		2 years for gen'l appro. bill; no limit for
Colorado, . . .	*	*	*	100,000	4 mills	A moot question: in practice 2 years is
Connecticut, . . .						2 years.† {limit.†
Delaware, . . .						
Florida, . . .		*	*			
Georgia, . . .	*	*	*	200,000		6 months after end of fiscal year.†
Idaho, . . .	*	*	*	$1\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. ⁹	10 mills	
Illinois, . . .	*	*		250,000		End of first fiscal quarter after ad- journment of next regular session.
Indiana, . . .		*	*			Time specified in appro. bills.†
Iowa, . . .		*	*	250,000	2 mills†	2 years after grant.†
Kansas, . . .			*1	1,000,000		2 years after grant.
Kentucky, . . .	*	*	*	500,000	1.5 mills†	No limit.†
Louisiana, . . .		*	*	forbidden	6 mills	
Maine, . . .		*	*	300,000	3 mills†	
Maryland, . . .		*	*	50,000	1.775 m.†	{in which appro. was made.†
Massachusetts, . . .		*	*			End of political year succeeding that
Michigan, . . .	*	*	*	50,000		6 months after term fixed by act.†
Minnesota, . . .	*	*	*2	250,000		2 years after expiration of biennial period during which they become available.†
Mississippi, . . .		*	*			6 months after meeting of legislature at next regular session.
Missouri, . . .	*	*		250,000 ¹⁰	2 mills	2 years after passage of act.
Montana, . . .	*	*	*	100,000	2 mills	2 years.
Nebraska, . . .		*	*	100,000	5 mills	End of first fiscal quarter after ad- journment of next regular session.
Nevada, . . .		*3	*3	100,000		Dec. 31 of succeeding year.†
N. Hampshire, . . .						No limit.† {appropriated.†
New Jersey, . . .		*	*	100,000		End of fiscal year in which they were
New York, . . .			*	1,000,000		2 years after passage of act.
N. Carolina, . . .		*4 5	*			
North Dakota, . . .			*	200,000	4 mills	2 years in most cases.†
Ohio, . . .		*	*	750,000	2.7 mills†	2 years after grant.
Oregon, . . .	*	*6	*	50,000		2 years.†
Pennsylvania, . . .		*	*	1,000,000	4 mills†	
Rhode Island, . . .		*	*	50,000	1.8 mills†	
S. Carolina, . . .		*8	*			Until act is repealed.†
South Dakota, . . .		*	*	100,000	2 mills	60 days after end of fiscal year in which appros. were made.† {ture.†
Tennessee, . . .		*	*			Till next regular session of legisla- ture.†
Texas, . . .		*	*	200,000	3.5 mills	2 years after grant.
Utah, . . .		*	*	200,000	8 mills	No limit.† {ture.†
Vermont, . . .		*	*			Till next regular session of legisla- ture.†
Virginia, . . .		*	*			
Washington, . . .			*	400,000	3 mills†	2 years †
West Virginia, . . .		*	*			2 years.†
Wisconsin, . . .	*	*	*2	100,000	4 mills†	
Wyoming, . . .	*	*	*	1 p. c. ⁹	4 mills	

* Denotes that there are provisions to that effect. † Fixed by statute only.

¹ State cannot undertake internal improvements nor become stockholder in a banking institution. ² Cannot engage in works of internal improvement. ³ Except for educational or charitable purposes. ⁴ Unless bill authorizing be read three times. ⁵ Except by a vote of majority of voters. ⁶ State cannot assume debts of minor civil divisions unless incurred for war purposes. ⁷ Unless expressly assented to by people. ⁸ Unless authorized by a two-thirds vote at a general election. ⁹ Per cent of taxable property in state. ¹⁰ Limit of debt that may be contracted in one year; it must be paid in two years.

TABLE IV.

COMMONWEALTHS.	1 Year ending.	2 Total common-wealth ex- penditures excluding bal- ances and transfers in \$.	3 Year ending.	4 Total common-wealth ex- penditures including bal- ances and transfers in \$.	5 Proportion of monwealth ex- penditures made in virtue of		7 Proportion of com- monwealth re- ceipts received in virtue of		8 Current legisla- tion.
					Permanent appropria- tions.	Current legisla- tion.	Permanent statutes.	Current legisla- tion.	
Alabama,	Sept. 30, 1888	1,310,441	Sept. 30, 1893	1,839,982	.	.	.	.	.
Arkansas,	Sept. 30, 1888	714,591*	Sept. 30, 1894	978,003	.	.	.	.	.
Arizona,	Dec. 31, 1888	116,377	Dec. 31, 1894	163,452	.	.	.	.	.
California,	June 30, 1888	6,599,066	June 30, 1894	8,112,816	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	.	.	All
Colorado,	Nov. 30, 1888	860,267*	Nov. 30, 1894	1,353,184*	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Connecticut,	June 30, 1888	2,675,570	Sept. 30, 1892	2,218,948	.	.	.	.	.
Delaware,	Dec. 31, 1888	222,195	Dec. 31, 1892	180,655 ¹	.	.	.	.	.
Florida,	Dec. 31, 1888	432,544	Dec. 31, 1890	550,080	.	.	.	.	.
Georgia,	Sept. 30, 1888	2,019,103	Sept. 30, 1895	2,739,756	.	.	.	.	.
Idaho,	Nov. 3, 1888	72,254	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Illinois,	Sept. 30, 1888	5,180,118*	Sept. 30, 1894	4,561,444*	.	.	.	.	.
Indiana,	Oct. 31, 1888	3,621,310	Oct. 31, 1894	6,458,456	.	.	.	.	All
Indian Territory, . . . . .	.	.	.	150,000	.	.	Almost all	.	.
Iowa,	June 30, 1887	1,455,750*	June 30, 1895	1,812,189*	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	.	.	.
Kansas,	June 30, 1887	2,983,949	June 30, 1894	2,448,229	.	.	.	.	All
Kentucky,	June 30, 1887	5,152,942	June 30, 1893	4,166,753	.	.	Nearly all	.	.
Louisiana,	Dec. 31, 1887	1,547,084	Dec. 31, 1893	3,752,600	.	.	.	.	.
Maine,	Dec. 31, 1888	1,127,393	Dec. 31, 1895	1,701,655	.	.	.	.	.
Maryland,	Sept. 30, 1888	2,010,060	Sept. 30, 1895	2,454,750	.	.	.	.	.
Massachusetts,	Dec. 31, 1888	22,970,003	Dec. 31, 1894	24,972,545	.	.	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$
Michigan,	June 30, 1888	2,869,309	June 30, 1895	3,935,666	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	.	.	all but edu.
Minnesota,	July 31, 1888	2,439,086	July 31, 1894	5,595,028	40 per cent.	60 per cent.	.	.	[funds
Mississippi,	Dec. 31, 1887	1,023,098	Dec. 31, 1891	1,173,448	.	.	All	.	All
Missouri,	Dec. 31, 1888	3,346,664	Dec. 31, 1894	3,282,999	.	.	.	.	.
Montana,	Dec. 31, 1888	141,396	Dec. 31, 1891	594,908	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$

* Figures are for one-half the biennial term.

¹ Legislature was not in session; for year ending Dec. 31, 1891, when the Legislature was in session, expenditures were \$570,812.

TABLE IV.—Continued.

COMMONWEALTHS.	1 Year ending.	2 Total common-wealth ex- penditures ex- cluding bal- ances and transfers, in %	3 Year ending.	4 Total common-wealth ex- penditures ex- cluding bal- ances and transfers, in %	5 Proportion of com- monwealth expen- ditures made in virtue of		6 Proportion of com- monwealth re- ceipts received in virtue of		8 Current legisla- tion.
					Permanent appropria- tions.	Current legisla- tion.	Permanent statutes.	Current legisla- tion.	
Nebraska,	Nov. 30, 1888	1,066,146*	Nov. 30, 1892	2,161,444*	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	All	.. . . .
Nevada,	Dec. 31, 1888	324,416	Dec. 31, 1895	398,775	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	Almost all	.. . . .
New Hampshire,	May 31, 1888	561,883	May 31, 1895	674,745	3/4	1/4	1/2	1/2	.. . . .
New Jersey,	Oct. 31, 1888	2,234,738	Oct. 31, 1895	2,269,040	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
New Mexico,	Dec. 15, 1888	247,538	Dec. 31, 1890	158,228*	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
New York,	Sept. 30, 1888	17,626,557	Sept. 30, 1895	20,457,982	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
North Carolina,	Nov. 30, 1888	856,899	Nov. 30, 1891	1,179,795	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
North Dakota,	Nov. 30, 1888	1,038,468 ¹	June 30, 1894	886,402 ²	45 per cent.	55 per cent.	All	All	.. . . .
Ohio,	Nov. 15, 1888	6,001,784	Nov. 15, 1891	6,101,200	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
Oklahoma, . . . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	Nov. 30, 1895	1,100,000	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	All	.. . . .
Oregon,	Dec. 31, 1888	885,629*	Dec. 31, 1894	1,381,546*	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
Pennsylvania,	Nov. 30, 1888	7,387,866	Nov. 30, 1895	13,681,702	.. . . .	Almost all	All	All	.. . . .
Rhode Island,	Dec. 31, 1888	895,648	Dec. 31, 1892	1,114,132	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
South Carolina,	Oct. 31, 1888	1,109,482	Oct. 31, 1891	1,087,082	Almost all	.. . . .	1/2	1/2	.. . . .
South Dakota,	Nov. 30, 1888	1,038,468 ¹	June 30, 1895	1,027,197	.. . . .	Nearly all	Almost all	.. . . .	.. . . .
Tennessee,	Dec. 20, 1888	1,854,615	Dec. 20, 1894	1,761,524*	.. . . .	All	All	All	.. . . .
Texas,	Aug. 31, 1888	6,418,927	Aug. 31, 1895	4,575,672	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
Utah,	Dec. 31, 1887	172,415*	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
Vermont,	July 31, 1888	731,529	June 30, 1895	936,345	Almost all	Almost all	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
Virginia,	Sept. 30, 1888	2,757,034	Sept. 30, 1894	3,602,571	.. . . .	.. . . .	80 per cent.	20 per cent.	.. . . .
Washington,	Sept. 30, 1887	284,996	Oct. 31, 1894	1,044,882	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .
West Virginia,	1,207,288	.. . . .	Sept. 30, 1894	1,496,500	.. . . .	.. . . .	Almost all	.. . . .	.. . . .
Wisconsin,	Sept. 30, 1888	3,601,261	Sept. 30, 1894	4,076,879	1/2	1/2	All	All	.. . . .
Wyoming,	Dec. 31, 1887	225,599	Sept. 30, 1895	222,183	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .	.. . . .

* Figures are for one-half the biennial term.

¹ For whole territory before it was divided.² Figures are calculated from report of previous twenty months, owing to change in date of fiscal year.

THE UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY.

I.

Though the powers and obligations of the Union Pacific Railway Company, and to some extent of the other railway companies owning or operating the several lines embraced in the "Pacific Railway," were defined in the Acts of 1862 and 1864 and subsequent acts, the nature and significance of the complicated questions that arose later out of their relations to the government and people of the United States can hardly be appreciated without a consideration of the historical facts that brought them into existence. Those facts were of three classes and concerned (*a*) the relation of the federal government to the Pacific Railway, (*b*) the geographical location of its lines and termini and (*c*) the legal medium through which it should be built, maintained and operated.

(*a*) From 1832, when it was first proposed to unite the Pacific Coast to the territory east of the Mississippi by railway, to 1862, when the first act was passed for that purpose, the public importance of the project was never questioned. The constitutional power of the federal government to build the railway or to grant aid for the purpose might be denied by strict constructionists, and the likelihood that the several states and territories or private capitalists would do the work on their own initiative might be asserted, but the importance of the railway to the United States as a factor in its national life was never denied. The need of closer communication between the eastern United States and eastern Asia was often urged. The Oregon question was an open one until 1846, and the United States might need to transport an army to the disputed territory more quickly than it could be done by water. The great expanse of public lands could hardly be sold to advantage by the government or settled by

emigrants until railway lines had been built westward from the Mississippi. The hostile tribes of western Indians could be kept in subjection more satisfactorily, if the government had railways to hurry its troops and munitions of war across the plains. The "Mormon Rebellion" showed the same military need. When California had been acquired from Mexico and had rapidly attained a large population and statehood, railway communication with the East was almost imperatively demanded. If any doubt of the public necessity of the Pacific Railway remained, it vanished when the Civil War brought danger of national disruption and suspicion that England meditated seizure of California.

(*b*) When the territory of the United States on the Pacific Coast extended southward only to the southern boundary of Oregon, there was no question that the mouth of the Columbia River or some point on Puget Sound would be the proper western terminus of a Pacific railway, but when California had been acquired from Mexico and admitted to the Union, San Francisco was conceded to be the best point for the terminus. At the east the question was not so simple. The northern route (now used by the Northern Pacific and Great Northern) was the most practicable, but had little political influence in its favor. The central route (now used by the Union Pacific and Central Pacific) was less practicable, but had the most political strength. The southern route (now used by the Southern Pacific and Texas & Pacific) had the support of the central Southern States, but the strict construction tendencies of the South were against it. Before the Civil War, no system of lines that did not consult the particular interests of all sections and centres from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico could be decided on by Congress; on the other hand, any such system would be so elaborate that members from the Eastern States would not vote for it. With the outbreak of the war and the secession of the Southern States, the rivalry of the southern route was canceled, while part of the members in favor of the northern

route were satisfied with a branch line. As a result the central route was chosen, though there remained several localities to be satisfied.

(c) Although there had been propositions before 1850 for the building and operation of the Pacific Railway by the United States through its governmental machinery, its own experience in building public roads and promoting other internal improvements, and the experience of the several states in constructing and operating canals and railways and conducting banks had been so unfortunate, that this work was sure to be left in private hands. Moreover, the war was threatening to tax the strength of the government so severely, that statesmen were glad to be relieved of the additional burden of building and operating more than two thousand miles of railway. The use of a federal corporation for the purpose, however, was a comparatively late idea, hardly advanced before 1855. It had been expected that individuals or state or territorial corporations would do the work. Some parts of the railway would have to be in states, though most of it in territories. The constitutional power of Congress to create a corporation for building a railway within a state was doubted, and the jealousy of the states hardly conceded to the national government even the power to create a corporation to act in the territories. The Civil War had its effect on this question also; the increased activity of the federal government necessitated by it, united with the removal from Congress of its state rights and strict construction members, made many things possible, and among them doubtless the incorporation of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

II.

Such were the conditions under which the Act of July 1, 1862, "to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal,

military and other purposes," * and the amendatory Act of July 2, 1864, † received the approval of President Lincoln. As little was actually accomplished under the first act save organization and preparation, the provisions of the two acts may be considered together.

They contemplated the construction of a main line from an initial point "on the one hundredth meridian of [west] longitude . . . between the south margin of the Valley of the Republican and the north margin of the Valley of the Platte River, in the Territory of Nebraska" to "the Pacific coast, at or near San Francisco, or the navigable waters of the Sacramento River." ‡ From the initial point two branches were to extend to Omaha § and Kansas City; || a branch was to extend to Sioux City from the initial point or some point on the Omaha branch, "whenever there [should] be a line of railroad completed through Minnesota or Iowa to Sioux City;" from St. Joseph a sub-branch was to be constructed either by way of Atchison to a connection with the Kansas City branch, or northwesterly to a connection with the Omaha branch; a sub-branch was also to connect Leavenworth with the Kansas City branch. By the Act of 1864, a branch to connect the terminus of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad near the mouth of the Platte River

* 12 Statutes, 489. All federal laws relating to the Pacific Railway may be conveniently found printed as appendices to the annual reports of the Commissioner of Railroads to the Secretary of the Interior.

† 13 Statutes, 356.

‡ It was provided by the Act of July 3, 1866 (14 Statutes, 79), however, "that the Union Pacific Railroad Company . . . are hereby authorized to locate, construct, and continue their road from Omaha. . . . westward . . . without reference to the initial point on the one hundredth meridian of west longitude . . . until they shall meet and connect with the Central Pacific Railroad Company."

§ "A point on the western boundary of the State of Iowa, to be fixed by the President of the United States."—Act of July 1, 1862, Section XIV.

|| "At the mouth of the Kansas River, on the south side thereof, so as to connect with the Pacific Railroad of Missouri."—Act of July 1, 1862, Section IX. This branch was intended to afford a connection for St. Louis and the lower Mississippi valley, rather than for Kansas City, as the latter was of no importance at that time.

with some point on the Union Pacific line between Omaha and the initial point was provided for.

For the construction of the main line from the initial point westward to the Nevada-California boundary and of the Omaha branch, the Union Pacific Railroad Company was incorporated; though by the Act of 1862 required to construct the Sioux City branch, it was relieved by the Act of 1864, the duty being transferred to such company as at its own request should be approved by the President of the United States. The part of the main line in California was to be constructed by the Central Pacific Railroad Company (a California corporation); the Kansas City and Leavenworth branches, by the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company (a Kansas corporation); * the St. Joseph (or Atchison) branch by the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad Company (a Missouri corporation); the Platte River branch, by the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company (an Iowa corporation). If either the Union Pacific Railroad Company, Central Pacific Railroad Company, or Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad Company should finish its lines before either of the others, it might proceed until the lines should meet, or until all the lines should be completed. All the lines were to be of uniform width and to be operated "as one connected, continuous line." Any two or more of the companies named in the act were permitted to consolidate themselves into one company. The Union Pacific Railroad Company was to have a capital stock of one hundred million dollars, which should not be increased beyond the actual cost of its lines; its board of directors was to consist of fifteen directors elected annually by the stockholders, and five government directors appointed by the President of the United States, at least one of whom was to be a member of each standing and special committee; the

* By the Act of 1864 the name of this company was changed to the Union Pacific Railway Company, Eastern Division. By a joint resolution of March 3, 1869 (15 Statutes, 348) it was permitted to again change its name to the "Kansas Pacific Railway Company."

officers were to be a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, elected by the board of directors. Annual reports to the Secretary of the Treasury (afterward to the Secretary of the Interior) were required of all the companies participating in the construction of the Pacific Railway.

As aid to the undertaking the United States granted to the several companies a right of way through the public lands four hundred feet wide, the right to take material for construction from adjacent public land, and twenty sections of public land for each mile of railway constructed, excepting coal and mineral lands and lands already pre-empted or otherwise disposed of.* Further, as rapidly as the lines should be completed in sections of twenty miles, the government should issue to the companies bonds of the United States to run thirty years with interest of 6 per cent to the extent of \$16,000 for each mile east of the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains and west of the western base of the Sierra Nevada, \$48,000 for each of the one hundred and fifty miles west of the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains and one hundred and fifty miles east of the western base of the Sierra Nevada, and \$32,000 for each mile intervening between the two mountain sections of one hundred and fifty miles, the total issue of bonds for the main line not to exceed \$50,000,000; no bonds were to be issued, however, in aid of the construction of the Leavenworth branch, or of the Platte River branch, and the St. Joseph (or Atchison) branch was to be subsidized only to the extent of one hundred miles of its line. As security for the repayment of the bonds at their maturity, the United States, according to the Act of 1862, retained a first lien on the subsidized lines; but by the Act of 1864 the lien was subordinated to a first mortgage for an equal amount. At least 5 per cent of the net earnings of each bond-aided company should be annually applied to the

*The grant of land had been only ten sections per mile in the Act of 1862; the grant was doubled in 1864. Compare Section III of Act of 1862 and Section IV of Act of 1864.

extinguishment of its debt to the United States and one-half (by the Act of 1862, all) the compensation for services rendered to the government should be likewise applied. The companies should at all times when required transmit dispatches and transport mails, troops, munitions of war and supplies for the government at a reasonable compensation; and the government should at all times be preferred to private persons in the rendition of such services.

III.

There is little of present interest in the actual construction of the Pacific Railway. In many respects it remains the greatest work of railway building that the history of railways affords. The completion of the main line in May, 1869, was appropriately celebrated as a national achievement in all the large cities in the country. The "Chinese question" is said to have had its origin in the release, on the completion of the work, of the ten thousand coolies imported for the express purpose of working on the Central Pacific Railway. But three phases of the work are of present importance: (*a*) the system of lines actually constructed, as compared with that originally designed by Congress; (*b*) the instrumentality through which the lines were constructed, of which the Credit Mobilier was the type; and (*c*) the excessive capitalization due to the conditions under which the work was done.

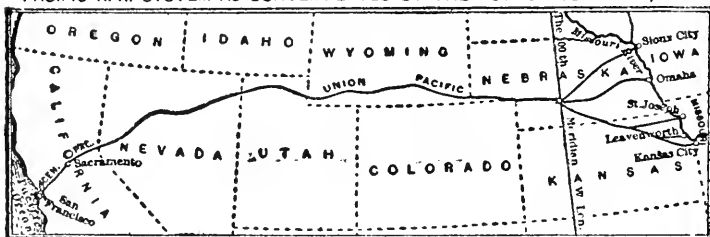
(*a*) The main line from Omaha to Sacramento was constructed substantially as designed, though it had been generally expected that it would pass south instead of north of Great Salt Lake, and though Omaha was made the eastern terminus in preference to the mouth of the Platte River, the natural terminus, because the promoters of the Union Pacific were interested in real estate in Omaha and its vicinity. From Sacramento westward on the way to San Francisco, the Western Pacific extended the main line as far as San José. The Kansas Pacific, instead of forming an eastern branch of the main line, was extended almost due

west from Kansas City to Denver, and only technically complied with the law by making a connection with the Union Pacific at Cheyenne by the Denver Pacific. The Sioux City branch was constructed by the Sioux City & Pacific Railroad Company, and made connection with the Union Pacific at Fremont. The Central Branch Union Pacific—the so-called Atchison branch—never reached either the Kansas Pacific or Union Pacific, though it extended far enough to get its subsidy for one hundred miles. The unsubsidized Leavenworth and Platte River branches were constructed as designed. In general, however, the Pacific Railway, when completed, was far from being the system of lines originally intended by Congress.*

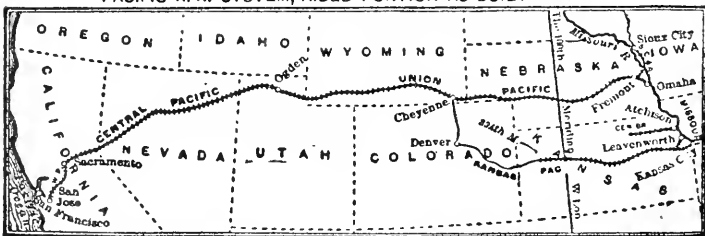
(b) The Credit Mobilier was merely one of the "construction companies" with which students of railway questions

*The two following maps, taken from the Reports of the Pacific Railway Commission of 1887 (Senate Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 1st Session, No. 51), show the difference between the system as contemplated and as constructed.

PACIFIC R. R. SYSTEM AS CONTEMPLATED BY THE ACT OF JULY 1ST, 1862.



PACIFIC R. R. SYSTEM, AIDED PORTION AS BUILT



are familiar. Undue importance has been attached to it, because its stock happened to serve as the basis of a political scandal. Instead of paying directly for the construction of the Union Pacific lines, the stockholders of the company formed a separate corporation for the purpose, and by employing it to perform the work, thus virtually hired themselves to construct their own railway. Quarrels between factions in the two corporations led to the delegation of all the powers of both to seven prominent stockholders as trustees. All the securities of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, government subsidy bonds, first mortgage bonds, land grant bonds, income bonds and stock, were then turned over to the seven trustees to pay for railway construction, and distributed, either directly or in the form of proceeds of their sale, to the stockholders. It was assumed that the profits of the venture must come from the bounty offered by the United States; the future success of the Union Pacific as a business enterprise was problematical; the profits of the enterprise had to come from the construction of the railway rather than from its future operation; the Credit Mobilier was the means adopted by those in control of the Union Pacific to ensure to themselves the profits of construction. Similar construction companies were used on nearly all parts of the Pacific Railway, and particularly by the Central Pacific Railroad Company; in fact, they were in general use in the promotion of railway enterprises in the United States until after 1880.

In the long session of the Fortieth Congress, in December, 1867, and January, 1868, when considerable hostility was manifested toward the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and adverse legislation was threatened, Oakes Ames, who was a member of Congress and the principal promoter of the interests of the Union Pacific Railroad Company and its *alter ego*, the Credit Mobilier, sought to strengthen their standing in Congress by selling Credit Mobilier stock to Congressmen and Senators. The stock was not actually transferred, but,

being already held by Oakes Ames as trustee, remained in his hands, the dividends being paid over by him to the Congressmen and Senators for whom he held the stock. Though the dividends were very large, the stock was sold at par, and a few dividends sufficed to pay the par value of the stock and leave a clear balance for the stockholder,—which was paid over by Ames. Most of the stock was not paid for, except by accruing dividends. Through some litigation in Philadelphia, brought on by the disagreement of Oakes Ames and Henry S. McComb over some Credit Mobilier stock, the disposition of the stock in Washington was given publicity in September, 1872, and created probably the greatest political scandal in the history of the country. After a long investigation by the Poland Committee,* appointed early in the next session of Congress, and a report that hardly did justice to the subject, Oakes Ames and James Brooks were expelled from their seats in the House. It is a fair conclusion from all the facts that the extreme measure of expulsion was not justified. But Congress did not rest. Acting on the theory that the United States had been defrauded in the manipulation of Union Pacific property and the government subsidy through the Credit Mobilier mechanism,† it ordered an action in equity to be brought against numerous defendants,‡ stockholders in the Union Pacific and Credit Mobilier and others, for the recovery of property wrongfully gotten,—but the action was a dismal failure, and was dismissed.§

(c) Under the conditions existing at the time, the construction of the Union Pacific (as well as the other parts of the Pacific Railway) was extremely expensive. The race of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific to their place of meeting at Promontory Point was at a great cost. From

* See Report of Poland Committee on Credit Mobilier Investigation, House of Representatives Reports, 42d Congress, 3d Session, No. 177.

† See Report of Wilson Committee on Affairs of Union Pacific Railroad Company, House of Representatives Reports, 42d Congress, 3d Session, No. 78.

‡ Act of March 3, 1873, Section IV, 17 Statutes, 568.

§ The United States vs. The Union Pacific Railroad Company, 98 U. S. R. 569.

1864 to 1869 labor and material were extremely dear. The government bonds received by the companies and their own bonds had to be sold at a discount. The Union Pacific had no eastern railway connection until 1867, and its material and supplies had to be hauled overland from Des Moines or brought to Omaha on Missouri River boats. The Credit Mobilier made a profit of from \$6,000,000 to \$20,000,000 on an expenditure estimated at from \$50,000,000 to \$70,000,000. The management of the entire work was characterized by extreme waste and extravagance. When completed, the Union Pacific was liable for \$27,000,000, of first mortgage bonds, \$27,000,000 of government bonds, \$10,000,000 of income bonds, \$10,000,000 of land-grant bonds, and \$36,000,000 of stock—a total of \$110,000,000, easily four times what the construction of the line would cost now.

IV.

The main line from Omaha to Sacramento had hardly been put in operation over its entire length when the "interest question" arose. The interest on the government bonds was payable semi-annually, and the government claimed that its payments of current interest ought to be presently reimbursed by the companies. The 5 per cent of net earnings and half-compensation for government services reserved by the United States in the Act of 1864,* proved to be much less than the current interest, and the subsidy debt threatened to increase rapidly. It was finally decided by the Supreme Court † that the companies were under no obligation to presently reimburse the current interest, except to the extent of the 5 per cent of net earnings and half-compensation for government services. But what were the net earnings? The companies insisted on determining them by deducting from the gross earnings interest on bonded indebtedness, expenses of land grant, cost of improvements and new

* See page 52, *supra*.

† *United States vs. Union Pacific Railroad Company*, 91 U. S. R. 72.

equipment, and the government's half-compensation,—all items that the government insisted were part of the net earnings. The Supreme Court in due time decided that the net earnings should be determined by deducting from the gross earnings all the ordinary expenses of organization and operation, and expenditures made *bona fide* in improvements (and paid out of the earnings, not by issue of bonds or stock),—but not by deducting interest on bonds or the half-compensation of the government.*

The decision of the Supreme Court on the "interest question" and the attitude of the companies on the question of net earnings, together with the distribution of revenue in dividends, created such consternation that the Thurman Act was passed in 1878. It provided for a sinking fund for the Union Pacific and Central Pacific companies, into which should be paid each year the half-compensation for government services formerly payable to the companies, and such additional sum as, added to the whole compensation for government services and 5 per cent of the net earnings, would make them equal to 25 per cent of the net earnings, except that such additional sum should not exceed annually \$850,000 for the Union Pacific, and \$1,200,000 for the Central Pacific; the half-compensation originally reserved by the United States was still to be applied directly to the liquidation of current interest. The sinking fund was to be in charge of the Secretary of the Treasury, and by him invested in United States bonds, the semi-annual interest on which was to be likewise invested. The sinking fund was to be held for the benefit of all creditors of the two companies. The net earnings should be determined by deducting from the gross earnings the necessary expenses of operation and repairs, and interest on first-mortgage bonds, but not the interest on other indebtedness. All sums due to the United States or payable into the sinking fund should be a lien on all the property of the companies, and no dividends should

* Union Pacific Railroad Company *vs.* United States, 99 U. S. R. 402.

be paid as long as they and the interest on the first-mortgage bonds should remain unpaid.* The sinking fund feature of the act was sustained as constitutional by the Supreme Court in the fall of 1878.†

In operation, however, the Thurman Act has not had the results hoped for. The maximum payments into the sinking fund have not been attained, because of low net earnings due to competition, commercial depressions and other causes. Some of the fund had to be invested in bonds commanding a high premium, and much of it had to lie uninvested. Though afterward provided that it might be invested in the first mortgage bonds of the companies, the accumulation of unliquidated current interest has steadily increased since 1878.

V.

In 1880, the Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific and Denver Pacific Companies were consolidated under the name of the Union Pacific Railway Company. Then by reason of the competition of new lines of railway west of the Missouri River, the policy of building branch lines and absorbing other lines was followed until, in 1893, the Union Pacific system contained 8167 miles, of which only 1823 miles were owned directly by the Union Pacific Railway Company, the remaining 6344 miles being controlled through ownership of stock, leases, contracts and a variety of other relations. Since the lines were placed in the hands of receivers (in October, 1893), 3113 miles have been removed from the control of the Union Pacific, leaving 5054 ‡ miles in the system. Nearly all the branch mileage was constructed in the same general manner as the original lines; the proceeds from the sale of bonds nearly sufficed to build them, while their stock was held

* Act of May 7, 1878, 20 Statutes, 56. Compare the statutory definition of net earnings with that of the Supreme Court given above. The "net-earnings case" was decided in the October (1878) term of the Supreme Court.

† Sinking Fund Cases, *Union Pacific Railroad Company vs. United States*, and *Central Pacific Railroad Company vs. Gallatin*, 99 U. S. R. 72.

‡ Of this mileage, 476 miles are not operated by the Union Pacific, but are operated independently or by some other company.

largely for the purpose of controlling them. While they were very highly necessary to the main lines, they were usually constructed or acquired and operated on such terms as to impose financial burdens out of proportion to their importance. The Union Pacific has also been the prey of rings of unusual number and rapacity; as examples may be mentioned construction rings, town-site rings, land rings, smelting-works rings, stock-yards rings, coal rings, car rings and stock-speculating rings. For a few years prior to 1893 the company enjoyed a surplus of earnings as follows: 1889, \$2,492,440.57; 1890, \$1,886,692.22; 1891, \$1,910,390.34; 1892, \$2,649,518.07. The disastrous year 1893, however, resulted in a deficit of \$432,451.68. When default in interest obligations became inevitable, the property of the company was placed in the hands of receivers in October, 1893, on the application of holders of first mortgage bonds. Since that time several parts of the system, as the Kansas Pacific, the Union Pacific, Denver and Gulf, and the Oregon Railway and Navigation Lines, have been placed in the hands of separate receivers, some to be operated as a part of the system, but others separately. The deficit for the year ending June 30, 1894, was \$6,503,004.66; for the year following, \$1,907,054.82.

The Central Pacific assigned its right to build from Sacramento to San José to the Western Pacific; the latter having extended its line to San Francisco by absorbing another line thither from San José, was consolidated (along with other lines) with the Central Pacific under the name of the Central Pacific Railroad Company. In 1885, when many other lines had passed under its control, the whole system was divided into two parts, those north of Goshen (California) being given to the Central Pacific, and those south of Goshen to the Southern Pacific; then both systems were leased to the Southern Pacific Company, and have since so remained.

The Central Branch Union Pacific became a part of the Union Pacific system in the consolidation of 1880, but was

then leased by it to the Missouri Pacific, by which it has since been operated.

The Sioux City and Pacific line was leased in 1884 to the Chicago and Northwestern, of which it has since been hardly more than a local branch.

The lines other than those of the Union Pacific have been kept from bankruptcy largely by being parts of systems able to discharge interest payments as they have fallen due. The debts due to the United States, however, have steadily increased in every case; their amounts on February 1, 1896, are given in Table A, page 62.

Part of the subsidy bonds have already matured, and the balance will mature by January 1, 1899.*

VI.

Under such conditions Congress is called upon to decide what shall be done. How may a part or all of the debts of the Pacific railway companies to the United States be best collected without doing injustice to the companies or general public? Three plans have been proposed:—(1) The realization of as much as possible of the debts at once and the entire severance for the future of the peculiar relations of the

* The amounts of subsidy bonds maturing each year, for each company, are as follows:

	1895.	January 1, 1896.	January 1, 1897.	January 1, 1898.	January 1, 1899.	Total.
Union Pacific.		\$4,320,000	\$3,840,000	\$15,919,512	\$3,157,000	\$27,236,512
Nov. 1.						
Kansas Pacific	\$640,000	1,440,000	2,800,000	1,423,000		6,303,000
Central Branch		640,000	640,000	320,000		1,600,000
Union Pacific.						
Sioux City and Pacific.				1,628,320		1,628,320
Jan. 16.						
Central Pacific	\$2,362,000	1,600,000	2,112,000	10,614,120	9,197,000	25,885,120
Western Pacific			320,000		1,650,560	1,970,560
Total	\$3,002,000	\$8,000,000	\$9,712,000	\$29,904,952	\$14,004,560	\$64,623,512

The amount that has already matured (\$11,002,000) has been paid by the United States.

TABLE A.

	Principal of United States Subsidy Bonds.	Interest on United States Bonds Payable or Paid.	Interest Repaid by Companies.		Balance of Interest Payable or Paid by U. S.	Amount in Sinking Fund.	Balance of Principal and Interest Due from Companies.
			By Services.	By Cash, Five Per Cent of Net Earnings.			
Union Pacific	\$27,236,512.00	\$45,521,416.97	\$15,138,427.66	\$438,409.58	\$29,944,579.73	\$15,347,929.82	\$41,833,161.91
Kansas Pacific . . .	6,303,000.00	10,871,438.44	4,433,673.40	. . . . .	6,437,765.04	. . . . .	12,740,765.04
Cent'l Br'ch Union Pacific . . .	1,600,000.00	2,754,608.26	631,892.39	6,926.91	2,115,788.96	. . . . .	3,715,788.96
Central Pacific . . .	25,885,120.00	42,840,115.24	7,506,065.29	658,283.26	34,675,766.69	6,262,102.16	54,298,784.53
Western Pacific . . .	1,970,560.00	3,156,021.74	9,367.00	. . . . .	3,146,654.74	. . . . .	5,117,214.74
Sioux City and Pacific	1,628,320.00	2,693,679.09	238,793.95	. . . . .	2,454,885.14	. . . . .	4,083,205.14
Total . .	\$64,623,512.00	\$107,837,279.74	\$27,958,219.69	\$1,103,619.75	\$8,775,440.30	\$21,610,031.98	\$121,788,920.32

In the statement of the public debt, February 1, 1896, the amounts detailed in the official statement have been rearranged and condensed for the present purpose. It ought to be added in this connection that the Central Pacific Railroad Company maintains a sinking fund for the redemption of its first mortgage bonds superior to the lien of the United States bonds; and the Union Pacific Railway Company, a sinking fund for the redemption of Kansas Pacific first mortgage bonds; at the end of the year 1893, the former amounted to \$5,664,515.67; the latter to \$1,343,000.00.

government to the bond-aided Pacific railways; (2) the extension of the time for the payment of the companies' debts, and the virtual maintenance of the present relations of the government to them with the expectation of realizing in the future all or a larger percentage of its claims; (3) the assumption by the United States of the burden of owning and operating the railways.

1. In favor of the first plan it must be conceded that the relations of the debtor companies and creditor government have been unsatisfactory in the extreme. If by any reasonable means they may be terminated, it would be better for both sides. The matter of expense is in itself one of importance. The maintenance and use of the governmental machinery necessary for the control of the companies, have been very burdensome to the United States. Congress has spent months of valuable time in passing or attempting to pass Pacific Railway laws. Both the Senate and House of Representatives have maintained for forty years special or standing "Committees on Pacific Railroads," most of whose time and attention have been devoted to the bond-aided lines. The energies of the Attorney-General's Department have been taxed by the never-ending litigation with the companies. As an item in that connection, the Attorney-General asked in 1894 for the appropriation by Congress of \$30,000, to enable him, during the year 1895, "to represent and protect the interests of the United States in matters and suits affecting the Pacific railroads." From time to time expensive investigations have been made, such as those of the Credit Mobilier Committees and of the Pacific Railway Commission of 1887, the latter occupying nearly a year's time, and necessarily holding sessions in many of the large cities from New York to San Francisco. No small part of the work of the Commissioner of Railroads and his bureau, maintained at an annual expense of from \$12,000 to \$15,000, is occasioned by questions relating to the bond-aided lines. Even the expense of printing the mass of Pacific Railway

literature that the government has issued, must have been a formidable item. If there were trustworthy means of computing the expense to the government of maintaining, supervising and controlling its relations to the Pacific railway companies during the past thirty-five years, it would be found to amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars. Nor has the government alone found such relations expensive to maintain; the companies, too, have had to maintain an army of lawyers and lobbyists, even if sometimes employed for purposes other than that of legitimate self-protection. The unusual dangers of "hostile legislation" have imposed upon the companies the necessity of a more extensive use of questionable political influence than ordinary railway companies have needed.

But aside from the mere matter of expense, which ought not to be given too much weight, it is hardly possible that the dealings of the government and companies will ever be agreeable as long as their present relations continue. As long as a large debt is due from them to the United States, Congress will feel justified in interfering and investigating, and no comprehensive policy of management of the companies' business will be possible; the companies will retaliate by the undue use of political influence and by failure to perform their duties. The conflict of interests is so sharp that dispassionate discussion of Pacific Railway bills has become an impossibility in Congress. The debate on the Reilly Bill in the last Congress was acrimonious and bitter; the essential features of the questions involved were lost sight of, and the importance of punishing those who have plundered the Pacific railways in the past was unduly magnified. It is not surprising that such should be the case. It is difficult enough for the government to maintain just relations between railway corporations and the public; it is made more difficult if the existence of a very large debt keeps alive the suspicion that every act of the corporations is intended for the purpose of evading its payment.

Many are disposed to take what they call a "business view" of the matter. They admit that grave mistakes have been made by the government, that perhaps the legislation of 1862 and 1864 was imprudent in a few or many particulars, that the results have been highly unsatisfactory in most respects, but that it is all now past remedy; they conclude that there is involved only the simple business question of handling an insolvent debtor whose dealings have not been fully honorable. Obviously, the best way to treat such a case is by getting as much as possible from the debtor and resolving to have nothing more to do with him. If it be suggested that the question is not simply one of business, but rather a political question involving the just treatment of large classes of citizens by a corporation upon which extensive powers have been bestowed for the accomplishment of public purposes, the answer is that such questions must be treated separately through the Interstate Commerce Commission or some other such agency.

There is much force in the argument that the presence of corporations sustaining peculiar relations to the government, such as those of the Pacific Railway companies, interferes with the solution of the general problem of finding the right place for railway corporations in the "social organism" and keeping them in it. The general problem would certainly be simplified if the powers and duties of railway companies were more nearly alike. In Michigan the legislature is perplexed with the question of equality of taxation where some railway companies enjoy, by charter, exemption from taxation except to the extent of a fixed percentage of their income.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has found it difficult to define a just rate when competing lines are capitalized and bonded in widely different proportions to their actual value or cost of construction. So the untenable distinction seems to be often made that the Pacific railways must be maintained for a special national purpose, while their competitors may

be safely entrusted to the ordinary desire of their promoters to invest capital profitably.*

The construction of the Pacific railways was demanded by what was considered a national exigency in 1862 and 1864, and under the circumstances the aid by the issuance of bonds was largely justified. No such exigency exists now and there is no reason why the government should make any distinction in its relations to the several transcontinental lines. If, when the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé system was in the hands of receivers, the Government of the United States was not called upon to "rehabilitate" it, why should it be called upon, under similar circumstances, to "rehabilitate" the Union Pacific system? The Pacific Railway companies are different from their competitors only in the fact that they owe the government certain sums of money, and that difference ought to be eliminated as soon as possible. When the bonds were advanced to the companies, they were expected to be rather a bonus than a loan; if the railways had proved financial failures, the government would have been justified in canceling the debt or by advancing more aid. The lines have actually decreased in value until the government is unable to realize its claim from them; it ought to be possible to determine a sum of money that, all things

*Thus in his letter to the House of Representatives (H. R. Executive Document, No. 203, 53d Congress, 2d session), Attorney-General Olney said: "It may not improperly be added that much more is involved than the exact per cent to be collected upon the government debt. Congress chartered the Union Pacific Railway Company to promote great public ends and to secure great public advantages, and granted it land and subsidies on the express condition that it 'shall at all times transmit dispatches over said telegraph line, and transport mails, troops and munitions of war, supplies, and public stores upon said railroad for the government whenever required to do so by any department thereof, and that the government shall, at all times, have the preference in the use of the same for all the purposes aforesaid at fair and reasonable rates of compensation, not to exceed the amounts paid to [by] private parties for the same kind of service.' Unless it can be said that the objects thus enumerated have ceased to be of public concern and value, or that a corporation like the Union Pacific Railway Company is not needed as an agency for their accomplishment, the rehabilitation of that company, or the substitution of another with like franchises and subject to the like duties, is imperatively demanded on the broad ground of the general welfare."

considered, would represent the difference between the reciprocal services of the United States and the companies; such sum, when paid, would leave the United States without ground for complaint, and would leave the Pacific railways on a level with the other transcontinental lines, just as they ought to be. There is absolutely no ground now for according to the Union Pacific Railway Company (or any other bond-aided company) an exceptional status among the railway companies of the country.

Such a line of reasoning has caused many former advocates of an extension of the time of payment of the companies' debts to the government to favor an absolute and final settlement of them on some fair basis, if any such can be determined. Most significantly, from the standpoint of practical politics, the corporations themselves (or the capitalists desirous of being their successors) though they have heretofore desired an extension of time, are beginning to favor the settlement of the debts on a cash basis; they regard the United States as a meddlesome and otherwise undesirable creditor, who insists on trying his cases in Congress, while private creditors have to be satisfied with the ordinary procedure of the courts; they remember, too, that bills and resolutions have often been proposed in Congress for the mere purpose of affecting the securities of the companies on the stock exchanges. The advocates of a present settlement, however, are not confined to "interested" parties. The sentiment is so strong among others, it is declared by a most competent authority, that if the Union Pacific Railway Company were to offer to pay in cash at once the principal of its debt (and release to the government the property in the sinking fund) in full settlement of it, Congress would accept the offer and submit to the loss of its claim for unreimbursed interest. As evidence of the change in public opinion, the difference in the annual reports of the government directors of the Union Pacific Railway Company for the years 1894 and 1895 is instructive. The earlier report

contained an elaborate re-funding and re-organizing scheme by which the present securities, including the present government claim, were to be exchanged for new securities, aggregating \$231,000,000, among which were to be \$150,000,000 of three per cent hundred-year bonds. The later report advocated the foreclosure of the government lien on the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines, the payment of the prior liens and the sale of the lines to such purchaser as should pay for them an amount equal to the sum of the prior lien and such additional sum as Congress should decide to be the fair value of the government claim. Yet three of the five government directors were the same persons.*

What sum the United States would be likely to realize by pursuing such a course is quite impossible to say. A consideration of that feature of the plan shows some of its greatest weaknesses. The government cannot expect to get more than the difference between the value of the properties and the amounts of the prior liens. But how is the value of the properties to be determined, by capitalizing the income or by estimating the "cost of reproduction?" If the Union Pacific were to be sold in the market, the cost of reproduction would not be considered; the purchaser would investigate its net earnings for a series of past years, calculate the likelihood of the future impairment of its earning power, and bid accordingly. The gross earnings and net earnings for the ten years ending with 1894 were as follows:

* A bill introduced by Senator Frye in August, 1893, provided for a settlement of the debt of the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad Company to be made by the Secretary of the Treasury in his discretion, but with the consent and approval of the President. A similar bill introduced by Senator Gear in January, 1896, sought to accomplish the purpose in the same manner, except that a body of three commissioners were to take the place of the Secretary of the Treasury in the transaction. A bill was introduced by Senator Thurston in December, 1895, for the sale of the claim of the government on the Central Pacific and Union Pacific companies to the highest bidder whose bid shall be in excess of fifty per cent of the amount due to the government, the bidder to thereby succeed to all the rights and remedies in the connection possessed by the United States and to be eventually the corporate successor of the Union Pacific Railway Company and Central Pacific Railroad Company.

	Gross earnings.	Net earnings.
1885	\$17,455,031.51	\$8,404,676.31
1886	17,806,132.59	7,522,707.02
1887	19,546,088.62	9,111,886.85
1888	19,898,816.93	8,119,468.16
1889	19,775,555.84	8,286,679.63
1890	20,438,208.36	7,274,759.06
1891	19,687,738.48	7,846,451.70
1892	20,361,401.66	8,550,268.22
1893	17,376,792.11	6,204,716.81
1894	14,739,436.76	4,315,077.25
Average for ten years	\$18,708,520.29	\$7,563,669.10

On the assumption that the future earning power of the lines will be unimpaired, and that five per cent will be the ruling rate of interest for such investments, they would be worth probably \$150,000,000—much in excess of the first mortgage indebtedness of about \$40,000,000, and the government debt of about \$60,000,000. But the future earning power of the system is entirely problematic; if its dismemberment already begun under the receivership should proceed, it would certainly be greatly impaired. So uncertain is the outlook, that the United States could hardly expect to realize from a forced sale of the property on the market more than one-half its claim. The government, if it desired to obtain the highest possible price, based on the earning power of the lines, would probably consult its own interests by purchasing them and holding them until their future earning power might be more definitely ascertained and until the market might be more favorable than now.

But there is a very serious objection to the use of the speculative value as the basis of a settlement of the government's claim. The Pacific railway companies were not chartered or aided with the mere intention of providing a source of profits for either investors or the United States, as indeed most railway companies are not so chartered or aided; but when the enterprises were left in private hands, the compensation for their benefit to society was left to be

determined by speculative commercial forces. As usually in such enterprises, the highest possible earnings were attempted and covered by the claims of "securities." Rates are not now regulated wholly by the service performed, but to a large extent by a watered capitalization based on previous earnings. Though possibly not always a safe rule to apply, it is safe to insist, in the case of the Pacific railways, that their freight and passenger rates ought not to be in excess of a fair rate of interest on the cost of their present reproduction. In other words, the bonded indebtedness and stock of the Pacific railway companies ought to be scaled down until they aggregate no more than the cost of reproduction of the lines; the water ought to be withdrawn. The cost of reproducing the subsidized Union Pacific lines was estimated by Richard P. Morgan, an entirely competent expert, in the course of the investigation made by the Pacific Railway Commission in 1887, as follows:

	Miles.	Cost of reproduction.	Average cost per mile without terminals.	Average cost per mile with terminals.
Union Pacific (Omaha to Ogden)	1039	\$27,857,500		
Terminals, Omaha and Ogden		10,300,000		
Total		\$38,157,500	\$26,814	\$36,728
Kansas Pacific (Kansas City to Denver)	639	14,907,870		
Terminals, Kansas City and Denver		7,000,000		
Total		\$21,907,870	23,315	34,263
Central Branch Union Pacific	100	2,004,000	20,040	20,040
Grand total, lines	1778	\$44,769,370		
Terminals		17,300,000		
		\$62,069,370	25.179	\$34,909

If the cost of reproduction would be \$62,000,000 (which is undoubtedly a too liberal estimate, because inclusive of the cost of lines and terminals on which the government

has no lien), and the first mortgage is approximately \$40,000,000, then the government ought not to claim more than the difference, or \$22,000,000. To claim more would be to impose an unjustifiable burden on the rate-paying public. Whether it would be the duty of the government to provide that if the properties remained in private hands they should be so managed as to earn only interest on their cost of reproduction, is a part of the general railway problem. All that may be said here is that the government must not be a party to the retention of water in the bonds and stock of the Pacific railways, because it would be an injustice to its subjects. If the government must lose a large sum by such a settlement, it means in general that it has had to pay a high premium (honestly or dishonestly obtained) to secure a Pacific railway before 1870, instead of waiting several years for it.

But the people of the United States, and not investors ready to put more water into the securities, ought to reap the advantages paid for by the great bonus. If Congress should decide to make a final settlement, it would probably be unable to determine by itself the amount to be accepted. The best plan, in that case, would probably be to appoint a commission of such reputable citizens that their recommendations could be implicitly relied on, and then to act on the advice given by them after a thorough investigation.

2. It has been ascertained by computation that if the Union Pacific and other Pacific railway companies could renew their first mortgage indebtedness at a lower rate of interest than six per cent (the present rate), and could also get an extension of time on the debt to the United States at a rate of two or three per cent, they might (the earning power of their lines remaining as at present) repay to the United States all their subsidy debts in the course of from fifty to one hundred years, either by making fixed periodical payments, or by maintaining a sinking fund similar to that now in operation under the Thurman Act, and by paying into it a larger percentage of net earnings.

Some objections to this plan have already been suggested under the preceding head. The United States would still be "in partnership" with the Pacific railway companies, as it is often expressed. Most of the present unsatisfactory relations would be perpetuated. The day of final reckoning might thus, possibly, be only postponed, and only temporary relief afforded. A year of "commercial depression," increased competition, or bad harvests, would threaten to bring forward all the old questions just as they are now, by a default in the payment of interest on other obligations. There is no possible guaranty that the earning power of the lines will remain as efficient as at present or in the immediate past. What will be the condition of the Union Pacific (as to its earning power) when it leaves the hands of the present receivers is impossible to predict.

A more serious objection, possibly, would be the maintenance of the fictitious capitalization of the lines. The Union Pacific Railway is now in the hands of receivers because its bonds and stock amount to about four times what they ought to be.* Rates on all the Pacific railways

* Statement of the amounts of funded indebtedness and stock of the bond-aided Pacific Railway companies (compiled from the annual report of the Commissioner of Railroads for 1895).

CHARACTER OF BONDS.	Date of Maturity.	Rate of Interest.	Amount of Bonds Outstanding.	LIEN.
<i>Union Pacific Railway.</i>				
Trust 5 per cent coupon,	1907	5	\$4,660,000	Bonds of branch lines held by trustees.
Trust 5 per cent registered,	1907	5	17,000	Bonds of branch lines held by trustees.
Omaha bridge renewal, second mortgage, . .	1915	5	1,056,000	Omaha bridge.
Equipment Trust, . . .	1888-1900	5	2,010,000	Equipment.
Collateral trust, . . .	1918	4½	2,030,000	Bonds of branch lines held by trustees.
Kansas Division and collateral mortgage coupon,	1921	5	5,000,000	Bonds and lands, and bonds and stocks held by trustees.
Collateral trust notes, .	1894	6	9,247,000	Bonds and stocks held by trustees.

are higher than they ought to be; and when western legislatures attempt to lower them, the courts prevent the execution of their laws by laying down the rule that the revenues of railway companies must, if possible, be sufficient to pay

CHARACTER OF BONDS.	Date of Maturity.	Rate of Interest.	Amount of Bonds Outstand- ing.	LIEN.
<i>Union Pacific Railroad.</i>				
First mortgage,	1896-99	6	\$27,229,000	Main line, Omaha to Ogden.
United States subsidy, second mortgage, . .	1896-99	6	27,236,512	Main line, Omaha to Ogden.
Sinking fund mortgage, coupon,	1899	8	3,467,000	Main line, Omaha to Ogden, third mortgage; granted lands, second mortgage.
Sinking fund mortgage, registered,	1899	8	272,000	
Collateral trust,	1904	6	3,626,000	Bonds of branch lines held by trustees.
Omaha bridge,	1896	8	194,000	Omaha bridge, first mortgage.
Land grant mortgage, .	1887-89	7	7,000	Granted lands.
<i>Kansas Pacific Railway.</i>				
First mortgage,	1895-99	6	12,190,000	Main line, Kansas City to Denver.
United States subsidy, second mortgage, . .	1895-98	6	6,303,000	Main line, Kansas City to 394th mile-post.
Leavenworth branch, first mortgage, . . .	1896	7	15,000	Leavenworth branch.
Income,	1916	7	11,400	Income.
Income (subordinated),	1916	7	23,100	Income.
Consolidated mortgage,	1919	6	11,724,000	Blanket mortgage, 779 miles of road and 294 miles of land grant.
Denver extension coupon certificates, . . .	1916	6	385	Income.
<i>Denver Pacific Railway.</i>				
Cheyenne branch, first mortgage,	1899	7	4,000	Cheyenne branch, road and lands.
Total for <i>Union Pacific Railway</i> (Bonds),			\$116,322,397	
(Stock),			60,868,500	
<i>Central Branch Union Pacific.</i>				
First mortgage,	1896-98	6	\$2,230,000	Main line, Atchison to Waterville.
United States subsidy, second mortgage, . .	1896-98	6	1,600,000	Main line, Atchison to Waterville.
Total (Bonds),			\$3,830,000	
(Stock),			1,000,000	
<i>Sioux City and Pacific Railroad.</i>				
First mortgage,	1898	6	\$1,628,000	Line from Sioux City to Fremont.
United States subsidy, second mortgage, . .	1898	6	1,628,320	Line, Sioux City to Fremont (ex- cept five miles).
Total (Bonds),			\$3,256,320	
(Stock),			2,068,400	

interest on bonded indebtedness. It would be unconscionable in the United States to keep water in the stock and bonds of the Pacific railway companies for the sake of collecting its subsidies, as has been already suggested.*

CHARACTER OF BONDS.	Date of Maturity.	Rate of Interest.	Amount of Bonds Outstanding.	LIEN.
<i>Central Pacific Railroad.</i>				
First mortgage,	1895-98	6	\$25,883,000	Main line, Sacramento to Ogden.
United States subsidy, second mortgage, . . .	1895-98	6	25,885,120	Main line, Sacramento to Ogden.
First mortgage, California and Oregon, . .	1918	5	10,340,000	Line, Roseville Junction to Oregon State Line.
Land grant bonds, . . .	1900	5	2,647,000	Central Pacific and California and Oregon land grants.
Fifty-year bonds,	1936	6	56,000	Land grant and other property not subsidized.
Fifty-year bonds,	1939	5	12,283,000	Land grant and all other property.
<i>Western Pacific Railroad.</i>				
First mortgage,	1895-99	6	2,735,000	Lines, Sacramento to San José and Niles to Oakland.
United States subsidy, second mortgage, . . .	1895-98	6	1,970,560	Line, Sacramento to San José.
<i>San Joaquin Valley Railroad.</i>				
First mortgage,	1900	6	6,080,000	Line, Lathrop to Goshen.
<i>Total for Central Pacific Railroad, (Bonds),</i>			\$87,879,680	
<i>(Stock),</i>			67,275,500	

RECAPITULATION.	Bonds.	Stock.	Total.
Union Pacific Railway,	\$116,322,397	\$60,868,500	\$177,190,897
Central Branch Union Pacific Railway, .	3,830,000	1,000,000	4,830,000
Sioux City and Pacific Railroad,	3,256,320	2,068,400	5,324,720
Central Pacific Railroad,	87,879,680	67,275,500	155,155,180
Total,	\$211,288,397	\$131,212,400	\$342,500,797

* This is one of the features that must be condemned in the plan of the Reorganization Committee dominated by the Vanderbilt interests, of which the following are the principal features:

1. A new company (or the present Union Pacific Railway Company purified of its obligations through the pending foreclosure proceedings) is to own and operate the main lines of the Union Pacific System.
2. The new company is to issue \$100,000,000 of first mortgage railway and land grant fifty-year 4 per cent bonds, \$75,000,000 of 4 per cent preferred stock, and \$61,000,000 of common stock.
3. The new securities are to be distributed among the present security holders according to the extent of their holdings and the value of their securities;

If the lines have suffered such a shrinkage in value that they are not worth enough to satisfy both their first mortgages, and the government's second mortgage (or statutory lien) the government probably ought to be willing to suffer the consequences. It need hardly be denied here, and at this time, that railway rates are regulated wholly by competition; there are certainly many arbitrary factors in them, and one of the strongest is the effort to pay returns on watered stock and bonds.

The re-funding plan has the redeeming feature, that as far as the repayment of the subsidy is concerned, it would make matters no worse, and they might become much better; it is certainly the most conservative plan. But, after all, it is only a speculation by the government in its own credit. It expects to make the Union Pacific Railway Company able to pay its debts by lowering the rate of interest on them. It is the same as if it should borrow money at two or three per cent and loan it at four or five per cent. From that point of view, the plan is not different from the first plan (of present compromise and settlement), because the money thus obtained in settlement might be loaned out by the government to other borrowers at four or five per cent, and by successive increments might amount in fifty or one hundred years to the total present debt of the companies left in their

\$35,755,280 of bonds, \$20,864,400 of preferred stock, and \$131,500 of common stock are to be reserved for the settlement of the debt due to the government.

4. Present stockholders are assessed \$15 per share, and are to receive in return share for share of new common stock and the amount of their assessments in new preferred stock.

5. The syndicate having charge of the reorganization are to receive \$6,000,000 of preferred stock for their work, \$1,000,000 of which is to be retained by the bank furnishing the necessary funds.

The plan is based on the average net earnings of the past ten years, estimated at about \$7,500,000, but, while very satisfactory to the security holders and reorganizers, it is hardly encouraging to the rate-paying public. It is estimated that the lines could be duplicated for, at the most, \$75,000,000; why, then, should they be burdened with \$236,000,000 of bonds and stock? If it is the duty of the United States not to keep water in the obligations of the companies in order to secure its own debt, it may appear to be its duty to provide by legislation that reorganizing syndicates be prevented from retaining the water for the benefit of investors.

hands at two or three per cent. From another slightly different point of view, it is the same as if the United States were to cancel the principal of the present indebtedness, if the companies would agree to pay interest on it for fifty or one hundred years at five or six per cent, the rate that private investors would expect to receive.*

* A strong effort was made in the last (53d) Congress to pass a bill for the extension over fifty years of the time of payment of the debts of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Companies to the United States. Several bills had been introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on Pacific Railroads. In July, 1894, the committee reported, in lieu of the referred bills, what was known as the Reilly Bill, with the following provisions: The companies were to discharge the first mortgages on their aided lines at once; the payment of the amounts due from the companies to the United States was to be collaterally secured by an issue of their bonds (bearing three per cent interest), delivered to the Secretary of the Treasury, and based on mortgages on all their assets; the interest was to be paid semi-annually; semi-annual payments of the principal were to be made of one half of one per cent for the first ten years, three-fourths of one per cent for the second ten years, one per cent for the third ten years, one and one-fourth per cent for the fourth ten years, and one and one-half per cent for the last ten years. If there should be a default in a payment for ninety days after its maturity, foreclosure should be begun. No dividends should be paid as long as obligations on the collateral bonds should be unfulfilled; nor should dividends of more than four per cent per annum be paid unless actually earned, and unless an amount equal to the excess over four per cent should be paid to the government to be credited on its claim. The plan was not to be operative unless accepted by the companies. The amounts in the sinking fund were to be made over to them upon their satisfaction of their first mortgages. (See H. R. Report, No. 1290, 53d Congress, 2d Session. For text of bill see *Congressional Record* for January 30, 1895, page 1738.)

In the third session, at the end of January, 1895, the bill was reached by the House and debated during parts of three days. An amendment forbidding the payment of dividends until the entire debt to the government should be paid was adopted by a vote of 145 to 89. An amendment to a motion to recommit the bill that would permit the discharge of the government debt on the payment by the two companies within six months of \$75,000,000 was defeated. The bill was then recommitted to the Committee on Pacific Railroads by a vote of 178 to 108, 63 not voting.

A bill introduced by Senator Frye in the last Congress and again introduced in the present Congress, aims to extend the repayment of the subsidy by the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Companies over a period of one hundred years with interest at two per cent, requires the securities in the sinking fund to be converted into money and applied on it, and permits the first-mortgage indebtedness to be maintained, all the present rights and remedies of the government being preserved. No legislation has been attempted in the Senate beyond the introduction and reference of bills, but the Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads, in response to a resolution, submitted a Partial Report (53d Congress, 3d Session, Report No. 830) that presents the most impartial and accurate discussion in a public document of the financial condition of the Union Pacific, its system of lines and the features of proposed legislation.

Very similar to the Frye bill was the bill recommended to the House by Attorney-General Olney in April, 1894 (H. R. Executive Document No. 203, 53d Congress,

Up to a year ago this plan had been most favored by those who had given special attention to the subject. The Commissioner of Railroads, in his special report of April 1, 1892, was able to say of it : " Every committee, commission, board of government directors, successive secretaries of the interior, railroad commissioners, President Cleveland, and others charged with the duty of investigating the question, and who have given it exhaustive consideration, have all agreed, without a dissenting opinion, that a settlement should be had and the debts of the road extended."

3. If, then, a present final settlement of the Pacific Railway debts to the government would probably be unsatisfactory as yielding too small a percentage of them, but quite commendable as merging the particular Pacific Railway question in the general railway question,—and if the extension of the debt, though it would probably yield to the government eventually a larger sum of money, would do it at the unjustifiable expense of large classes of producers in the western states and territories,—the only alternative course for the United States to pursue would be to take possession of some or all of the Pacific railways, but particularly of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific (because they constitute a homogeneous system), by a foreclosure of its lien and other legal procedure, and then to own and operate them as a public industry. That would be an extreme step and might be productive of unforeseen and far-reaching results, whether fortunate or unfortunate.

By foreclosing its lien and assuming or paying the first mortgage the United States would make only a beginning in its investment. In a well-known decision* the Supreme Court has decided that the lien of the United States covers

2d Session), providing for the extension of the subsidy debt for one hundred years at two per cent, and of the first mortgage at a rate not to exceed five per cent ; all the present unsatisfactory relations between the Union Pacific Railway Company and the government were to be preserved, the only virtue of the bill being that it contemplated the lightening of the burdens of the company by decreasing the rates of interest on its debts.

* United States vs. Kansas Pacific Railway Company, 99 U. S. R., 455.

only such lines or parts of lines as have been constructed by the aid of the subsidy bonds. Under that rule the United States, through its foreclosure proceedings, would get only the Union Pacific from Omaha to a point five miles west of Ogden, and the Central Pacific thence to San José, California, the Kansas Pacific (Kansas division of the Union Pacific) from Kansas City to a point three hundred and ninety-four miles westward, the Leavenworth branch (from Leavenworth to Lawrence, in Kansas), * the Central Branch Union Pacific from Atchison to Watertown, in Kansas, and the Sioux City and Pacific from Sioux City to Fremont, Nebraska.† The terminals at Kansas City and Council Bluffs and probably the Omaha bridge would not be included. The portions of the lines secured through the foreclosure would not reach Denver or San Francisco; additional mileage and terminals, or the use of them would have to be obtained. Moreover, the branch lines are generally conceded to be necessary to the main lines; some of them, as the Union Pacific receivers have discovered, could well be dispensed with; others are naturally tributary to the main lines, and would not have to be under the same control; others still, like the Oregon Short Line (which is rather a part of the main line than a branch line), would have to be under the control of the United States. The question of branch lines is not as serious as the opponents of national ownership and operation are in the habit of regarding it; the main lines are as essential to most of the branches as the latter to the former.‡ The Union Pacific Railway Company now controls most of its branches through leases and contracts, and the ownership of stock and bonds; the government

* There is much doubt whether the lien of the United States extends to the Leavenworth branch, but it is quite unimportant.

† It is well to note that there is an unsubsidized link of about five miles in the Sioux City and Pacific at California Junction, Iowa, and that the lien of the government probably does not cover the bridge over the Missouri River; and likewise an unsubsidized link of about five miles intervenes between the Central Pacific and Western Pacific at Sacramento.

‡ See Special Report of Commissioner of Railroads of April 1, 1892.

might obtain the same control through proceedings supplementary to the foreclosure, as the property covered by the lien would not satisfy the debt. But the stocks and bonds, like most of the other assets of the company, have been hypothecated as security for the payment of from \$20,000,000 to \$24,000,000, which the government would have to assume or pay in order to reach them; they are of the par value of about \$100,000,000, but were estimated before the depression of 1893 to have a market value of about \$45,000,000. From a purely financial standpoint, then, the assumption and operation of the Pacific railways (and particularly of the Union Pacific) would be a serious matter, involving the assumption or payment of first-mortgage and other prior indebtedness aggregating \$65,000,000, the investment of at least \$15,000,000 in terminals, and the assumption or payment of about \$20,000,000 in order to gain control of branch lines, in addition to indefinite expenditures necessary to complete the main lines (as the Kansas Pacific from the 394th mile-post to Denver) in case satisfactory traffic arrangements could not be made. Even with the perfect credit and inexhaustible resources of the national government, an investment of \$100,000,000 in addition to the \$120,000,000 already invested in Pacific railways is a matter of grave importance.

It is generally assumed without argument that the United States could not efficiently operate the Union Pacific or any of the other Pacific railways—as the truth of propositions incapable of demonstration is likely to be assumed. In the absence of experience, it is impossible to say positively that the federal government could not successfully operate the Union Pacific. The experience of some of the states between 1830 and 1850 in the management of railways and canals was under such different circumstances that it throws very little light on the present problem. One distinction of importance is that the several states encountered most of their difficulties in *building* railways and canals, not many of them in *operating* them. Sectional and local prejudices are so

strong that it is almost impossible for a democratic government like that of the United States to build railways in such homogeneous and correlated systems that they will be fully efficient; such prejudices are not brought to bear so strongly on the operation of a system already constructed, though they are certainly not entirely without influence. The experience of foreign countries is also quite unavailable. Perhaps that of France has been most like that of the United States (as far as the Pacific railways are concerned), and France has had more trouble than would have resulted either from the one extreme of owning and operating the lines or the other extreme of leaving them entirely to individuals. In some parts of Europe one policy, and in other parts another policy has been successful, success and failure being dependent largely on the temper and traditions of the public. Nothing but the test of experience will ever determine whether railways may be successfully operated by the Government of the United States. Possibly it is important that a test should be made at once. Such a large portion of the people of the United States are advocating the ownership and operation of the railways by the state that a fair test ought to be made. Unrestricted ownership and operation by corporations have proved unsatisfactory in many respects, not only to the general public, but to investors as well; the policy of exercising control through the medium of commissions has been all but a complete failure; there is only one policy left, it is said, and that policy is state ownership and operation. If state ownership and operation of railways in the United States may be successful, the sooner it is demonstrated the better; likewise, if such a policy must be unsuccessful, it ought to be known, even if the knowledge is to be acquired at a considerable expense; the question of control through commissions would be simplified in either event. If the test is to be made, the opportunity presented by the condition of the Pacific railways is most favorable, because the United States has already invested part of the necessary

capital and is in danger of losing it, while the business of the lines is affected less by competition than that of most other systems.

There has never been an adequate literary treatment of the question of governmental ownership and operation of railways in the United States. The political question involved, however, must not be overlooked. It is often asserted that corruption of the civil service would follow the "socializing" of the Pacific railways. The danger is overestimated; reform of the civil service in the post office and in other departments of the government has been so successful that little trouble might be expected in the railway service. It is added that the railways would be "dragged into politics." That has been just the trouble heretofore; corruption of the civil service could hardly be greater than the past and present political corruption caused by the private control of the Pacific railways; the "barrels" of money expended by the Central Pacific (or Southern Pacific) and Union Pacific in politics would have gone a long way toward satisfying the debt due to the United States. There is convincing evidence that they are not yet out of politics. In order that the policy of ownership and operation of railways by the state may be successful, it must have the strong support of public sentiment; whether such a condition exists with reference to the Union Pacific cannot be stated. Public sentiment on the general question is certainly adverse to it. But it may appear later that there is no alternative in the present case except an outrageous compromise or unreasonable extension of the companies' indebtedness to the United States; in such an event public sentiment would probably approve such an extreme step by Congress. It must be admitted that dependence of the people on state initiative and assumption of responsibility (involved in state operation of railways) would tend to weaken the energies of the people; but it is doubtful whether that effect would be more depressing in the

present case than the now prevalent (and largely justifiable) apprehension of the people west of the Missouri River (and especially in California) that their destinies are dependent on the whims of railway managers and that their government is unable to relieve them. The ownership and operation of the Union Pacific by the United States would not necessarily be a precedent for the enforcement of the general policy of state ownership and operation of railways, just as the original aid by loan of bonds was not followed by the general policy of extending such aid to railway enterprises. Congress is confronted by special conditions in the presence of which it might decide to operate the Union Pacific Railway without endorsing the general advisability of applying state socialism as a remedy for the evils of private or corporate ownership of railways.*

One unfortunate consequence of the operation of the Union Pacific Railway (or any other of the Pacific railways) by the government, would be its competition with corporations of citizens for traffic, especially if (as proposed in some of the bills introduced in Congress) the rates charged should

* A bill was introduced in the House in September, 1893, by Representative Geary for the purchase by the United States under foreclosure of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines and their subsequent operation through a commission of seven members. A similar bill was introduced in January, 1896, by Representative Kem, except that it seems to have been intended to apply to all the bond-aided Pacific railways, and no definite governmental means of operation were provided. In the Senate two such bills have been introduced:—that of Senator Pepper, in April, 1894, concerning the Union Pacific Railway, and providing for its operation under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior; that of Senator Allen, in January, 1896, being the same as that of Representative Kem in the House. A joint resolution was introduced by Senator Pettigrew, in February, 1896, that the Secretary of the Treasury take possession of the main lines and lands of the Union Pacific Railway, proceed to a foreclosure of the government lien and pay the first-mortgage indebtedness out of the proceeds of a sale of 3 per cent government bonds.

A modification of the general plan of federal ownership and operation of the Pacific Railway is that of federal ownership and private operation championed by Representative Maguire, of California. Under that plan, while the title of the lines would be in the United States, all carriers would be allowed to use them under reasonable regulations; it is substantially an application of what is known among students of railway questions as the "king's highway" theory; and it has been generally condemned as infeasible, though without reference to any considerable body of experience in its use.

be only such as would be necessary to reimburse the expense of maintenance and operation; the government lines would be in a position to do as much harm as some bankrupt lines have heretofore caused in the hands of receivers; the effect of the operation of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific as the people of California desire would probably be quite disastrous to the Southern Pacific. But it must be remembered that the oppressive rates are not usually the through rates; as the local non-competitive rates would probably be the ones lowered, the owners of rival lines would have less reason for complaint. Even now, all the competing lines in any district are not on a level; some always have a larger capitalization or heavier financial burdens than others; the situation would not be much different if the government happened to be the owner of one of the less-burdened lines.

It must again be suggested that the relief of the producers of the Pacific coast from the Southern Pacific monopoly, or of the producing classes in the central western states from the excessive rates of the Union Pacific, is not the primary purpose in readjusting the relations of the Pacific railways to the government. All that Congress aimed at in its legislation of 1862 and 1864 was to get corporations of citizens to construct and operate a railway from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast—a railway that, when complete, should sustain to the patronizing public the same general relations as other railways. The peculiar feature—and it is of slight importance now—was that the line should be particularly available for the use of the government; that was the reason for the grant of aid in the form of bonds. It was expected to be no more and no less serviceable to the people than a railway in any other part of the country. A disposition of the debt question is all there is to settle between the government and the companies,—except that incidentally Congress must do no injustice to either the public or investors. If Senators and Representatives from the western states insist that Congress make provisions for more efficient service and

more reasonable rates from the railway companies, it ought to be borne in mind that they are demanding a remedy for evils from which many other parts of the country are also suffering—in other words, they are seeking a solution of the general railway problem. If the use of railway commissions or commissioners has proved a failure, perhaps it is best to institute a new policy, or experiment with it in the case of the Pacific railways in preparation for its future use elsewhere. The West has much ground for complaint; the evils of railway mismanagement are acute on the Pacific Coast; but it is very doubtful whether the questions particularly pertaining to the Pacific railways ought to be obscured by others that are general in their nature.

Even if re-funding or settlement be decided on as a solution of the problem, it is likely that a foreclosure of the government's lien on the Union Pacific will have to be had in order to clear the property of subordinate liens and simplify the situation, though it be only a so-called "friendly foreclosure." It is suggested that it might be advisable for the United States to purchase the lines under foreclosure, pay the first mortgage, and operate the lines until the entire sums secured by the first mortgages and government lien on all the Pacific railways shall have fallen due in 1899; then the entire matter may be disposed of at one time. In the case of the Union Pacific, something must be done with little further delay, as the property of the company is now in the possession of receivers pending the foreclosure of the first mortgage, and a sale under foreclosure to third parties at a price such as is usually paid under such circumstances might be seriously detrimental to the interests of the government. As far as the other parts of the Pacific Railway are concerned, there is no likelihood that matters will change for the worse by the time of the final maturity of the government's debt.

Of the three plans proposed for the solution of the Pacific Railway problem, all have their advantages and

disadvantages; the situation seems to involve a choice of evils. The first plan, that of accepting a present payment of money in full settlement of the debts due to the United States, has the advantages of severing relations with the railway companies that have been very expensive, almost always inharmonious and otherwise unsatisfactory, and of simplifying the general railway problem by placing the railways involved on a level with others before the law-making powers; it has the disadvantages, however, of causing a large pecuniary loss to the government and of being difficult to execute in its details. The second plan, that of an extension of the payment of the companies' debts over a long period of time at a lower rate of interest, has the advantages of being most conservative, causing less disturbance of vested interests and settled relations, lacking harshness in application, and promising a larger eventual pecuniary return to the government; its disadvantages are that the larger pecuniary return to the government is rather apparent than real, that it seems to set a seal of approval on the past dishonest conduct of the companies, and that it entails an unjust burden on the producing classes from which the companies are to derive their revenue. The third plan, that of the assumption and operation by the United States of the Union Pacific and other bond-aided Pacific railways, is justified not so much by the amount of money to be realized through it by the government as by its possible prevention of some consequences incidental to the execution of the first and second plans and exceptionally onerous to the general public; it has the further advantage of implying distinctly the condemnation of the past dishonesty and corruption of the companies; its disadvantages are that it is experimental in application, involves a very large investment by the government, is radical and almost revolutionary in nature, and is calculated to remedy evils not peculiar to the Pacific Railway question, but rather a part of the general question of the just relations of railway companies to society and the state.

After the foregoing was written the Committees on Pacific Railroads of the Senate and House of Representatives submitted reports* in which they recommended the passage of a bill, substantially identical in both Houses, and containing the following chief provisions:

1. The present worth on January 1, 1897, of the balances to be paid by the Union Pacific (including the Kansas Pacific) and the Central Pacific (including the Western Pacific) companies, after the deduction of the estimated value of the securities in the Thurman Act sinking fund, was to be computed.

2. Bonds of \$1000 each, with interest of two per cent per annum, were to be issued by each company to the United States to the amount of its indebtedness as computed, their payment to be secured by a mortgage covering all its property, whether originally subsidized or not.

3. In addition to the current interest, payable semi-annually, each company, beginning in 1898, was to pay the principal of its bonds at the rate of \$365,000 for each of the first ten years, \$550,000 for each of the second ten years, and \$750,000 for each year thereafter, until all should be paid.

4. The mortgages executed in favor of the United States were to be subject only to a first mortgage to be executed by the Union Pacific as security for \$54,388,000 of fifty-year bonds, with interest of four per cent, and to the existing first mortgages of the Central Pacific or new mortgages executed in renewal of them at a rate of interest not in excess of five per cent.

5. The bonds so issued to the United States by the companies were to be accepted in satisfaction of their present indebtedness and in discharge of the present statutory lien.

6. The Union Pacific was to be permitted to issue preferred stock to an amount not in excess of its present

*Fifty-fourth Congress, First Session, Senate Report No. 778, and House of Representatives Report No. 1497.

outstanding stock, but neither company was to pay dividends, unless they had been actually earned, and unless all matured obligations on both first and second mortgage bonds had been discharged, and not even then in excess of four per cent per annum unless an amount equal to the excess should be paid to the United States for application on the principal of its bonds.

7. If the property of the Union Pacific should be sold under foreclosure, its purchasers should be a new corporation under the name and style of the "Union Pacific Railroad Company," with the rights and duties of its predecessor.

8. If any paramount claim should be paid by the United States for its own protection, and should not be repaid by either company within a year, its whole indebtedness might mature at once, at the option of the United States. If either company should be in default in the payment of matured installments of principal or interest, any sum due to it from the United States for services was not to be paid, but to be credited on the amounts overdue; if the default should continue for six months, the United States might, at its option, treat the entire debt as matured and take possession of the mortgaged property without resort to Congress or the courts for authority so to do.

9. The Southern Pacific was to guaranty the payment of the debt of the Central Pacific to the United States, and permit the immediate application on its principal of the sum of \$2,409,818.20 due to it from the United States for services; if the lease existing between them should be terminated, the United States might elect to consider the entire debt matured.

10. The offices of the government directors of the Union Pacific were to be abolished, and no percentage of the companies' net earnings or of their compensation for government services was, as formerly, to be regularly applicable on their indebtedness.

11. The act was to take effect, as to either company, upon acceptance of its provisions, if by the Union Pacific by

January 1, 1897, or by the Central Pacific within three months from the time of passage; in the meantime all existing laws were to remain in force. But the act was to be only in alteration and amendment of previous acts and was to be subject to future amendment, alteration or repeal by Congress; nor was it to impair any existing right or remedy in favor of the United States.

The bill was commended by the committees because, by its provisions, (*a*) the expense and danger of federal ownership and operation of the railways, and the almost certain loss threatened by reliance on an ordinary foreclosure of the lien of the United States would be avoided; (*b*) the entire debts of the companies would be paid in the shortest time and largest installments consistent with the anticipated earning power of their lines, and (*c*) in case of default in payments, the United States would have larger and more accessible security for its claims. "The relations of the Pacific railroads to the United States may and should unhesitatingly be dealt with as a business problem, having no other incidents than those which may be usually involved in the relations of debtor and creditor and of mortgagor and mortgagee This legislation should be comprehensive and final and should terminate the intimate relations of the government with the enterprises of these railroad companies, placing them upon the same footing with all other railroad properties in the United States as respects legislative and Congressional control, and substituting definite and complete mortgage rights and remedies in the place of the present unsatisfactory provisions of law relating to the protection of the lien of the government and to its supervision of these enterprises." *

The minority of each committee presented adverse views. That of the House Committee averred: "(*a*) The committee

* House of Representatives Reports. Fifty-fourth Congress, First Session, No. 1497, p. 13.

have not learned enough of the affairs of the debtor companies to be able to tell the House what it is best to do; (b) the companies made offers before the committee, and are undoubtedly ready to concede terms very much better for the government than those embodied in the bill; (c) the propositions in the bill are neither good nor safe for the government;" it recommended, as a protective measure, the substitution and passage of a bill giving to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, complete jurisdiction of suits by the United States for the enforcement of its liens on railway properties, with power to order the discontinuance or stay of suits brought by other parties in other courts having jurisdiction over only a part of the property involved; it suggested, also, the further investigation of the subject-matter of the report by committees of both Houses acting jointly.*

Senator Morgan, of the Senate Committee, recommended the substitution not only of the bill recommended by the minority of the House Committee (and known as the Morgan-Brice bill) but also of another, providing (a) that the officers and boards of directors of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific be replaced with appointees of the United States; (b) that the first mortgage bonds and subsidy bonds be replaced with thirty-year three per cent bonds of the United States, to be liquidated through sinking funds of the net receipts of each company; (c) that the debts subordinate to those due to the United States be paid out of the net receipts of the companies; (d) that their stock be canceled and replaced with new stock according to the actual value of the property of each of them; (e) that Congress continue to control "the two companies and their property under the corporate powers and systems now existing as they shall be amended from time to time," and (f) that the property and franchises of each company be taken into possession by

* House of Representatives Reports, Fifty-fourth Congress, First Session, No. 1497, Part II.

the United States upon such default of either as may justify the taking under existing laws.*

Of the platforms of the national political parties, adopted at recent conventions, that of the Republicans contains no mention of the Pacific Railway; that of the Democrats "approves of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad Funding bill † and denounces the efforts of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure;" that of the Populists declares, "The interest of the United States in the public highways built with public moneys and the proceeds of grants of land to the Pacific Railroads should never be alienated, mortgaged or sold The foreclosure of existing liens of the United States on these roads should at once follow default in the payment thereof by the debtor companies; and at the foreclosure sales of said roads the government shall purchase the same if it becomes necessary to protect its interests therein, or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price; and the government shall operate said railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole people, and not in the interest of the few. . . . We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding these debts and demand that the laws now applicable thereto be executed and administered according to their intent and spirit."

The problem of the future relations of the United States to the Pacific Railway and especially to the Union Pacific Railway, the trunk of the great system, involving the very large pecuniary claim of the government, the immense holdings of investors, and the economic welfare of millions of producers, must be given an early solution; but it is not likely to be given without a severe contest. The historical facts that must be the basis of legislative action, arousing as well the shame of public and private corruption as the pride of industrial achievement and national development,

* Senate Reports, Fifty-fourth Congress, First Session, No. 778, Part II.

† See p. 76, note *supra*.

permit a wide divergence of opinions, while they are so recent in time and so personal in character that they give opinions based on them the support of a strong sentiment. The details of the present situation, so numerous and intricate that committees cannot master them and experts disagree in their inferences from them, seem to justify widely different policies. Numerous technical questions of the principles of law applicable to the facts contribute elements of discord and controversy. So many opposing theories of the functions of the state, of the social relations of individuals and classes, and of the rights of property are called into application that opposing opinions on the subject-matter must be irreconcilable. It would be hazardous to attempt to predict what the outcome will be.

JOHN P. DAVIS.

UNCERTAINTY AS A FACTOR IN PRODUCTION.

All economic effort is directed toward some economic good which is at once the incentive to action, and the result of that action. The effort is determined in nature and amount by the relation expected to prevail between outlay and result. Experience may give a definite idea as to this relation, or it may confuse the mind with uncertainty. It is the latter case which I shall consider in this paper.

In venturing on an economic undertaking, one may feel uncertain regarding the ratio of outlay to product or the relation of product to price. The former lies in the field of technique, the latter in the field of exchange, which is traditionally economic, but both affect production in precisely the same way and, hence, should be studied by the economist with equal care. In the first part of this paper I review the causes of variation and compare the different departments of industry in respect to degree of uncertainty. In the second part I analyze this factor and describe how it reacts upon and modifies production.

Uncertainty is a subjective state that has importance because it affects men's economic activities. To this state corresponds on the objective side the condition of irregularity in the product of like exertions or identical processes, or in the exchange value of equal volumes of products. A comparison of industries in respect to uncertainty is, therefore, a comparison in respect to the kinds, frequency and range of the variations that occur in them.

The collection or extraction of natural deposits is attended with great irregularity. As most minerals lie under ground, preliminary knowledge of them can be obtained only from the outcrop or from experimental borings or shafts. Once a vein or seam is located, and work begun, there is still the

danger that it will thin out or deteriorate, or be interrupted by a "fault." A change of dip may mock the labor of miners whose claims are located some distance from the outcrop. In fact, not until long after operations are begun does the length, breadth, outline and thickness of a seam appear. The form of combination of the mineral sought, its degree of purity, and its marketableness are likely to vary as mining proceeds. Even if the presence of the mineral, in the desired form and abundance, were to reward the sinking of every pit, there are still other sources of irregularity. The seam may occur in rock that can be honeycombed in every direction, or it may lie in loose soil, requiring expensive timbering at every step. The roof or walls of galleries are liable to collapse, owing to pressure, moisture or unsuspected qualities of the strata. Sinking, due to the underground operations, may disturb building or other improvements above ground, and occasion heavy damages. At any moment a hidden stream of water may be opened that will flood the mine, and require a great outlay for pumping or for cutting a drainage tunnel. Storms or freshets at the surface may interrupt operations. The liability to strike gas pockets, causing destructive explosions and fires, the condition of the air, determining whether artificial ventilation will be needed, the problem of disposing of debris, and the relations between capital and labor—all these inspire doubt and uncertainty.

Far more precarious than mining is the quest for water, oil or natural gas. While almost any well will yield some water, the extreme unlikeness in the results of digging drives men to the hazel wand, and like devices. Trial boring for oil or natural gas is proverbially speculative. The outlines of an oil field are not defined till hundreds of useless holes in the ground have been bored. Even within the field there are all manner of differences between wells. One taps a vein near the surface, another must probe to a great depth; one yields a few barrels a day, the other floods

the surrounding country with its waste; one spouts its wealth into tanks, from another the oil must be pumped at heavy expense. Moreover, apart even from natural exhaustion, there are fluctuations in the flow of an oil well. The output of a field or a factory does not depend on the number of neighboring fields or factories, but the yield of a well is very sensitive to the boring of adjacent wells, competition here producing the interference and mutual limitation so characteristic in the field of price.

The price realized per unit of product by no means varies so widely in these industries as does the relation of product to outlay. In the first place the variations in the output of a mine are due to local conditions, there being no general technical conditions, that by affecting all mines at the same time causes violent changes in supply, and consequently in price. In the second place, as mining products, such as coal, iron and copper, enter many of the arts at once, the demand for them is not apt to fluctuate much in a short time. While contracting in one direction, it expands in another, so that many of the changes in demand offset each other. The precious metals, while not occupying such a place of vantage in the arts, hold the unique position of money metals, and as such enjoy unlimited demand at a slowly declining value. In the case of precious stones, fashion rules the price, and hence the business is speculative.

The chief cause of the price variation of minerals is found neither in the capriciousness nor in the insensitiveness of demand, nor yet in irregularity of the yield from mining enterprises, but in the discovery and exploitation of new deposits. Discovery is to mining the same perturbing and dynamic influence that invention is to manufacturing. It is likely that when the whole earth has been surveyed by geologists as thoroughly as certain older portions have already been studied, much of the fever will die out of the mining industry. At present, however, with the gradual spread of the enterprising peoples over the surface of the

globe, the prices of minerals are constantly upset by unexpected finds and by rumors of such finds. The unsteadiness in price of such minerals as petroleum, nickel, manganese and tin is aggravated by the quickness with which by aid of power machinery the development of newly discovered deposits can flood and break down the market. But some minerals, such as salt, iron and coal, occur so abundantly and frequently that the deposits can be graded and production confined to the higher grades. This close gradation keeps the price from rising much through sudden access of demand or falling very suddenly, owing to discovery of new deposits. We might call this, *elasticity of supply*, seeing that it is the exact counterpart of "elasticity of demand."

An entirely different set of uncertainties surround agriculture. Here the chief source of irregularity is the weather, for temperature and moisture, those all-important factors of plant life, are quite beyond the ken or control of the farmer. In temperate zones, the putting in of a crop depends upon the withdrawal of frost, the amount of spring rain, the condition of the soil, and other factors affecting farm work. From the time the seed is committed to the earth the farmer plays a hazardous game for the life of the plants. Not only must there be enough of warmth, sunshine and moisture, but they must be properly distributed through the season and strictly limited in range of variation. A north wind may nip, an east wind may blast, a south wind may scorch, and a west wind may beat down the growing plants. Meantime the season that checks a growth of economic plants may favor the growth of weeds, while at the same time preventing the tillage necessary to subdue them. While the larger disturbers may be restrained, it is impossible to protect the crop against the parasites and micro-organisms that prey upon it. Rust and mildew, weevil and worm, bug and scale appear one knows not whence nor how, and must be endured as weather or any other inscrutable element.

The chief vicissitudes of farming are made clear in the following account of a concrete English experience given in the supplement to the *Economist* for January 9, 1892:

“Whatever the financial results of the past year may be, as far as farmers are concerned, they will always remember it as one of the most unreasonable, worrying and expensive of years. When it began, in the midst of one of the longest and severest of winters, they were just realizing the unpleasant fact that their outstanding crops of turnips were ruined by frost, and that they had before them the poor alternative of getting rid of some of their livestock at a sacrifice . . . or of feeding the animals to a great extent upon purchased food, with every probability of loss. Those who kept on all their stock, in the hope of an early spring, which was encouraged when February proved mild and dry, were sadly disappointed, March being a month of frost, snow and ‘blizzards,’ while April and one-half of May were wintry in temperature. In the second half of June, feeding and corn crops for the first time grew rapidly, and stock-keepers’ troubles were at an end, as far as forage was concerned, although lambs had been in many cases so stunted by the lack of succulent food in their early days that they never fully recovered. But the grasses and other feeding crops, owing to the wetness of the summer, were less nutritious than usual, so that grazing animals did not lay on flesh rapidly.

“In spite of the severity of the winter, wheat came up well, after lying in the ground from the time of sowing till the middle of February, except when it was sown early, which was not the case with the bulk of the crop. The exceptional dryness of the soil apparently rendered the unusually severe and prolonged frost harmless to sprouted seed and young plants. February was a very dry and comparatively mild month, so that a good deal of spring corn was sown early, while at intervals during March and April it was possible to get the rest of it in. Consequently at the end of

June, crops were in excellent condition, although extremely backward. But July proved very wet and cold, injuring the hay crop, then for the most part cut, and preventing the corn from maturing, besides laying the heaviest crops; while in August, when harvest was general in the early districts, rain fell so frequently that the work was seriously impeded, and the little corn that was carted was stacked in damp condition, some being sprouted and nearly all more or less stained. Nearly a fortnight of brilliant weather in the first part of September enabled the early harvesters to secure their damaged crops in dry condition. But this was the only favorable harvesting period, and the work was carried on at a great expense, by fits and starts, until a very tardy clearance of the fields was effected.

"In continental countries, the past year has been a bad one generally for farmers. The destruction of millions of acres of wheat in France, and vast areas of wheat and rye in Russia were the most striking catastrophes; but all other countries, except Italy, had deficient wheat crops, while rye was generally a failure, barley and oats being good crops in some countries, and poor ones in others. As contributing to the scarcity of food, the extensive prevalence of potato disease in Germany especially, may be mentioned."

The amount of variation still present in farming, despite the elaborate soil cultures designed to meet the caprice of the season, may be attested by a few examples. In the Rheingau during the years 1884 to 1893, the results are estimated as follows: three-fourths of a good vintage, less than one-third, more than one-third, three-fifths, over one-half, over two-thirds, one-seventh, one-third, one-half. For six years the wheat crop of Hungary varied as follows, per hectare: 19, 14, 13, 18, 11, 18. During the same time, the yield of rye varied as, 16, 14, 12, 14, 12, 16; of corn, as 20, 17, 16, 18, 19, 16; of potatoes, as 110, 80, 77, 85, 91, 68. These variations, it must be remembered, by no means

express the vicissitudes actually experienced by the farmer. In calculating such averages, a vast number of local and individual variations cancel each other and leave no trace in the result.

This uncertainty as to crop often leads to waste at harvest. If the crop is under the normal, the task of harvesting, is, in a measure, lightened, and consequently the labor force of the farm is not fully utilized. On the other hand, if the crop is extraordinarily large, part of it may be lost for lack of help at the critical time. "Had the farmers of Manitoba," writes our Consul in 1892, "reaped half the grain grown on their farms last season, they would have been better off. Some men killed themselves trying to save the immense harvest, others have been broken down." *

As we approach the tropics, the unreliability of the season in respect to temperature diminishes. At the same time the practice of irrigation further reduces the uncertainty of farming by placing the supply of moisture under control. In Mexico "there is never a failure of crops or of fruits, for the presence or absence of rain is comparatively of little concern, as dependence is placed on irrigation altogether."

Many influences unite to make the price of agricultural produce extremely variable. Being to a great extent food stuffs, counted among the necessities of life rather than among its luxuries, the products of the soil have always been marked by extreme inelasticity of demand. Gregory King estimated that deficits in the British wheat crop of one, two, three, four or five tenths would cause a rise in price of three, eight, sixteen, twenty-eight or forty-five tenths respectively. "Much greater variations in price indeed than this have not been uncommon. Thus wheat sold in London for ten shillings a bushel in 1335, but in the following year it sold for ten pence." † Slight differences in supply, therefore, may cause violent fluctuations in price. But owing to the

* U. S. Cons. Report, No. 145, p. 328.

† Marshall, "Principles of Economics," p. 165.

presence of so many technical variables in agriculture, the volume of product is subject to very great changes. Moreover, the products of the farm are relatively perishable, so that the annual yield instead of reinforcing an already large stock, as does the annual output of copper or silver, constitutes by itself the total supply. The irregularities of crop become irregularities of supply, which in the face of an inelastic demand cause great unsteadiness of price.

It is true that the proportion of the productive power of society devoted to farming does not vary much from year to year. Large addition to farm acreage by opening up of virgin territory is a rather slow process implying the movement of bodies of men to new settlements and the founding of many homes. But this stability in the volume of agriculture as a whole is neutralized for any given crop by the ease with which its acreage may be altered by changing the use of land already under the plow. The system of diversified farming forbids extreme specialization of skill or capital. Tools, implements, buildings, draft-animals, labor, can pass over from the cultivation of one crop to the raising of another without much loss. A great increase in the production of a given article may therefore occur in consequence of a slight stimulus.

Again the absence of a continuous adjustment of agricultural production to the changes of demand makes for instability. The production period for cultivators, unlike that for other producers, is usually one year, and this period is entered upon by all at about the same time. The first consequence is that supply cannot be accommodated by the minor fluctuations of demand that arise in the course of the year. The second is that the simultaneous entrance on the productive process forbids one producer knowing what the rest are doing until it is too late to use the knowledge, the result being that agricultural production is planless and haphazard.

Prices are further unsettled by the way in which farmers who diversify divide their attention between the several

crops. All genuine adjustment of production to consumption aims to adapt the future product resulting from operations now undertaken to the future demand. The balancing of the coming product against a by-gone demand is no adjustment at all. Yet it is the custom among many farmers to increase the acreage of a crop that commanded a lucrative price in the preceding year. This absence of rational forecast of the future course of the market gives rise at times to a curious see-saw movement in the prices of farm product. A high price for potatoes or hops is followed the next year by a ruinously low price due to overproduction. This introduces a dangerous rhythm into agricultural prices.

The price of farm products, therefore, seems as uncertain as is the yield. But it frequently happens that these variations instead of reinforcing each other, serve to neutralize each other. The irregularities of agriculture, unlike those of mining, often flow from conditions that prevail over a vast area and bring similar fortune to a great number of producers. Sometimes it happens that when the turn-off of the individual cultivator is very large, the total supply of the crop is in excess, thus compelling a low price; when his yield is light, the total supply is short and high prices rule. In this way the two sets of variations partially compensate each other and, as in the case of two waves meeting half a wave-length apart, the result is smoothness.

Again the practice of mixed farming tends to lessen the farmer's hazard by broadening the basis of variation. If three crops happen to vary in the same direction at the same time, the fluctuation is no more serious than if sole reliance had been placed on any one of the crops. While, if, as is more likely, the variations do not coincide in direction, they will partially neutralize each other and thus lessen the risk of the farmer.

Similar to agriculture, but having, besides, certain risks of its own, is fruit growing. Here the complete period of production spans from eight to thirty years. There is not

only the irregularity of the fruit crop from season to season, owing to the same capriciousness of weather that makes cereal crops fickle, but there is also the risk of losing at any moment by lightning or flood, by frost or sun blight, by parasite or disease the heavy capital sunk in the fruit trees or vines. The crops of the farmer are so many growths, rising at intervals from independent roots, while the annual harvests of the orchardist are branches springing at intervals from a common trunk or stem of fixed capital. In the former case the growth may be killed, but the soil for its successors remains; in the latter, either the individual branches may be destroyed or the stem from which they rise may be cut down.

If the complete period of production averages for horticulture, say ten times as long as for agriculture, an opportunity for the producer to revise his judgment is presented but one-tenth as often. The industry is, in consequence, less flexible since supply cannot be adjusted so promptly to the varying needs of the market. As it is conservative, neither responding with alacrity to advancing nor declining quickly with falling prices, we find in this branch periods of over-production accompanied by unremunerative prices, succeeded by periods of prostration and under-production, characterized by buoyant prices and good profits. These variations by no means exempt horticulture from the minor variations that attend all crop industries. These are a series of ups and downs superimposed on the more fundamental alteration of ruling low prices and ruling high prices.

The high perishability of fruits in their most marketable form is another source of peculiar variation in value. Urgency of sale throws into the market at the risk of glut a crop that, if more durable, might be fed gradually into the market with the result of steadying prices and lessening the risk of the producer.

Few are the industries that show a variability equal to that of fisheries. Here we seem to find combined the

invisibility of source of supply so characteristic in mining and the seasonal fluctuation that prevails in agriculture. The annual appearance of schools of fish at a given fishing ground may be interrupted by the presence of enemies, the absence of accustomed food, the nature of the current and other factors as yet unknown. The catch of the Norwegian cod fisheries during five years varied as 21, 16, 27, 28, 38. At Loffoden the averages were for each fisherman 107, 106, 81, 57, 98, 69, and the profit for the same series of years averaged 22, 16, 19, 19, 24, 22.* Weather is an important factor in determining the diligence with which the fish can be pursued. We read that "the catch on . . . the Varanger Fiord was hindered by continuously bad weather," or "the cod catch was also much interrupted by the weather, and many of the fishermen were compelled to leave the grounds before the close of the season, having lost large quantities of their nets and other outfits by the heavy storms." The condition of the fish also varies unaccountably. Sometimes they are lean, and three times as many livers are required for a quart of cod-liver oil as in other years.

Quotations serve to bring out clearly the mutations of fortune. Of the Norwegian fisheries of 1891 we read: "The whole course of the fishery this year was highly singular."† "The lobster trade was bad, and in these parts complaints are frequent that the quantities as well as the sizes are yearly declining."‡ "The herring fisheries have always been very capricious in regard to . . . the quantity and value of the produce."§ On the Swedish coast "The records show that at different periods the herring suddenly appeared, frequented the shores for fifteen or twenty years in succession, . . . and then as suddenly vanished and were seen no more for a much longer period." "Again the fishermen along the

* United States Consular Reports, No. 141, p. 245.

† Ibid, p. 247.

‡ Ibid, p. 248.

§ Ibid, p. 245.

Gaspé coast . . . are in a state of poverty and many of them dependent upon relief from the government. At last they feel that their vocation has become too precarious to rely on for a living and many have gone away in search of more promising fields of labor.''

In fishing oftener than in any other industry the variations in the value of product tend to offset the variations in the yield, so that the two sets of variations partially correct each other. The returns of the fishermen may, therefore, be more regular than either product or price.

In stock-breeding and raising new elements of uncertainty appear. While weather and season are not so tyrannical as in agriculture, and while animals, though extremely susceptible to disease, can be surrounded with artificial conditions and receive remedial treatment, we have a new element of risk in the very activity of the animal. The relative freedom that must be granted to stock opens the door to self-injury or mutual injury in ways that ordinary foresight cannot guard against. In breeding, too, there is a peculiar element of uncertainty in the variations that come in between generations. The colt of the ordinary horse has possibilities of fame on the turf, while a large proportion of the offspring of the rarest strains exhibit only ordinary qualities.

We may say, then, that all kinds of production having to do chiefly with living organisms—agriculture, horticulture, viticulture, dairying, stock-raising, oyster-farming, poultry-raising, pisciculture, canary-breeding, silk-raising, wool-growing, fishing, sealing, whaling, hunting, etc., are open to uncertainty from one or more of the following causes:

1. Lack of knowledge as to the life habits of the species (trapping, fishing, pearl-diving, silk-raising).
2. The difficulty of realizing artificially the elements of a perfect environment (stock-breeding, floriculture).
3. Lack of control over the supply of certain essential factors, such as moisture, sunshine or heat (agriculture, viticulture, horticulture).

4. Ignorance as to the results of uniting different lines of heredity (breeding).

5. The low resistance of cultivated species to the attacks of parasites (stock-rearing, silk-raising, viticulture).

6. Injury resulting from the caprice of animals (stock-rearing, ostrich-farming).

7. Exposure of the organism throughout its life to the inclemency of the weather (agriculture, viticulture).

8. Necessity of conducting operations out of doors subject to weather conditions (fishing, farming).

Aside from the ice industry and lumbering, the remaining departments of extraction, such as quarrying, the collection of guano, india rubber or cork, the gathering of borax, salt, etc., where the supply is visible and is not affected by the weather, do not show any marked variability.

Transportation is a business that, from an uncertainty almost proverbial, has attained a high standard of precision, exhibiting constant relations between outlay and result, and hence admitting of secure prediction. Primitive water transportation depending on wind and currents for motive power, braving in small and frail vessels the violence of the tempest, and venturing the treacherous main without chart or compass, was a lottery with few prizes and many blanks. Early land transportation, while less dangerous, had to take the roads in such condition as weather and season allowed, and was moreover troubled by the fear of molestation. Water movement has been emancipated from many perturbing influences by the increase in the size and strength of ships, by the use of steam, permitting the mariner to ignore the power of wind or current, by the improvement of steering apparatus, by the surveying, mapping and charting of coasts and harbors, by the perfection of instruments for finding bearings and direction, by the reduction in the amount of handling needed for a ship, and by the better policing of the seas. Season, of course, still continues to affect sea movement, and on canals and rivers there is room

for considerable variation in the length of the annual closure by ice.

Land transportation has improved in certainty with the substitution of inanimate power for that of animals, with the improvement of the way whereby a road becomes a uniform specialized track almost unaffected by season or weather, and with the use of specialized vehicles, permitting the movement of persons or goods with equal safety and comfort at all times. From a stage at which way, vehicle, and motive power are subject to uncontrollable influences causing great irregularities, to the modern railway service carrying out its program with a perfect precision regardless of weather and season, we have a steady increase in certainty. But while a rhythm of movement in exact conformity to a prearranged schedule signalizes uniformity of results, we must not overlook the varying costs at which these unvarying results are obtained. Though the passenger or shipper may perceive no disturbance of movement through the year, the operating department records the extra cost occasioned by the use of a snow plow, the replacement of trestles and bridges washed out by freshets, or the renewal of rain-rotted ties.

Coming now to the manufacturing industries, we note that the contrast with the extractive branches in respect to variation is marked. Mining, for instance, depends on an unseen quantity of natural deposits occurring under unknown conditions. The manufacturing industry, on the contrary, depends on the capacity of a given complex of buildings, mechanism and labor to confer upon raw materials certain definite changes of form. In agriculture and the kindred branches there is transformation, but the chief transforming elements are supplied as nature sees fit to furnish them; while in the elaborative processes practically all the conditions of transformation are provided by man according to judgments based on experience. In growing the transformations must be effected through organisms subject to the

laws of heredity, environment and variation, and not fully understood or entirely manageable by the average producer. In manufacture the changes are for the most part brought about by the submission of materials to an artificial series of harmonious, simple and well-understood operations. If this series were ordered by heredity instead of by human judgment, and if its terms were complex, correlated, and little understood, we should have a parallel to those industries dealing with plants and animals.

There are yet other contrasts to be noted between growing and manufacturing. In the one case the power applied is vital; in the other mechanical. In the one case the operations are conducted out of doors; in the other case under shelter.* In the one case changes of season, temperature or moisture† interrupt operations; in the other case the processes take place under uniform and appropriate artificial conditions that shield them from disturbance from without. In the one case the form embodying the results of the partially completed series of transforming processes is out of doors liable to be injured or destroyed; in the other case it is protected at all stages. The security of the house plant as contrasted with the exposure of the field or vineyard plant typifies the difference between the object undergoing manufacture and the object undergoing cultivation.

The reasons for the superiority of manufacture in respect to certainty are partly technical, partly economic. An elaborate industry in the definiteness of the transformations it undertakes and in its detachment from any particular spot must stand in high contrast to a purely extractive industry, like mining, which here and there blindly probes the earth's

* Building, paving, dredging, charcoal-burning, stone-dressing, cotton-baling, tobacco-stripping, brick-making and a few other operations not extractive, are frequently carried on in the open air. But nearly all the remaining industries that work up materials are carried on under shelter.

† But the weather affects cotton spinning and weaving. It is found in Lancashire that when the weather is dry with continued east wind and frost, the cost of weaving is increased 5 per cent as compared with moist weather, and the product is worth 5 per cent less.—U. S. Cons. Report, No. 12, p. 128.

crust for minerals. In the intensiveness that enables its operations to be conducted in a space so small as readily to be enclosed under a roof, it enjoys an advantage over agriculture that must be extensive in order to employ the power of sunlight and the materials of the air. And from these primary differences flow most of the contrasts above noted.

But there is an economic reason for guarding manufacture with such precautions as shall insure a high ratio of success to failure. If a fishing cruise is fruitless, a crop fails, or a mine does not yield, the loss is chiefly in labor expended and capital worn out. But if a batch of syrup is burned, a tank of petroleum overdone, a vat of beer spoiled, or a piece of cloth badly cut, the miscarriage involves the loss, not only of labor and capital, but also of valuable materials. Consequently the motive to reduce variations by artificial means is greater in the latter type of operations than in the former.

Now the manufacturing industries lying nearer to the consumer than the extractive branches are engaged in giving the final transformations to partially worked-up materials. Occurring further along they deal throughout with materials of relatively high cost, and so risk more in submitting to irregularity. The disposition, therefore, to go to trouble and expense in order to insure success, is greater here than elsewhere, and so failure is rarer. It is on the same principle that there are more breakages in dusting cheap parlor ornaments than in dusting costly bric-a-brac.

Granting the motive for superior precision, how may it be attained? In intrusting technical operations to men there will be variations in result due to the variability of condition. The incalculable element of mood, that is the parent of such amazing aberrations when the artist, such as poet, writer, architect, designer, composer or painter, undertakes a set performance by schedule time, cannot be disregarded in the higher types of skill. The use of machinery in many of the delicate operations formerly intrusted to skilled artisans greatly increases the precision with which a

given pattern is reproduced, a given standard of finish attained, or a given quantity of result achieved. The conditions of standard efficiency are not only fewer and simpler in the mechanism than in the man, but they are more under the control of the producer.

Precision is furthermore secured by substituting the accurate technical knowledge of chemists, metallurgists and mechanical engineers for the traditional trade-lore and ancient rules-of-thumb of the handicraftsman. As trained professional direction lies within the means of a large establishment rather than of the small shop, we find more variations in the small undertaking than in the large. This affords to the latter an advantage that aids it in vanquishing its rivals.

But after all is said, after the polariscope has become the servant of the sugar refinery, the spectroscope of the steel manufactory and the microscope of the brewery, there are still uncertainties in manufacture.* The following résumé of the defects of crown glass is in evidence: "Perhaps the glass has been badly melted and is seedy, that is full of little vesicles . . . ; or the gatherer may have enclosed air within his 'metal,' and a gatherer's blister is the result—or a pipe blister or pipe scales, or dust from the pipe nose, or dust from the marver, or dust from the bottoming hole, or dust from the nose hole, or dust from the flashing furnace, or bad bullions or scratches, or music lines, may disfigure the table, while the glass may be crizzled or curved, or bent, or hard, or smoky." †

As regards price, manufacturing industries enjoy rather high stability. The evenness of output from a given expanse of equipment permits a close adjustment of supply to demand and prevents those wide oscillations so noticeable in the prices of natural products. It is true that many branches of manufacturing are relatively inflexible

* In the firing of pottery, the making of steel, or the grinding of lenses, there are peculiar risks.

† Tenth Census, Vol. ii, "Glass Manufacture," p. 45.

on account of the large sums of fixed capital employed in them, which cannot be extricated at all or else can only be slowly withdrawn. Similar is the immobility of the specialized skill found oftener in manufacturing than in mining or growing. These make for a rigidity of supply which does not admit of rapid and easy adjustment to a variable demand. This slow response to the hints afforded by changes in price permits prolonged derangement in the relation of price to cost of production and hence is a factor of uncertainty that must be reckoned with. The evil finds a remedy in the control of supply through the "trust," a form of business which when perfected does undoubtedly promote the stability of prices.

Yet it is doubtful if the liability to overproduction followed by prostration is as great in manufacturing as in mining or plantation industries. The sinking of a shaft, the building of a sluice or irrigation ditch, the clearing of a plantation for sugar cane, vines or bananas constitutes a permanent improvement, while the capital of a factory though highly durable is at best not permanent.

As manufactures are not such imperative necessities as are many soil products, the demand for them is more elastic and a given price variation does more to restore equilibrium of supply and demand than a like variation in the price of meat or wheat or salt. If there is excess, small reductions stimulate an answering demand; if deficit, the rapid shrinkage of demand under the chill of dearth soon brings about an accommodation. Precisely the same effect is achieved by widening the market area. If social demand is unresponsive to moderate price-cutting, an outlet for a surplus may be got by resort to distant markets. While the unloading of a local surplus in markets belonging to other producers propagates a disturbance rather than allays it, the effect is certainly to steady prices in the local market. Now the extensibility of the market depends on the portability of the goods. If bulky or heavy a large sacrifice in

net price will extend the market for them in but slight degree; while if they are light, a relatively small outlay for transportation will greatly widen the area of sale. Moreover an improvement of transportation, leveling as it does more and more the rising line of cost for shipment from the place of production, not only increases the expansibility of the market for the two classes of goods but favors one more than the other. As manufactures have greater value in a given bulk or weight than natural products, the relief to the producer of them will be greater. In the annexation of adjacent zones by incurring cost of shipment, we have an exact analogy to the penetration of goods to unsupplied social strata by concessions in price.

Having now completed our survey of variation in the different departments of industry we shall consider the ways in which uncertainty reacts upon and modifies production.

In its best estate, the social system founded on private property and individual initiative tends so to distribute the aggregate productive powers of society, as to lead to the largest possible output of goods and services, measured in respect to their money value. Now though this result is never actually realized, it is so evidently the point toward which converge the workings of the chief features of our system, that it will be convenient to gauge some minor features by the degree to which they cause the system to fall short of this ideal. Such a disposal of the resources of society as described above would be Economic Production and the quantity of any commodity produced during a given interval would be an Economic Supply. These concepts do not exclude the possibility of the variations we have described in the first part of this paper. The idea is not that an equilibrium should be maintained from moment to moment, for this would imply an impossible fluidity of capital and labor, permitting instant transference from branch to branch. The idea is rather that an Economic Supply of any kind of goods is realized when over a considerable period the

total result measured by money equals that attainable if the productive powers employed had been devoted to some other purpose. The fact that this total is a sum of variable returns from uniform productive outlay in no wise deprives it of the "economic" quality.

We see, therefore, that variability in relation of outlay to product, or of product to value, is not, as such, incompatible with Economic Production. Where, then, does the reaction on production come in? The origin of this we must seek, not in variability, but in the uncertainty that results from it. Variability is an objective fact; uncertainty is a state of mind, and as such is the parent of extensive derangements of Economic Production. To two disturbing subjective states does uncertainty open the door. In the first place, from the confusion of judgment arising from the experience of unforeseen variations issues hesitating estimate, influenced largely by temperament, feeling or accident. In some lines of undertaking, such as gold mining, or under certain conditions, such as speculative fever, the estimates will be shaped too much by hopefulness, and hence too much productive effort will be expended. In other lines or at other times, men's estimates will be unduly influenced by dread, and here again the supply will fail to be economic.

A second consequence of uncertainty is connected with the differences in the subjective estimate put upon like quantities of money value by the same individual. From the law of declining utility, it follows that a man's ninth hundred dollars is not worth so much to him as his eighth hundred, and so on. Now if, with an expenditure of effort sure to yield him \$799 of product in one line of industry, a man has precisely equal chances of a return worth \$700 and a return worth \$900 in some more variable branch, he ought to accept the chance if we are to realize Economic Production. For an equal chance of \$700 and \$900 means that in a series of periods the average return would be \$800, showing this employment to be more economic than the other. Yet, as

the \$101 that the producer might gain by changing is worth less to him subjectively than the \$99 he might lose, he will with perfect economic propriety decline to enter the less stable business.

It might here be objected that this derangement flows from variability and not from uncertainty, inasmuch as the producer is *ex hypothesi* certain that the chances are really equal, that is, that if he gets \$700 this year, he will get \$900 next year, or, in any case, he will get in, say ten years, a total of \$8000. But even if there is the certainty of getting \$8000 in ten years of work, there is no certainty to the producer that he will live to complete the period and win the reward. And if not, it might happen that the earlier years would be the lean ones. I conclude, therefore, that even in such cases, uncertainty is the root of the difficulty.

If industries were not unlike either in respect to their tendency to inspire confidence or caution, or in respect to their variability, it is hard to see how the mere fact of variation could make production uneconomic. It is on the margin of difference between industries that the subject factors disport themselves and beget the consequences I shall describe.

The prime consequence, therefore, of uncertainty is an under-appraisal of the rewards of the risky lines of enterprise leading to industrial anæmia. Corresponding to this under-supply, there is in the more regular industries a congestion of productive powers begetting over-supply. But the full effect of uncertainty is not allowed to confine itself to relative supply. By certain adaptations of industrial structure, uncertainty is reduced in influence, and actual supply approaches more closely to economic supply than it otherwise would. These modulations of types and forms to a condition of instability constitute a series of secondary effects that lessen the primary effects. For example, the primary result of cutting a man's income in two is loss of satisfaction; but it also leads to a different distribution of

expenditures, to a more careful comparison of different wants, and to a more economical use of what is obtained. These secondary consequences are not only richer in effects than the primary one, but they tend to lessen the primary effect itself. In like manner the secondary consequences of uncertainty are more significant than the primary disturbance in supply.

The amount of uncertainty depends on the amount of variation to which an enterprise is exposed, the law being that the greater the range or number of distinct variations the greater will be the feeling of doubt. Now the amount of variation depends upon the period of time we take. In copper mining the probability of a great fall in price by the discovery of new mines, or of a great rise in price through expansion of commercial demand, is certainly greater if we take the next ten years than if we take the next five. The danger that the price of a manufactured article will decline owing to betterment of the machinery for making it is certainly greater the longer the period, if we admit, as we must, that more improvement is likely to occur in eight years than in two.

The amount of variation that must be endured by an enterprise is that occurring between the moment when an unfavorable alteration is perceived and the moment of withdrawal. If exodus is practicable within one year, the exposure to variation is less than if two years were needed in order to extricate one's self from the declining industry. Flexibility is, therefore, an advantage, and is a greater advantage in a variable industry than in a stable one. As flexibility depends chiefly on the extent and form of auxiliary capital employed, the distinction just made resolves itself into a contrast between businesses with fixed capital and those without. A business that employs capital in forms so specialized as to be unavailable for any other economic purpose and so durable that its value cannot be recovered from the product for a number of years, cannot promptly adjust

itself to a fall in the price of its products and hence is exposed to prolonged loss. A business, on the other hand, that employs little durable capital and that not highly specialized, is flexible and permits easy exodus if the outlook become forbidding.

The effect of superadding to differences in flexibility the element of uncertainty in price is to exaggerate these differences. Differences in flexibility of little moment in the stable branches have important consequences in the more speculative branches. One effect, of course, is to check the flow of industrial energies into doubtful enterprises which demand a heavy initial outlay. The clearing of land for a special crop such as coffee or cane, the building of sluices for mining a speculative metal, the creating of an irrigation system for a valley depending for access to market upon a very dubious railroad expansion, are cases in point.

Another effect is to hold production down to an inferior technique. Articles of fashion are made by hand rather than by machinery, not so much because hand labor is superior, as because it involves less outlay of capital. The same thing is visible when the business is under the menace of a possible substitute. The effects of rapid electrical development upon the technique of gas works, of the possible cable car, upon the ratio of circulating capital to fixed in the conduct of horse-car lines, of the ubiquitous trolley car upon the building of Macadam roads exemplify this. A business facing a squally future must not spread much sail. Where there is doubt of the outcome the entrepreneur must hold himself in light marching order, ready to move at a moment's notice.

Similarly any uncertainty regarding dynamic variations, *i. e.*, changes in the direction of progress, tends to depress the technical excellence of production by delaying the introduction of an admitted improvement requiring large outlay. When inventions in a certain line follow rapidly on one another's heels, each overtopping the one before it, a timid

and conservative spirit appears among producers. They fight shy of improved but costly machinery or expensive changes in methods, not from sluggishness but from dread of new inventions that may unsettle prices and supplant the forms that commend themselves for the moment. If production clings to its old ways, looking for an invention that does not come, we have an uncovered loss to society; the possible Best blocking the feasible Better. Of course if the looked-for improvement *does* come, there is a saving effected by the prudent slowness of the cautious producer. But we know that with private initiative this prudence will be pushed farther than the interests of the collective economy require and the losses from delay will exceed the gains.

The uncertainty as regards the yield of product sets up a current of amalgamation that favors large-scale industry. In almost any line of production, minor fluctuations are constantly occurring in the different parts of a business. As, however, these succumb to an average within the single enterprise, they inspire no uncertainty and are not disturbing factors. The larger the enterprise, the more do the variations incident to its branch of production reduce to an average and disappear, the fewer are the uncomprehended species of variation. For instance, to the owner of a cow the loss at calving time is uncertain, while to the owner of a great herd this loss appears as a regular percentage that can be computed and allowed for. Even to the rancher the loss by stampede is uncertain, but to a great cattle syndicate with many herds, the loss from this source can be roughly estimated in advance. Again, in a small refinery the possibility of overdoing a batch of oil or sugar may be a source of serious uncertainty, while in a large refinery the law of the average prevails.

Thus with increase in the comprehensiveness of the individual enterprise, the species of variation that do not succumb to the average but remain sources of doubt, become fewer. This gives rise to three types of enlargement; to

amalgamation or the fusing together of co-ordinate processes as, for instance, in mixed farming; to *comprehension* or the fusing of successive processes as, for instance, in the pottery industry; and to *expansion*, or the repetition of the same operations as in the big cotton mill or refinery. This may be conceived to go on until in the perfectly centralized trust or in the bureau of the collectivist state the uncertainty due to technique reaches a minimum.

It follows then that in the variable branches the small enterprise will be unduly starved, while the large undertaking will flourish beyond its economic limit. It will be observed, however, that where we have to do with the fluctuations of price rather than of yield this effect is absent. The movements of price affect the entire product at a given moment and are not overtaken and engulfed as an enterprise expands.

The effects of uncertainty on business management are two, both springing from the same root. It follows from the law of declining utility that the smaller the equal portions of a man's capital we compare, the less is the difference in subjective value. To a man who values his second and third thousand dollars in the ratio of 3 to 1 a fifty-ninth and a sixtieth thousand may stand in subjective importance as 18 to 17. Now such a man with \$2000 of capital could not afford to invest in an uncertain instead of a safe business unless the chances of gaining an extra thousand dollars were three times as many as the chances of losing that amount. This could not occur till actual supply was so far behind Economic Supply as greatly to raise the price of the article and consequently its rate of profits. But if this man had \$59,000 of capital he could afford to embark as soon as the chance of gaining stood to the chance of losing as 18 to 17. We may conclude, then, that those who risk but a small portion of their capital in a single enterprise can carry production up much closer to Economic Supply than can those who risk most or all of their capital.

Now most variations of product, especially in mining or manufacturing, are confined to the individual establishment; variations of price, however, extend to all enterprises in the same branch of production. From this it follows that the one least able to make a doubtful venture is the small undertaker who embarks his entire capital; abler is the rich man who supports several other enterprises in the same line of business; ablest is the man of ample resources who has many investments in widely sundered departments of activity. Our first discovery, then, regarding business management is that poor men will confine themselves to the steadier branches, while the variable branches will fall into the hands of men of large resources; and unless there are enough rich men to man the speculative branches there will be an under supply, leading to high profits, which will be reaped by those who are able to engage in them. Thus monied men by capturing the lucrative fields of enterprise will widen still more the gap between themselves and the mass.

But with a rapid growth in the size of the business unit, the great fortunes prove too few to handle the big enterprises. Hence the joint-stock corporation is invoked to supply masses of capital without calling on the rich man. Albeit the stimulus to corporate enterprise has been ascribed to the growth of great industry, no small measure of its success has been due to its fitness for uncertain undertakings. By owning stock in a dozen different corporations and sharing in a dozen undertakings, one is exposed to twelve times as many variations, but each disturbs only one-twelfth as much as when one is proprietor of a single enterprise. Some of the numerous variations will cancel each other, and the rest will locate their effects at the margin of one's fortune, where the subjective value of equal losses and gains is nearly the same.

The corporate form, therefore, is at its best a mutual insurance scheme, whereby the losses and gains due to

variations are first pooled, and then shared equitably among a large number. By thus enlarging the bearing and absorbing surface, by creating a solidarity through the interlacing of many private interests, the difference between the variable and the uniform type of production is minimized. While there is a corporate drift all over the field of business, we find it most pronounced in speculative branches, such as mining, boring for oil or gas, electric enterprise, building and improvement undertakings, the theatre business, and the introduction of new devices, machines, utensils, toys, foods, fibres, fuels, etc.

The triumph of the corporate form in risky branches is prevented by the growth of specialized insurance companies, which, in consideration of a premium, assume certain risks as cheaply as a corporate enterprise could assume them. Here the loss-bearing power of a corporation is utilized, while at the same time the actual conduct of business remains in the capable hands of individuals. But the aid the insurance company can render is limited. It is impracticable to sort out of the career of an enterprise all the untoward variations, and hire a corporation to accept them. Only those losses that are important, static, that can be isolated, and that flow from a cause beyond the control of a proprietor, can safely be assumed for a consideration. But most of the variations I have described are so imbedded in the texture of a business that isolation is impossible. They must be borne by the entrepreneur.

The unlikeness of industries in variability brings about a psychological segregation of men. Where result is extremely variable, as in prospecting, gold mining, boring for gas or oil, blockade-running, smuggling, opening of new markets, etc., or where price is extremely variable, as bonds of doubtful governments, mining shares, trust certificates, agricultural produce, etc., certain adventurous speculative spirits crowd in and take charge. In the safe industries, on the other hand, we find the cautious, prudent, calculating

men, who love precision and settledness, abhor hazard, and are terrified by uncertainty.

Summarizing we find that in the more variable branches of production:

1. The inflow of productive powers is less than it should be.
2. The ratio of fixed capital to circulating is less than is economically desirable.
3. The large concern enjoys peculiar advantage over the small concern.
4. A high rate of profit prevails, reaped for the most part by men of large means.
5. The corporate form of industry prevails more than elsewhere.
6. Special agencies are called into being, and induced to assume the consequences of certain unfavorable variations.
7. The sanguine, hopeful, adventurous class crowd in, while the cautious, timid class of men betake themselves to other branches.

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BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS.

THE HIGH SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Education for all is recognized as a fundamental principle in the political and social fabric of American institutions. Less can be said of the quality than of the quantity of education given by our public schools. Education is yet in an experimental stage among us. It is impossible to study the high school without taking into consideration the elementary schools below it and the colleges and universities above it; for in the language of Huxley, "No system of public education is worthy of the name, unless it creates a great educational ladder, with one end in the gutter and the other in the university." The theory is gradually being accepted that the common school has for its ideal the common education of all the people of the nation, common to all from the kindergarten to the university. The ideal system of education is set forth in Huxley's definition, and we cannot, therefore, isolate the high school and consider it alone. It is a part of the general system, and it can be considered only in its relations to the other parts. This is an age for systems and organization. Industry is organized for the sake of economy, and if our educational system were more closely unified in all its parts, economic waste and the loss of energy would be prevented. But the persistence of ideas often forces us to look backward for our educational ideals, to the day when the states were entirely separate communities and when they had not conceived of the idea that they were to become parts of the great republic, threatened with the political evils of uneducated classes. In that age, education was fostered by the churches, and religion was the only force at work in American society that was strong enough to insist on the excellence of a liberal education, and to cherish the love of learning till it grew strong enough to stand alone. The Declaration of Independence broke us loose not only from old political traditions, but also from the domination of colonial educational ideas, and a tendency at once developed toward state systems of schools. The early state constitutions reflect this awakened sentiment, and contain provisions for education, but most of them were meagre and unworthy, as the idea of benevolence still prevailed. The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 was the first to make a definite statement on the subject of education in all its phases, raising it to a high plane of political importance. This constitutional injunction imposed

a new duty of government upon Massachusetts, and it is worthy of quotation :

"Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the University at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns; to encourage private societies and public institutions, rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings; sincerity, good humor, and all social affections, and generous sentiments among the people."

As early as 1647, the Legislature of Massachusetts decreed "that when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families as householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the masters thereof being able to instruct youths so far as they may be fitted for the university; and if any town neglect the performance thereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school till they shall perform this order." This clause has been the fundamental law for the organization of the system of high schools in the state.* The revised statutes of Massachusetts still provide that every town may, and every town of five hundred inhabitants shall, maintain a high school for ten months in the year, to be kept by a master of competent ability to give instruction in general history, bookkeeping, surveying, geometry, natural philosophy, chemistry, botany and Latin.

In every town containing four thousand inhabitants the teachers of the high school shall, in addition to the branches already named, be competent to give instruction in the Greek and French languages astronomy, geology, rhetoric, logic, intellectual and moral science, and political economy. Two hundred and fifty-five cities and towns, embracing 94.7 per cent of the whole population maintain high schools, and the school committees of districts without high schools

* "Nor was it possible that our society should be satisfied with the democratization of elementary education alone; but the popular instinct demanded an extension of the same principle to secondary education also. The public high school was the answer to this."—Dr. Edmund J. James, in the *Citizen*, September, 1895.

can furnish free tuition and free transportation to adjacent high schools if they deem any pupil sufficiently advanced to profit by that kind of instruction.

The action of the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1894, in making it compulsory for non-high school towns to pay the tuition of children in high schools of adjoining towns has practically made secondary education universal in that state. A marked development of the high school system also exists in Michigan. The early settlers were of hardy New England stock, and they carried with them the characteristics of their fathers in respect to their devotion to higher learning. They entered a new territory and built a state university, and afterward established elementary and secondary schools leading up to it. The graduates of 128 high schools are permitted to enter the university without examination, provided the schools from which they come have been examined and approved by a committee of the faculty. In this manner the university exerts a direct influence on the schools; poor teachers are weeded out, improper text-books are excluded, and uniform courses of study are introduced. In 1881 the Legislature of Minnesota established a high school board for the encouragement of liberal education in the state. Through this board, the law provides for the rendering of pecuniary aid to such schools as shall have regular and orderly courses of study, embracing all the branches prescribed as requisite for admission to the collegiate department of the state university.* A plan similar to this exists in New York, where high schools are accredited and the distribution of funds is made by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York.† In

* "Much wiser is the legislation of Minnesota, which established twelve years ago a state high school board, and offered \$400 a year to any high school which was found by the board after competent inspection to fulfill the following conditions: The aided school must receive both sexes free, and non-resident pupils also without fees, provided such pupils can pass examinations in all common-school subjects below algebra and geometry, and must maintain 'regular and orderly courses of study, embracing all the branches prescribed as pre-requisite for admission to the collegiate department of the University of Minnesota not lower than the sub-freshman class.' . . . This high school legislation seems to me the wisest which has been adopted in the United States. It encourages only schools which are already well organized; insists that aided schools shall connect directly with the university; avoids expensive examinations, provides any needed amount of inspection; grades schools by their program and general efficiency, not by individual examination results; gives no pecuniary advantage to a large school over one equally well conducted but smaller; requires aided schools to take non-resident pupils without charge; and applies almost the whole of the state's grant to the direct development of instruction, which is by far the most productive application of any money intended to benefit schools."—Hon. William T. Harris, in Report of Commissioner of Education, 1889-90, Vol. ii, p. 1114.

† "It is unquestionable that the New York State regents' examinations have tended to raise the average standard of instruction in the academies and high

California a plan similar to that of Michigan exists, while for the past five years a steady effort has been put forth in Missouri to articulate the university courses with those of the high schools. The university has submitted preparatory courses which are now required for admission to the freshman class in arts and science, and fifty-four high schools have been accredited. The new states of the northwest are taking the lead in offering liberal provisions for higher education. Arrangements are made in their constitutions for the organization of state universities in which the tuition is usually free, while below, there is an excellent system of high schools, giving ample preparation for the universities. Accordingly, the sections on education in the new constitutions are more liberal than they were in the constitutions of fifty years ago. And yet the United States is the only civilized country in the world without a national educational system having perfect connection between its different grades. Washington, in his messages to Congress and in his farewell address, urged the adoption of such a system; as Charles Pinckney and James Madison had done in the Constitutional Convention, but to no avail. As a result there is no steady progress toward a recognized ideal. The college or university of one section corresponds to the preparatory school of another. There is no definite plan in the organization of high schools, and the higher institutions in general exert too little influence on the grades below. But certain unifying forces are at work, and it is hoped that the time is near at hand when a Minister of Education will sit in the Cabinet at Washington.

That the high school is a legitimate part of the public school system has frequent historical confirmation. It is recognized not only in the published sentiments of educators and statesmen, but also in state constitutions, and national and state appropriations of land and money. Of forty-five state constitutions, more than twenty-two specify high schools as an object of legislative and general interest. An exception to this is found in the Constitution of Georgia. Article

schools, to extend and improve school programs, to bring schools and colleges together by doing away with useless diversities of programs in secondary schools and useless diversities of admission requirements in colleges, and to stimulate some of the communities which maintain these schools to give them better support and to take pride in their standing. These are great services which deserve the respectful attention of the other states of the union and of all persons interested in the creation of an American system of secondary education. The regents have proved that a state examining board can exercise a stimulating, elevating, and unifying influence upon hundreds of institutions of secondary education scattered over a large state, and can wield that power with machinery which, considering the scale of operations, may fairly be called simple and inexpensive."—Hon. William T. Harris, in Report of Commissioner of Education, 1889-90, Vol. ii, p. 1114.

8, section 1, paragraph 1, provides: "There shall be a thorough system of common schools for the education of the children in the elementary branches of an English education only." The objections to the high school are founded on the assumption that public schools are essentially charitable institutions, and that their patrons have no right to demand or expect more than elementary instruction. Another objection is raised that the many are burdened for the few. But this is also true of the courts. Not many people have law suits, but all help to maintain the courts.* The advantages offered by a high school are not simply the privilege of individual instruction, enabling a person to carry away a luxury which profits only him. The state demands an ever increasing number of competent men, and the state should furnish them. In 1848, in Norwich, Conn., it was said when steps were taken to establish a high school: "It's a shame to tax the poor to pay a man \$800 a year for teaching the children to make x's and pothooks and gabble *parley vous*." The question of the legality of the high school has frequently come up for settlement before the law.

In the case of Commonwealth of Massachusetts *vs.* The Town of Dedham, 1817, indictment was found in the lower court against the town for failure to maintain at public expense a grammar school master of good morals and well instructed in the Greek and Latin languages, to instruct children and youth in such languages. The finding was maintained by the Supreme Court, and the principle held that "every inhabitant had the right to participate in both descriptions of schools (higher and lower).† In the case of Cushing *vs.* Newburyport, a suit was brought to restrain the collection of a tax for the support of a high school. It was held that the schools established by the town of Newburyport, Mass., though extending instruction to branches of knowledge beyond those required by law, were yet town schools within the proper meaning of that term, provided for the benefit of all the inhabitants, and that the taxes levied for the support of them were not illegal.‡ The case of Powell *et al.* *vs.* The Board of Education of School District No. 4, St. Clair County, Illinois, 1880, rested upon the right to require the study of German in the public schools, and it was brought by a number of taxpayers against the village board of education, to enjoin what they alleged was a misappropriation of the school funds. The Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the lower court, holding that there was nothing "to show that the school was not an English school, in which the common

* "Outlines of Economics," R. T. Ely, p. 336.

† Tyng's Reports, Massachusetts, Vol. xvi, p. 141.

‡ Metcalf's Reports, Massachusetts, Vol. x, p. 508.

medium of instruction is the English language," and further, that "the mere fact that the German language is one of the branches of study prescribed, does not change its character as an English school."* The case of *Stewart et al. vs. School District No. 1, Kalamazoo, Mich.*, was brought to restrain the collection of such portions of the school taxes assessed against complainants for the year 1872 as were voted for the support of the high school in that village and for the payment of the salary of the superintendent.

"While nominally this is the end sought," said Judge Cooley in his decision, "the real purpose is wider and vastly more comprehensive, inasmuch as it seeks a judicial determination of the right of the school authorities to levy taxes upon the general public for the support of high schools, and to make free by such taxation, instruction in other languages than the English."

In confirming the decision of the lower court, it was held that "neither in our state policy, in our constitution, nor in our laws do we find the school districts restricted in the branches of knowledge which the officers may cause to be taught, or the grade of instruction that may be given, if the voters consent, in regular form, to bear the expense and raise taxes for the purpose."†

The school system of Pennsylvania presents interesting features. In colonial days the chief work of the Assembly was to create and not to support the schools; for they were maintained both by the Church and private enterprise. The school organized by Benjamin Franklin determined the colonial policy in its developed state—that of creating the school, and assisting private benevolence in its support. This is an important fact for us to consider to-day, for the persistence of this idea of benevolence, modified the educational policy of the state even in the present century, and it was one of the elements that entered into the great conflict of 1834. The constitutional provisions relating to education in the state are very meagre, the Constitution of 1873 containing only the following brief allusion to the subject:

"ARTICLE X.—*Education*.—Section 1. The General Assembly shall provide for the maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of public schools wherein all the children of this commonwealth above the age of six years may be educated, and shall appropriate at least one million dollars each year for that purpose.

"Section 2. No money raised for the support of the public schools of the commonwealth shall be appropriated to or used for the support of any sectarian school.

"Section 3. Women twenty-one years of age and upwards shall be

* "Illinois School Report," 1881-82, p. 107.

† "Michigan School Report," 1874, p. 409.

eligible to any office of control or management under the school laws of this state."

The legislation on education in Pennsylvania has been chaotic. Twenty-six colleges have been chartered, with no attempt to insure an approximately uniform value to college degrees. While, under the operations of a recent law establishing a college and university council, future institutions must furnish guarantees of their ability to give a college education, existing institutions are subject to no supervision of control either by this council or the commonwealth. The constitution provides that an efficient system of public schools should be established, and yet there is no state board of education to assist the state superintendent in his duties of inspection. The state grants an annual appropriation of \$5,500,000 to the schools and requires nothing in return; the local boards determine the character of instruction in each community. It will be understood, therefore, how widely the high schools of the state differ from one another.

In the course of an extensive correspondence* with school authorities of the state, it was found that there were many excellent high schools in the state, but that no definite idea existed as to what constitutes the minimum of a high school course. I also found that there was no unification in the system, and every course of study that I received from a high school principal was accompanied by the explanation that "it is not now closely followed," or that "a new one is in contemplation."

Inquiry was made to ascertain what branches are studied in the high schools. Of 145 from which reports were received, thirty have no better claim to be called high schools than the fact that one or more classes in algebra are maintained; in all the others some geometry is taught. In two-thirds of the entire number physics, rhetoric and Latin are studied. Twenty-three report classes in Greek, twenty-nine in German, seven in French. In ninety-nine civics is taught as a separate branch; in nearly all the others it is taught in connection with the history of the United States. Thirty-six report libraries containing 500 volumes and upwards; many report no books and very little apparatus. The courses range from two to four years, and in most cases the work is done by less than three teachers.

I also discovered that smaller high schools had a tendency to imitate the larger ones in their printed courses, so that these are of little value as evidences of actual work, and yet if a high school education is to be regarded as an integral part of a unified system, it ought to

* See "Relation of the High School to the College" (in Pennsylvania), by the writer, published in pamphlet form by the Department of Education, in January, 1894; also *Pennsylvania School Journal*, January, 1894.

have some definite meaning, and imply something like equality of work and attainment. The present condition of the high schools of Pennsylvania is best described in Superintendent Schaeffer's annual report for 1893:

"The high school course in Pennsylvania is like the letter x in algebra—an unknown quantity whose value must, in each case, be found in order to be known. Some cities and boroughs strive, with commendable zeal, to realize the true ideal of a high school, viz: A fitting school for those who wish to enter a higher institution, and a finishing school for those who must begin the struggle for bread. Some high schools neglect preparatory studies, but aim to teach branches which are better taught in the colleges, by reason of superior equipment and endowed professorships; and, at the end of a three or four years' course, their graduates are mortified to find that they cannot enter a respectable college anywhere.

"Other high schools have courses that were evidently arranged by persons not familiar with all grades of school work. Occasionally, one finds a curriculum so ill-fitting and illogical, that it must have been shaped to meet the limited qualifications of some ambitious teacher, whose friends needed a pretext to give him the salary of a high school principal. At no distant day, a conference of representatives of our best colleges and secondary schools should agree upon a minimum high school curriculum, leaving room, of course, for local needs, and future development. The legislature could then follow the example of other states in setting apart a share of the annual appropriation for the purpose of fostering and strengthening the high schools which come up to the proposed standard."

The Committee on Legislation of the Pennsylvania State Teachers' Association proposed two bills, one to make an appropriation of \$200,000 in aid of high schools, and the other providing for the establishment, regulation and classification of high schools, requiring a minimum standard of scholarship on the part of at least one teacher in high schools receiving special aid from the state, but leaving the curriculum of study to be fixed by the local boards.

The bill making an appropriation of \$200,000 in aid of high schools failed, largely by reason of the shrinkage in the annual revenues of the state. The sentiment which is rapidly developing in favor of such an appropriation, causes the friends of high schools to be very sanguine in their hope that the money will come with a revival of national prosperity, probably at the next session of the legislature.

The other bill was passed in an amended form, so as to put the making of the curriculum into the hands of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Township high schools could be established

with state aid, and the high schools already in existence brought to a proper grade. The cramming systems that are found in the country elementary schools, that maintain graduating courses with from twenty to twenty-five subjects, might be abolished with an ample appropriation for township high schools, and the whole system brought into closer relations. Facilities for secondary education should be within the reach of every pupil of the commonwealth, and high schools in the townships are just as necessary as they are in the villages and towns. The establishment of schools ranking above the grammar school, but falling below the true high school, is commendable so far as it indicates a desire to give children higher opportunities, and out of such schools, high schools of satisfactory grade may sometimes issue; but the attempt to give high school instruction in ungraded country schools is a travesty upon sound educational principles, that can only be remedied by the establishment of real high schools.

There is a growing belief on the part of the public in the efficacy of education in two directions:

1. The general training of the members of society for the purpose of life.

2. The special training by systematic instruction of each one for some particular calling.

To reach these ends there must be a system of schools for the training of individuals in a liberal way, and also for a special training necessary for earning a living. This is but following the proposition of Socrates, that wherever there is an art, there must be a science underlying the art, which may be made the basis of an intelligent training in the same. To this end the school curriculum should be varied so as to discover the various forms of ability in the pupils, justifying the introduction of manual training, singing, painting and other so-called "fads." With the rapid multiplication of courses of study and callings, the true function of the high school should be kept in view, for it should not give a bias to or from any one particular calling. The high school is not a professional school, and it is a pedagogical blunder in the training of the high school pupils, to emphasize preparation for a particular vocation at the expense of that general culture and discipline which are calculated to develop the powers and possibilities of the individual.

While it is not contended that the main object of a high school is to fit pupils for college, yet a good high school course should be of such a character that the college would give it recognition, should the pupils desire to go to college. The wisdom of such a liberal policy can not be doubted by any one who has observed the preponderance

of men with high school training in all the walks of civil, professional and industrial life. If a boy of average mind acquires the ideas and instruments of thought furnished by a good high school course, he will all his life be superior to the boy whose educational development is never carried beyond the grammar grade. The student who has mastered the concepts of the sciences has the advantage of the one who gets only a knowledge of the common branches. It is a waste of intellect to keep young people perpetually at work upon the common branches; likewise, the ill adjustment of the various grades of education causes to most pupils a loss of one, two, or more years, and is thus a source of most disastrous extravagance. The high schools that fit pupils for college, are stimulated to do the best work by the college above, while in high schools that do not, the course seldom feels the thrill of such stimulus. There is a widespread feeling that the popular course makes lighter demands upon the pupils, than that which prepares for college; that the teachers are not so well qualified, and this feeling has not closed the breach between the college and the high school, and reduced the difficulty of giving instruction to non-college pupils with the thoroughness that they are entitled to receive. When a good general course of four years, adapted to popular demands, is also accepted as a satisfactory preparatory course by the colleges, it will then be feasible to give a good minimum definition of the statutory high school that will provide for the needs and aspirations of the people. This definition must include the following elements:

1. Provision for a good liberal training in recognized secondary subjects, and by approved methods, for those pupils who end their schooling with the high school.

2. Preparation of pupils for the normal schools.

3. Preparation of pupils for high technical schools, as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stevens' Institute, Troy Polytechnic, etc.

4. Preparation of pupils for college. This will become generally feasible if the colleges finally accept, as now seems probable, a good four years' course as a suitable preparatory course.

5. A course of study at least four years in length.

6. An adequate teaching force and an adequate equipment for the accomplishment of the foregoing aims. No high school should be regarded as worthy of the name, no community should tolerate such a high school, that does not meet at least the first four requirements.

Schools like the following should not be treated as high schools in any sense of the word :

1. A grammar school in which a few high school branches are taught.

2. A so-called high school that in its first and second years is strictly a grammar school.

3. A so-called high school in which the students select such studies as they please, without following a carefully thought out plan.

4. Any high school that falls short of fulfilling the mission of a high school as already defined.

To accomplish these results it will be necessary to make provision for a thorough organization and supervision of public education by the state. Much energy has been wasted in the past by poor methods and imperfect organization. The work of the future will be to so utilize all the forces that the masses may receive the full benefit of the system. The functions of the state do not end with the support of elementary schools, but as it is of economic value to the country to explore every part of the domain and work every mine, so as to make it a part of the nation's wealth, so in education every field should be explored in order to develop each mute, inglorious Milton.

In those states where the entire general control of public education depends upon the state superintendent the system is too much loaded down at this point. A state board of education is thus a necessary department of supervision. These boards in Massachusetts, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota have added much to the efficiency of the schools by adopting uniform courses of study, by personal inspection and by frequent reports; while in New York the Board of Regents is making an effort to unify secondary education and assume control of all the various agencies of higher education in the state. This is the state's ideal, and legislators and educators should strive to make provision for every child for access to every grade of education, from the most elementary to the most comprehensive. The various stages of the system should bear a harmonious relation to each other, and then in the language of Dr. Edward Everett Hale, "If a boy understands that he may pass through the public schools to the university; when you can inculcate that feeling in the primary scholar from the slums; when you can make the people understand that the university is as much a part of their education as the primary or grammar school, we shall be nearing the ideal." *

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COURSES IN POLITICS AND JOURNALISM AT LILLE.

It is perhaps not generally known that within a comparatively recent time there has been established a so-called *Section des Sciences Sociales et Politiques* in connection with the Faculty of Law in the

* From address by Dr. Hale on "The University Ideal in America," at the University Club, Philadelphia, July, 1893.

Catholic University at Lille, in northeastern France. The higher education of the people is cared for in France both by state and church. There are also schools which are of neither class, and which are administered entirely by private individuals, as in the United States. The *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques* of the Rue Saint-Guillaume, in Paris, is such a school. In a strictly literal sense there are no universities in France, but the state establishes and supports "Faculties" at Paris and at fifteen or more provincial towns and cities, a single centre containing more or fewer of these "Faculties," according to the actual or supposed needs of the community. At Lille the state supports a group of Faculties constituting what can properly be termed the State University of Lille, and the Catholics, following the system in vogue with the government, support their separate Faculties, which make up what may be again properly called the Catholic University of Lille. These Faculties are officially known as the "Facultés Catholiques de Lille." The Church maintains Faculties not only at Lille but also at Paris, Lyons, Angers and Toulouse, and the foundation at Lille, if we judge a university by the comprehensive character of the instruction which it affords, would seem really to deserve the name of university.*

To the Catholic Faculty of Law at Lille there was added in November, 1894, a School of Political and Social Science. This school offers courses which are conducted chiefly by members of the Faculty of Law. They are, however, assisted by specialists from the Faculties of Letters and Theology, while a number of publicists and public men who do not devote their time exclusively to academic pursuits are called in to give lectures upon important subjects with which they are adjudged to have an intimate acquaintance. The courses in this school are meant, it is said, for young men "who wish to serve the country by voice or pen," and the *Section* offers such students "more thorough facilities of instruction in public law, in administrative subjects, in political science and its history, with a view to giving them a better preparation for public life. The Faculty has desired above all things to aid in creating in the north of France a centre for the dissemination of Christian social instruction (*un foyer d'enseignement social chrétien*)."

† The school affords instruction, we are told again, "not only to aspirants for

* M. Eugene Tavernier, of *L'Univers* of Paris, writes me as follows concerning these Catholic Faculties, the so-called "Facultés libres": "Celle de Lille merite vraiment le nom d'université, car elle comprend toutes les categories de l'enseignement: Droit, Lettres, Sciences, Theologie, Medicine (elle possede même un hôpital) plus la Section des Sciences sociales et politiques; plus enfin des Ecoles professionnelles d'Arts et Metiers, d'Agriculture, etc. Toute cette institution a été fondée et fonctionne sans aucun secours de l'Etat et même malgré l'Etat, qui s'est attribué le monopole des diplomes."

† *L'Univers* of Paris, October 19, 1895.

the degree of Doctor of the Political Sciences (a degree created by governmental decree of April 30, 1895) and to students of the law, but also to young priests, to students of the faculties and associated schools of letters, of industry and of agriculture, to foreigners who have no degrees, to young men who intend to engage in journalistic pursuits or who may simply wish to possess and propagate healthy ideas on all questions pertaining to the social and political order."[†] The program of courses at this school for the year 1895-96 may be profitably studied. As published in *L'Univers*, the venerable and authoritative Catholic journal of Paris, it was as follows:

Courses Common to the Two Years.

(The letters of T., L., Lt., which follow the names, indicate that the persons hold professorships in the Faculties of Theology, Law and Letters respectively.)

Sociology, Canon Didiot, Dean, T. (twelve hours).

Explanation of the Encyclicals of Leo XIII., Rev. Dr. Fristot, S. J. (twelve hours).

Principles of Social Morality, Rev. Dr. de Pascal (ten hours).

History of Political Science, Modern Period, M. de Margerie, Dean, Lt. (ten hours).

Contemporary History, Unity of Italy, Dr. Pierre de la Gorce (twelve hours).

Selected Questions of Political Economy, Dr. Thellier de Poncheville (six hours).

The Great Publicists of England (Eighteenth Century), Abbé Looten, Lt. (eight hours).

Comparative Public Law, Political Institutions of Germany, Austria and Russia, M. Eugene Duthoit, L. (forty hours).

Apologetics, Canon Moureau, T. (twenty hours).

Courses of the First Year.

Natural Law, M. Rothe, L. (twenty hours).

Political Economy, M. Béchaux, L. (eighty hours).*

Persons, The Family and Property in the French Civil Law, M. de Delachenal, L. (eighty hours).*

Constitutional Law, M. Duthoit, L. (forty-five hours).*

*(The courses marked with an * are common to the section of Political and Social Science, and to that of Legal Science.)

[†] *L'Univers* of Paris, October 19, 1895. M. Joseph Menard, in an article in *L'Univers* of the issue of February 7, 1896, said in regard to the establishment of this school: "Convaincue qu'il ne suffit pas de faire des diplômés, avocats, ou médecins, et qu'il importe, en dehors de l'enseignement des questions inscrites aux programmes officiels, de donner aux jeunes gens des lumières sur tout ce qui préoccupe le cerveau et agite l'âme de nos contemporains elle a créé une Section des Sciences Sociales et Politiques."

History of French Public Law, M. Rothe, L. (forty-five hours).
 Press Legislation, M. Gand, L. (ten hours).
 Democratic Government and Necessary Reforms, M. Groussau, L. (six hours).

Courses of the Second Year.

Administrative Law, M. Groussau, L. (eighty hours).*
 International Law, M. Selosse, L. (forty-five hours).
 The Duties and Practice of Journalism, M. Tavernier, Editor of *L'Univers* (six hours).
 Corporative Organizations of Former Times and of To-Day, M. Hubert-Valleroux, of Paris (ten hours).
 The Law of Association and Its Legislation, M. de Vareilles, Dean, L. (eight hours).
 Financial Legislation, M. Béchaux, L. (forty hours).
 History of Economic Doctrines, M. Selosse, L. (forty hours)
 Industrial Legislation, M. Rothe, L. (forty hours.)
 Prison Questions, M. Gand, L. (ten hours).
 Elements of Canon Law, Canon Pillet, T. & L. (twenty hours).*

Adjunct to the Section of Social Sciences.

Lectures on Anthropolgy, Terrestrial Strata and Anthropological Stations. MM. Boulay and Bourgeat; Anatomical Anthropology, M. Duret; Ethnography, M. Lavrand; Criminal Anthropology, M. Delassus.

Such instruction must be of the greatest value to the young men of Northern France. A school of this kind must surely exert an important influence for good upon the political and social life of the country, and we may all hope that the day may not be far distant when the need may be more generally felt among all classes of the people in all countries of establishing centres at which the youth may be taught these sciences that are so closely concerned with the welfare of the human race.

It will be noted that the program offers 286 hours (*leçons*) of instruction per term to students of the first year, 299 hours to students of the second year, while 130 hours are available to the students of either or both years; and it will also be noted with pleasure by those who are interested in that comparatively new task of educating young men in the principles of journalism that two courses in the list pertain to that subject. Last year, 1894-95, there were three courses at Lille which related directly to journalism, one by M. l'Abbe Looten of the Faculty of Letters on the Great Journalists of England, another by

*(The courses marked with an * are common to the section of Political and Social Science, and to that of Legal Science.)

Professor Gand of the Faculty of Law concerning the Press Laws of France, and a third by M. Eugene Tavernier of *L'Univers* of Paris, upon the Practical Duties of the Journalist. * M. Tavernier's course for the second year has just been completed and he reports that his lectures were attended by an audience of from sixty to one hundred persons. He hopes to publish his lectures in a volume which will doubtless be of value to others who are working in this field.

In his course M. Tavernier gave an historical sketch of the French press, beginning with the *Gazette de France*, the historic journal founded at the time of Richelieu by Theophraste Renaudot, the father of French journalism. This newspaper appeared regularly each week, commencing with the year 1631. M. Tavernier was of course able to draw much of his material from the admirable studies of Eugene Hatin, the historiographer of the French press, a man who spent an entire lifetime in careful investigation, and who, when he died some two years ago, bequeathed to us one great work of eight volumes and several minor works relating to the journalism of his country. M. Hatin contended that the *Gazette de France* was the first printed newspaper in the world. The claim is vigorously contested by the Germans, and quite effectually, it would seem, in view of the positive evidence in their favor, now to be found in the library of the University of Heidelberg. Bound copies of the so-called Carolus newspaper bearing the date 1609, which is supposed to have been published in Strassburg, are preserved at Heidelberg, and furnish the investigator into the origins of journalism with information of the most valuable kind. M. Tavernier must have had an abundance of material from which to construct the historical part of his course. He spoke also of the "trade" side of journalism and the practical organization of an active, working newspaper force. The division of labor in a French newspaper office was described. Sometimes, M. Tavernier said in one of his lectures, the newspaper publisher is a literary man; more often, however, at the present day he is unfortunately a mere "*entrepreneur de publicité*." Most assuredly France is not the only country in the world in which this charge can be made against newspaper publishers and proprietors.

M. Tavernier, fortunately, has quite a wide acquaintance with the great English newspapers which stand to-day for what is perhaps best and most worthy in the world of journalism. One lecture was devoted to a comparative discussion of newspapers, with the London *Times* as the model and some of the characteristic, if not very creditable, features of the American journal, were reviewed by the lecturer. It is to be regretted that M. Tavernier was limited by the program to six

* Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph*, August 13, 1894.

hours. The journalists and educators of France are of course far from being unanimous in their view concerning this innovation. M. Joseph Menard, in the article in *L'Univers** previously quoted, says, "The Americans have established a school for journalists—the thing is possible with their conception of a journal—and the International Press Congress, which assembled last year at Bordeaux, expressed the wish that their example might be generally followed. M. Tavernier has the same desire. Days, months and years, however, will pass before this dream materializes. Of the journalists more than of the poet can one say that he is born with the necessary qualities, and that if a higher power does not endow him with them he may apply himself in vain in an effort to acquire them. . . . But, however, this may be, . . . we felicitate ourselves that the questions which relate to journalism are treated in a chair of public instruction; that they attract and interest an audience of intellectual persons, and that by the manner in which he presents and discusses them M. Tavernier is laboring to hasten the solution of this problem."

It is significant to note that this attempt in France to inculcate the principles of journalism through the university has been inaugurated in a school which is devoted to the teaching of the political and social sciences. This is a recognition that journalism stands in a near relation to these sciences, as it of course must, however and wherever it may be taught. A time it would seem could never come when journalism will be a branch of knowledge so independent of all else that it can be taught alone in the way that law for instance is taught. Journalism may by the labor of various industrious investigators come in the end to be a science. It will be perceived finally, perhaps, that there are definite rules and principles underlying the newspaper art, but the journalist, like the writer of any other kind, no matter how well he may be trained to an understanding of the special character of his calling, will not be a very successful writer unless he has something to write about and is provided by collateral study, with a point of view from which to regard the events that transpire in the world about him. There are writers who by the present system write, and indeed write a great deal, without having anything of worth to communicate, but this state of affairs we have no desire to perpetuate.

There are no sciences which enter so largely into the journalist's daily life as the political and social sciences. No others can be of such great service to him when he has once acquired a knowledge of his own special line of tasks as a news collector and a news commentator, using the term news not in the sense of murders, hangings and nauseating crimes, a meaning which it has lately come to have in this country

*Issue of February 7, 1896.

by our unrestricted press system through the efforts of unprincipled newspaper owners, who speculate upon the degenerate tastes of the people. Such is not the proper conception of the news idea, and those who teach this subject must all unite to secure a speedy return to other standards. There is a legitimate popular interest in the printed intelligence concerning current happenings of a certain kind which supports the newspaper and explains its existence. To investigate into the relations which govern the production of our newspapers is the immediate task of scientists, to the end that the young men who will be the newspaper editors and proprietors of the future may cherish more correct ideas in regard to their calling, which is a calling that may be of so much influence for good or evil to man and womankind. Fortunately there is coming to be a more or less general realization that the university has a task to perform with respect to journalism. The writer of this paper heard a course of lectures by Professor A. Koch, of the University of Heidelberg, during the spring semester of 1895, on the "History of the Press and Journalism in Germany." The lecturer, in opening his course, called attention to the fact that these were the first discourses of the kind which had ever been delivered in any German university, and he expressed the hopeful conviction that they would not be the last.

To complete our survey of economic studies at Lille it is necessary to speak briefly of the courses offered in the faculty of law of the so-called Academy of Lille, which is a part of the so-called University of France. In this exhibit will be seen in concrete form the development which has recently been given to economic and political studies in the law faculties of France. A full description of these changes having been given in the ANNALS,* we shall content ourselves with a *résumé* of the courses in the section of political and economic science of the law faculty at Lille. The following courses were offered in the first semester of the year 1895-96:

A History of French Public Law. M. Peltier, instructor † (two hours a week).

Principles of Public Law, Comparative Constitutional Law. M. Bourguin, professor (two hours a week).

Political Economy. M. Deschamps, instructor (two hours a week).

History of Economic Doctrines. M. Deschamps, instructor (three hours a week).

Financial Science and French Financial Legislation. M. Wahl, instructor (three hours a week).

* "New Academic Degrees at Paris," by C. W. A. Veditz. ANNALS, Vol. vii, p. 286, March, 1896.

† Chargé du cours.

COURSES IN POLITICS AND JOURNALISM AT LILLE. 137

Industrial Legislation and Economy. M. Jacquelin, instructor (two hours a week).

Rural Legislation and Economy. M. Peltier, instructor (two hours a week).

Administrative Law. M. Bourguin, professor (three hours a week).

International Public Law. M. Jacquey, professor (three hours a week).

There were in addition two public courses upon political and social subjects; one held in the evening in order to permit the attendance of the public, by M. Vallas, one hour a week, upon "The Labor Contract;" and another by M. Deschamps, one hour a week, upon "The Relations of Production and Consumption."

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER.

Philadelphia.

PERSONAL NOTES.

AMERICA.

Amity College.—Dr. James Buchan Littlejohn has been appointed Professor of Philosophy and Civics at Amity College, College Springs, Iowa. Dr. Littlejohn was born on May 18, 1867, at Glasgow, Scotland. He attended the Ballyagan Male Institution at Coleraine, Ireland, and he entered the University of Glasgow in 1888, graduating in 1892, with the degrees of M. B. and C. M. He completed his studies for the higher degrees at the University of Chicago, receiving from that institution the M. A. and M. D. degrees. He has held various medical positions abroad, including that of Lecturer under the County Council of Shropshire in the Technical Education Department.

Dr. Littlejohn is a member of the British Medical Association, of London.

His thesis for his degree was entitled "*Etiology of Pneumonia*," Glasgow, 1895.

Boston University.—Dr. F. Spencer Baldwin* has been advanced from the position of Assistant Professor to that of Professor of Political Economy and Social Science at the Boston University.

Bowdoin College.—Mr. Henry Crosby Emery,† Instructor in Political Economy and Sociology at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., has been granted leave of absence for one year, and will spend the time in study in Berlin.

Mr. Emery has recently written an article entitled:

"*Legislation Against Futures*." Political Science Quarterly, March, 1895.

Mr. Leonard Williams Hatch has been appointed Instructor in Political Economy and Sociology for one year at Bowdoin College, to take the position of Mr. Henry Crosby Emery, who is at present abroad. Mr. Hatch was born on June 30, 1869, in Traverse City, Mich. He attended the public schools and the Oberlin Academy of Oberlin, Ohio, entering Oberlin College in 1889. He graduated from this institution in 1892, with the degree of A. B. The next year was spent at the University of Wisconsin, which conferred upon him the

* See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 954, May, 1895.

† See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 272, September, 1894.

degree of A. M. in 1893. After a year's study abroad, at the University of Berlin, Mr. Hatch returned to America and entered Columbia University, graduating from there in 1895. He then became Lecturer on Financial History of the United States in Columbia University, holding that position until his present appointment at Bowdoin College.

Berea College.—Mr. Le Vant Dodge has been made Professor of Political Science and Acting Professor of Mathematics at Berea College, his former position at the same institution being that of Professor of Greek and Political Economy. Professor Dodge was born on May 9, 1838, in Trumbull Township, Ohio. He attended the public schools of his native county and also the Grand River Institution at Austenburgh, Ohio. He then began teaching, but abandoned it at the outbreak of the Civil War, and entered the service of the United States Army. In 1867 he again became a student, entering Hillsdale College, Michigan, from which institution he graduated in 1872, with the degree of A. B. Three more years were spent here in post-graduate study, and at the end of that time the degree of A. M. was conferred upon him. Upon his graduation in 1872 he obtained the position of Superintendent of Public Schools, in Wooster, Ohio; in 1873, he was Principal of the Geneva (Ohio) Normal School, and in 1874 he received his first appointment at Berea College as Acting Professor of Latin. Since that time he has been a teacher of languages in the same college, having Political Economy added to his subjects in 1890.

Mr. Dodge has been officially connected with various Kentucky state enterprises, educational, political and religious, and is the author of a number of short articles, chiefly of a political nature.

Mr. Clay Herrick, formerly Instructor in History and Mathematics at Berea College, Ky., has been made Acting Professor of History and Instructor in Mathematics at the same institution. Mr. Herrick was born on July 17, 1867, in White Hall, Ky. He attended the public schools of Cleveland, Ohio, and also the Shaw Academy, of East Cleveland. He entered Adelbert College with the class of 1890, taking the degree of A. B. upon his graduation. He then became a teacher in the Western Reserve Academy at Hudson, Ohio, during the years 1890-91 and 1892-93. The intervening year was spent in travel on the Pacific Coast and through the western states. In 1893 he entered the Western Reserve University for graduate work in History and Philosophy, receiving the degree of A. M. in 1894. In 1894 he received his appointment as Instructor in History and Mathematics in Berea College, and was also elected Secretary of the College.

University of California.—Mr. Clive Day has been appointed Instructor in History in the University of California. Mr. Day was born on February 11, 1871, in Hartford, Conn. He attended the public schools and the High School of Hartford, entering Yale College in 1888. In 1892 he graduated from this institution with the degree of A. B., and spent the ensuing year at the University of Berlin. Returning to America in 1893, he entered Yale University for graduate work. His appointment to the University of California was received in 1895.

University of Chicago.—Mr. Edwin Erle Sparks has been made University Extension Instructor in History at the University of Chicago. Mr. Sparks was born on July 16, 1861, in Newark, Ohio. He attended the public schools of London, Ohio, subsequently entering the Ohio Wesleyan University. He entered the Ohio State University in 1881, graduating from that institution in 1884, with the degree of A. B. He was appointed Assistant in History at this university for the year 1884-85, and at the end of the year took up work in the public schools. In 1889 he was made the Principal of the Academic Department and Teacher of History in the Pennsylvania State College. He filled this position until 1895, having in the meantime received the degree of A. M., in course, from the Ohio State University, and having devoted the year 1892 to private study in History at Harvard University. He also served as Lecturer in American History in the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching during 1893-95. He received an appointment as Lecturer in American History in the University Extension Division of the University of Chicago, in 1895.

Mr. Sparks is a member of the American Historical Association, American Institute of Civics, and of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Mr. Sparks has written the following:

"*Topical Reference Lists in American History*," 1893.

University Extension Syllabi: "*The Making of the Union*," 1893; "*Character Studies in American History*," 1895; "*The Men Who Made the Nation*," 1895; "*American History in American Literature*," 1896.

"*The Extension of University Extension*," University Extension Magazine, 1894.

"*Temporary Enthusiasm or Permanent Results?*" Public Opinion, February, 1895.

"*Sketches of Illinois and Chicago History*," Chicago Times-Herald, 1895-96.

Mr. William Isaac Thomas has been appointed to the position of Assistant Professor in Social Science at the University of Chicago, having previously held that of Instructor in the same branch. Dr. Thomas was born on August 13, 1863, in Russell County, Va. His early education was secured at the public schools of Knoxville, Tenn. In 1879 he entered the University of Tennessee, graduating from there in 1884, with the degree of A. B. Upon his graduation he received an appointment as Assistant in English and Modern Language at this university, remaining in this position until 1888. During this time he had been pursuing graduate work at his *alma mater*, receiving the degrees of A. M. in 1885, and Ph. D. in 1887. The year 1888-89 was spent abroad at the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen, and upon his return to America he was elected Professor of English Language and Literature at Oberlin College, Ohio. He then entered the graduate department of the University of Chicago, leaving it in June, 1896, with the degree of Ph. D.* From July, 1895 to 1896, he was Instructor in Sociology at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Thomas is a member of the Social Science Club of the University of Chicago.

Dr. Thomas has written a number of articles which have appeared in the *Journal of Sociology*, of the University of Chicago. He has also published the following:

"*Scope and Aim of Folk-Psychology*," 1896.

Dr. T. B. Veblen † has been advanced from the position of Tutor to that of Instructor in Political Economy at the University of Chicago.

Mr. George F. Vincent ‡ has been appointed to the position of Assistant Professor in Sociology, his position formerly being Instructor in the same branch.

Columbia University.—**Mr. Henry Alonzo Cushing** § has been advanced from the position of Prize Lecturer in History to that of Tutor in History at Columbia University. He will publish in November, "*History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts*."

Mr. William Robert Shepherd has been appointed to the position of Prize Lecturer in History at Columbia University. Dr. Shepherd was born on June 12, 1871, at Charleston, S. C. His early education was obtained in the public schools of Brooklyn and Peekskill, N. Y.

* See below, page 152.

† See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 276, September, 1894.

‡ See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 478, November, 1895.

§ See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 479, November, 1895.

He entered Columbia University, in the School of Arts in 1889, leaving in 1893, with the degree of A. B. In the following year he took the degree of A. M. at the same University. During 1893-95 he held the University Fellowship in History in the School of Political Science, at Columbia,* and has just completed his work for the Ph. D. degree at the same institution, the title of his thesis being, "*History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania.*" † During the year 1895-96, Dr. Shepherd was Instructor in French, German and History in the Crescent School of Brooklyn.

Dr. Shepherd is a member of the Long Island Historical Society; the American Historical Association and the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Dr. Shepherd's thesis on "*Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania*" is to be published this summer. He has also written an article entitled: "*The Land System of Provincial Pennsylvania,*" which will appear in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895.

Harvard University.—Mr. Clyde Augustus Duniway has been appointed to the position of Instructor in History in Harvard University. Mr. Duniway was born on November 2, 1866, at Albany, Ore. He attended the public schools of Portland, Ore., in early life, entering Cornell University in 1888. In 1892 he graduated with the degree of A. B. and was appointed to a fellowship in Political Economy at Cornell for the ensuing year. ‡ In 1893 he entered Harvard University, receiving the degree of A. M. from that university in 1894. He continued his studies at Harvard until the end of the past academic year when he received the appointment mentioned above. Mr. Duniway has also been engaged in journalistic work.

Mr. Hugo Richard Meyer has been appointed to an instructorship in Political Economy in Harvard University. Mr. Meyer was born on April 1, 1866, at Cincinnati, Ohio. He attended the public schools of Cincinnati and Denver, and was an undergraduate at Harvard from 1888 to 1892. He then entered the graduate school, where he has continued until the end of the year just past, receiving while there the degrees of A. B. and A. M.

Mr. Charles Eugene Ozanne has been appointed to the position of Instructor in History at Harvard University. Mr. Ozanne was born on April 14, 1865, at Cleveland, Ohio. He attended the public schools of Cleveland, entering Adelbert College of the Western Reserve

* See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 284, September, 1894.

† See below, page 153.

‡ See ANNALS, Vol. iii, p. 242, September, 1892.

University, Cleveland, in 1885. In 1889 he graduated with the degree of A. B. He then took up his studies at the Yale Divinity School, continuing there until 1893 and obtaining the degree of B. D. A post-graduate fellowship was awarded him and he continued his studies in the Divinity School, at the same time having charge of a small church in Chicago. He concluded to abandon his ministerial studies and to fit himself for the profession of teaching. For this purpose he went to Harvard in the fall of 1894, remaining there until the end of the academic year 1895-96. The degree of A. M. was conferred upon him by Harvard in 1895. Mr. Ozanne's appointment at the university is for the year 1896-97. He will have charge of one of Professor Channing's courses during that gentleman's absence abroad.

Mr. John Winthrop Platner has been appointed to the position of Assistant Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. Mr. Platner was born on May 15, 1865, at Lee, Mass. He attended the Newark Academy of Newark, N. J., entering Yale in 1881. He graduated from that institution in 1885, with the degree of A. B. He then became a private tutor in Brooklyn, N. Y., and in Stamford, Conn., continuing in this position until 1890. In this year he entered the Union Theological Seminary of New York, remaining there until 1893 when he went to Germany, continuing his studies at the University of Berlin. When he returned from abroad in 1895, he was appointed to an instructorship in the Union Theological Seminary, of New York, and will leave this position for the one at Harvard in the coming fall.

The following assistants have been appointed at Harvard University for the year 1896-97:

In History, Watson Nicholson, A. M., Sidney Bradshaw Fay, Joseph Parker Warren, Arthur Lyons Cross, A. B., John Archibald Fairlie, A. B.; in Government, Charles Edward Seaman, A. B., Harry Augustus Bigelow; in Economic History, Ralph Waldo Cone, A. B.; in Sociology, Charles Whitney Mixter, A. M.; in Economics, Don Carlos Barrett, A. M. and Abram Piatt Andrew, A. M.

University of Indiana.—Mr. William Rawles has returned to his position of Instructor in History and Political Economy, in the University of Indiana, after a year's study at Cornell University, where he held a Fellowship in Finance and Political Economy.* Mr. Rawles was born on December 4, 1863, at Remington, Ind. He obtained his early education in the public schools of his native town and of Bloomington. In 1880 he entered the Indiana State University, where he remained until 1884, graduating with the A. B. degree.

* See *ANNALS*, Vol. vi, p. 303, September, 1895.

During the remainder of the year he held the position of Principal of the High School at Mitchell, Ind., leaving that to become assistant in the preparatory department of Indiana University, where he remained until 1887. Since that time he has been Principal of the following high schools: Vincennes, Ind., 1887-89; Sedalia, Mo., 1889-92 and 1893-94 and assistant in the High School of St. Louis, Mo., during the year 1892-93. In 1894 he again took up his work at the University of Indiana as a post-graduate student, leaving at the end of the year with the degree of A. M.

University of Indianapolis, Butler College of Arts.—Mr. Elmer Burrett Bryan has been appointed to the position of Professor of Social and Educational Science in the Butler College of Arts of the University of Indianapolis. Professor Bryan was born on April 23, 1865, in Van Wert County, Ohio. He received his early education in the public schools of Ohio and Indiana and at the High School of Kokomo, Ind. He graduated from the Indiana State Normal School in 1889 and entered the University of Indiana, receiving there the degree of A. B. in 1893. He then became Principal of the High School at Kokomo, Ind., and from 1894 to the present time has been teaching history in the Industrial Training School of Indianapolis. Mr. Bryan was Instructor in History during the summer term of 1895 at Franklin College, Franklin, Ind., and for the past three years has been actively engaged in lecturing during the summer months to classes composed of teachers, his subjects mainly relating to general educational topics.

Mr. Bryan is a member of the Political Science Association of the Central States.

Johns Hopkins University.—Dr. Jacob H. Hollander,* has been advanced from the position of Instructor, to that of Associate in Economics at Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. Hollander has recently written:

"*Some Unpublished Letters of Ricardo*," Quarterly Journal of Economics, January, 1896.

"*Letters of David Ricardo to J. R. McCulloch*," 1816-1823, edited with introduction and annotations, Publications of the American Economic Association, 1896.

"*Adam Smith and James Anderson*," ANNALS, May, 1896.

Dr. Westel W. Willoughby,† has been advanced from the position of Reader, to that of Associate in Political Economy, at Johns Hopkins University.

* See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 291, September, 1895.

† See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 278, September, 1894.

Dr. Willoughby has recently written:

"*An Examination of the Nature of the State: A Study in Political Philosophy*," * 1896.

"*A History of Summer Schools in the United States*," and

"*Civil Service Requirements in Prussia*," both appearing in the Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education.

University of the City of New York.—Mr. Frank Moore Colby has been appointed to the position of Associate Professor of Economics in the New York University College. Mr. Colby was born on February 10, 1865, in Washington, D. C. He was educated at various private schools and at the High School of Detroit, Mich. He entered Columbian University of Washington and from there went to Columbia University, of New York. From the latter institution he received the degrees of A. B. in 1888 and of A. M. in 1889. He received an appointment as Acting-Professor of History at Amherst College, Mass., where he remained during the year 1890-91. From 1891 to 1895 he filled the position of Lecturer in History at Columbia University, holding at the same time an Instructorship in History and Political Economy at Barnard College in New York City. For two years he was the editor of "Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia," published by the Department of History and Political Science at Barnard. In 1895 he became Professor of Economics in the Graduate Seminary of the New York University, continuing to hold this position in connection with the one in the College Department of the same institution.

Professor Colby is a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Oberlin College.—Mr. James Monroe, LL. D., Professor of Political Science and Modern History at Oberlin College, has retired from his position at that institution. Failing health made this step a necessity. Professor Monroe was born on July 18, 1821, in Plainfield, Conn. He attended the public schools in his native town and also the Academy at that place. He entered Oberlin College, from which he graduated in 1846. From his graduation until 1862, Professor Monroe was Tutor and Professor in Oberlin College. He then became United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, where he remained until 1869. In 1871 he was elected Congressman from Ohio and remained at his post in Washington until 1881. In the year 1883, he resumed teaching in Oberlin College in political science and has remained there until the present time.

* This essay received from the Johns Hopkins University, in June, 1896, the John Marshall Prize, which is awarded annually for the best study in Historical or Political Science by any former graduate of that institution.

Professor Monroe has written and delivered many speeches and public addresses which have been given in various parts of the country and has published the following articles:

"*The Hayes-Tilden Electoral Commission*," Atlantic Monthly, October, 1893

"*The Divine Origin of the Religion of the Bible*," two articles which appeared in the April and July numbers of the Bibliotheca Sacra, 1896.

Ohio State University.—Dr. Herman Vandenburg Ames* has been appointed to the position of Assistant Professor of History in the Ohio State University. During the year 1893-94, Dr. Ames filled the position of Acting Assistant Professor of History in the University of Michigan. The following year was passed in Leipzig and Heidelberg, where Dr. Ames devoted his time to study.

Dr. Frederick C. Clark † has been advanced from the position of Acting Assistant Professor of History and Economics to that of Assistant Professor of Economics and Sociology at the Ohio State University. For two years, from 1893, Dr. Clark was studying in Halle and Berlin, and upon his return in 1895, he received his first appointment at the Ohio State University, where he delivered a course of lectures on French and German Socialism. In the fall of 1895 he was elected to the position of Acting Assistant Professor in the same University.

Dr. Clark is a member of the American Economic Association; Political Science Association of the Central States and the Internationale Verein für Vergleichung der Rechtswissenschaften, of Berlin.

In addition to the published works which we have already noted, Dr. Clark is the author of the following:

"*Women vs. the State*," Ann Arbor, 1893.

"*Problems of the Present for the Legislator*," Sequoia, Palo Alto, Cal, 1892.

"*Safeguards against Pauperism*," Chicago News-Record, Feb., 1893.

"*A Neglected Socialist*," ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY, March, 1895.

"*Der stand der Eisenbahnfrage in Californien*," Conrad's Jahrbücher für Nationaloekonomie und Statistik.

"*The Fisheries Question*," 1889.

A series of articles on Railroads, in *The Independent*, New York.

Professor Clark has in course of preparation a book entitled: "*Life and Works of Wilhelm Roscher*."

* See ANNALS, Vol. ii, p. 540, January, 1892.

† See ANNALS, Vol. iii, p. 238, September, 1892.

Olivet College.—Walter Eugene Colburn Wright has been appointed to the position of Professor of Evidences of Christianity and Applied Christianity at Olivet College, Olivet, Mich. Dr. Wright's subjects include Political Economy and Sociology. Rev. Dr. Wright was born on October 26, 1843, in Whitehall, N. Y. In his youth he attended the country, district and select schools of his native town, subsequently spending some time at Castleton Seminary, Vt., and in the preparatory department of Oberlin College. He entered the graduate department of the college, leaving there in 1865, with the degree of A. B. In the same year he went to the Union Theological Seminary, of New York City, from which he graduated in 1868, receiving at the same time the degree of A. M. from Oberlin College. Dr. Wright then took charge of a Congregational Church in Philadelphia, where he remained until 1874, at which time he went abroad, traveling and studying in Germany and Italy. He returned to America in 1875, taking charge of a church in Danvers, Mass. In 1882 he was appointed Professor of History and Philosophy in Berea College, Ky. He remained in this position for eight years and then became connected with the American Missionary Association, and was engaged in the supervision of schools and other missionary work in the South, finally becoming the District Secretary for the association, continuing in this capacity until 1895. During this time, in 1894, both Oberlin and Olivet Colleges conferred upon him the degree of D. D.

Dr. Wright has written many articles which have appeared in the *Independent*, the *Congregationalist*, and other periodicals. The following papers have also been written by him:

"*Southern Illiteracy: Its Cause and Cure.*" *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1887.

"*Christian Fellowship as Affected by Race,*" *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1894.

"*Society can Afford to Neglect None of its Fragments,*" *The Charities Review*, January, 1895.

University of Michigan.—Mr. Frank Haigh Dixon has been appointed Instructor in History for one year at the University of Michigan. Dr. Dixon was born on October 8, 1869, in Winona, Minn. He attended the public schools of Winona, subsequently entering the University of Michigan. He graduated from this university in 1892, with the degree of Ph. B., and for the next three years was engaged in post-graduate work at the same institution, receiving the Ph. D. degree in 1895.* During these three years Dr. Dixon held the position of Assistant in Political Economy at the University of Michigan.

* See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 302, September, 1895.

After receiving his degree he went abroad, and has been devoting his time to study at the University of Berlin.

Dr. Dixon is a member of the American Historical Association; American Economic Association; Michigan Political Science Association.

He has written:

"State Railroad Control: A Study of the Iowa Railway Commission."

University of Minnesota.—Mr. Francis Le Rond McVey has been appointed to the position of Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota. Dr. McVey was born on November 10, 1869, in Wilmington, Ohio. He attended the public schools of Toledo, Ohio, and of Des Moines, Iowa, entering the Des Moines College in 1888. In 1889 he went to the Ohio Wesleyan University, graduating from there in 1893 with the degree of A. B. In the same year he entered Yale University, where he studied for two years, receiving the Ph. D. degree from that institution in 1895.* During the past year he has been with the New York Reform Club in an editorial capacity and from January to June, 1896, was Instructor in History in the Teachers' College, New York. He has been lecturing on Political Science at Midland Chautauqua, Des Moines, Iowa, during July of this year.

Dr. McVey is a member of the American Economic Association.

He has written the following pamphlets and articles:

"State Banks of Issue," Social Economist, March, 1894.

"State Aid to Railroads in New York," Social Economist, August, 1894.

"The Martin Mulct Law in Iowa," Social Economist, March, 1895.

"The Quality of Money and Wages," Reform Club Pamphlets, No. 19, 1895.

"The Political Situation in New York City," editorial in Iowa Leader, October 22, 1895.

"The Principles of Party," Gunton's Magazine, February, 1896.

"Government Ownership of Railroads," Gunton's Magazine, July and August, 1896.

"The Populist Movement," published by the American Economic Association in 1896.

University of Missouri.—Mr. Matthew Brown Hammond has been appointed Assistant Professor of Political Economy at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. Professor Hammond was born on June 13, 1868, in South Bend, Ind. He received his early education

* See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 303, September, 1895.

in the public and high schools of his native town and of Ann Arbor, Mich., entering the University of Michigan in 1887. He graduated from this institution in 1891, with the degree of Ph. B. He accepted a position as Principal of the Versailles Institute, Missouri, leaving there to become a student at the University of Wisconsin in 1892, where he received the degree of M. L. upon his graduation in 1893. The year 1893-94 was spent abroad at the Universities of Tübingen and Berlin, and upon his return to America in 1894, Mr. Hammond was awarded a University Fellowship in Finance at Columbia University.*

Professor Hammond is a member of the American Economic Association; the American Statistical Association.

He has written the following articles:

"C. G. Conn's Plan of Profit-Sharing," Employer and Employed, May, 1893.

"The Financial History of Wisconsin Territory," Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. xiii.

"The Distribution of our Urban Populations," Publications of the American Statistical Association, May, 1895.

Mr. Isidor Loeb, LL. B., † has been advanced from the position of Assistant Professor of History to that of Acting Professor of History and Political Economy at the University of Missouri.

Shurtleff College.—Rev. Justus Bulkley, D. D., has been appointed Professor of History at Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, Ill. The Rev. Mr. Bulkley was born on July 23, 1819, at Leicester, N. Y. He attended various public schools of New York State and entered the preparatory department of Shurtleff College in 1842. In 1847 he graduated from this institution with the degree of A. B., and later received the A. M. degree. He was a tutor in the preparatory department of Shurtleff College for three years from 1846, and in 1849 was ordained a Baptist minister. He accepted the charge of a church in Jerseyville, Ill., where he remained until 1853, when he received an appointment as Professor of Mathematics at Shurtleff College. In 1855 he again took up his clerical work as pastor of a church in Carrollton, Ill., where he remained until 1864, having during the year 1863-64 received the degree of D. D., for graduate work at the Chicago University. From 1864 until the present time, Dr. Bulkley has been Professor of Church History and Church Polity at Shurtleff College, serving also as Acting President of the college from 1870 to 1872. From 1853 until the present time, Dr. Bulkley has been connected with the Baptist General Association, in the relations

* See *ANNALS*, Vol. v, p. 284, September, 1894.

† See *ANNALS*, Vol. vi, p. 294, September, 1895.

of Moderator, Clerk, and President of the Board, holding the latter position from 1869 to the present.

Dr. Bulkley has contributed many articles to the press in various sections of the country. In 1851 he was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Ministerial Obituaries in the Illinois Baptist Pastoral Union, and as such has prepared and published sketches of the lives of about 450 Baptist ministers who have died in Illinois.

Mr. George Ernest Chipman has been appointed Professor of Political and Social Science at Shurtleff College. Professor Chipman was born on July 14, 1868, in Tupperville, N. S. He received his early education in the public schools of his native town, and entered the Acadia College of Wolfville, N. S., in 1887. He remained here until 1892, with the exception of the year 1888-89, and graduated with the degree of A. B. He received an appointment as Instructor in Latin and Political Economy at St. Martin's Seminary, New Brunswick, in 1893 being elected Vice-Principal of the same institution. He held this position until 1894 and received the degree of A. M. from Acadia College in the same year. After finishing his academic year at St. Martin's Seminary, he came to the United States and entered Harvard University for a year of graduate study. In 1895 he received the degree of A. M. from this university. In the same year he was appointed Professor of Latin and Political Science at Shurtleff College, and Principal of Shurtleff Academy and was also made Assistant in Government at Harvard University.

Syracuse University.—Mr. James Henry Hamilton has been appointed Instructor in Political Economy at Syracuse University. He was born October 31, 1861, in Greensburg, Ind. He attended the public schools in Kingston, Greensburg and Indianapolis, Ind., Phillip's Academy of Andover, Mass., and the Preparatory Department of Hanover College, Ind. He entered the College Department of this institution in 1881, graduating in 1885 with the degree of B. S. He then took up the study of law at the University of Cincinnati, receiving from that university the degree of LL. B. in 1887. In 1893 he began graduate study at the University of Indiana, where in 1894 he received the degree of A. M. The following year was spent abroad at the Universities of Halle and Berlin. In 1895 he was appointed Honorary Fellow in Economics* and University Extension Lecturer in Political Economy at the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Hamilton is a member of the American Economic Association, Wisconsin Academy of Arts, Science and Letters, and of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

* See ANNALS, Vol. vi, p. 304, September, 1895.

Vanderbilt University.—Mr. William Charles Branham has been advanced from the position of Fellow in History and Economics to that of Instructor in History and English in the Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. Mr. Branham was born on June 4, 1867, at Gallatin, Tenn. He attended the district schools and a private school in Nashville, subsequently entering Vanderbilt University. He graduated from this institution in 1887, receiving the degree of A. B. He was awarded a Fellowship in History and Political Economy by this University, which he held for one year. In 1888 he became assistant in the University School of Nashville, where he continued for six years, in the meantime receiving the degree of A. M. in 1889, from Vanderbilt University. He was elected Assistant in English and History at Vanderbilt University in 1894, and has held that position until the present time. During 1894-95, Mr. Branham had charge of the English Department of the Monteagle Chautauqua.

Wells College.—Mr. Dean Augustus Walker has been appointed to the position of Professor of Biblical Literature and Instructor in Social Science in Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. Dr. Walker was born on February 3, 1860, in Diarbekr, Turkey. He attended the public schools of Newton, Mass., entering Yale University in 1880. In 1884 he graduated from this university with the degree of A. B. and two years later entered the Divinity School of the same institution, having in the interval held the position of Professor of Languages in Colorado College. From the Divinity School he received the degrees of B. D. in 1889 and of A. M. in 1890, for work in Semitic Languages. He then went abroad and became an instructor in the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, Syria. Returning to America in 1892, he shortly afterward entered the University of Chicago, receiving from that university the degree of Ph. D. in 1895.

University of Wisconsin.—Mr. Paul S. Reinsch has been made Instructor in Political Science at the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Reinsch was born on June 10, 1869, in Milwaukee, Wis. He attended Concordia College, Milwaukee, entering the University of Wisconsin in 1888. From this institution he received the degree of A. B. in 1892. He then entered the Law School at Wisconsin, receiving at the same time an appointment as University Extension Lecturer during the year 1892-93. He graduated from the Law Department in 1894 with the degree of LL. B. He then became a practicing attorney in Milwaukee, again taking up his work at the University of Wisconsin in 1895, as Instructor and Extension Lecturer in History.

Mr. Reinsch is a member of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters and of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

Mr. Samuel Edwin Sparling has been made Instructor in Political Science at Wisconsin. Dr. Sparling was born on January 8, 1866, in Rensselaer, Ind. He attended the public schools of his native town, subsequently entering the University of Indiana, from which he graduated in 1892, with the degree of A. B. During the two years 1890-92, Dr. Sparling was Principal of the Rensselaer High School. In 1892 he entered the University of Wisconsin, where he remained a year. The two years following were spent abroad, at the Universities of Halle and Berlin and as a student of Municipal Conditions in Paris and in England. Returning to America in 1895, he received an appointment as Fellow in Public Administration in the University of Wisconsin,* also giving instruction in that subject at the university. Mr. Sparling has just received the degree of Ph. D.† from the University of Wisconsin, in June, 1896. His thesis was entitled: "*Municipal History of the City of Chicago.*"

Yankton College.—Rev. Henry Kimball Warren has recently been elected President of Yankton College, holding, at the same time, the position of Professor of History and Political Science. Mr. Warren was born on May 31, 1858, at Cresco, Ia. He attended the county and High School of Portland, Mich. He entered the Academy Department of Olivet College, and later the College Department, where he remained for four years, graduating in 1882, with the degree of A. B. He was Principal of Public Schools in Mount Pleasant, Mich.; and Superintendent of Public Schools in Hannibal, Mo., from 1882 to 1889, receiving from Olivet College the degree of A. M. in 1885. He was called to the Presidency of Gates College, Neligh, Neb., in 1889, where he remained for five years, becoming President of Salt Lake College, Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1895.

IN ACCORDANCE with our custom we give below a list of the students in political and social science and allied subjects on whom the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred at the close of or during the last academic year.‡

Bryn Mawr College.—Eleanor Louisa Lord, A. B., A. M. Thesis: *The American Colonies as a Source of Naval Supplies for Great Britain.*

University of Chicago.—William Isaac Thomas, A. M., for work in Social Science.

* See ANNALS, Vol. vii, p. 94, January, 1896.

† See ANNALS, below p. 154.

‡ See ANNALS, Vol. i, p. 293, for Academic Year, 1889-90; Vol. ii, p. 253, for 1890-91; Vol. iii, p. 241, for 1891-92; Vol. iv, p. 312 and p. 466, for 1892-93; Vol. v, p. 282 and p. 419, for 1893-94; Vol. vi, p. 300 and p. 482, for 1894-95.

George P. Garrison. Thesis: *History of Federal Control of Congressional Elections.*

George E. Vincent, A. B. Thesis: *Sociology and The Integration of Studies.*

Columbia University.—William Robert Shepherd, A. B., A. M. Thesis: *History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania.*

Delos Franklin Wilcox, A. B., A. M. Thesis: *Municipal Government in Michigan and Ohio.*

Cornell University.—Edward Dana Durand, A. B. Thesis: *The Finances of New York City.*

Lauros Grant McConachie, A. B. Thesis: *The Development of Committee Legislation in the Federal House of Representatives.*

Harvard University.—Kendric Charles Babcock, Litt. B., A. M. Thesis: *The Scandinavians in the Northwest.*

Howard Hamblett Cook, A. B., A. M. Thesis: *The Economic Basis of Irish Emigration.*

Theodore Clarke Smith, A. B., A. M. Thesis: *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest.*

Heidelberg University.—John L. Trisler, A. M. Thesis: *Education and its Relation to Political Economy.*

Johns Hopkins University.—Benjamin William Arnold, Jr., A. B. Thesis: *History of the Tobacco Industry in Virginia from 1860 to 1894.*

Alfred Cookman Bryan, A. B. Thesis: *State Banking in Maryland.*

Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler, A. B. Thesis: *Representation in Virginia.*

James Wilkinson Chapman, Jr., A. B. Thesis: *State Tax Commissions in the United States.*

Henry Scofield Cooley, S. B. Thesis: *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey.*

Frederick Robertson Jones, A. B. Thesis: *History of Taxation in Connecticut, 1636-1776.*

Henry Ludwell Moore, A. B. Thesis: *Von Thünen's Theory of Natural Wages.*

Franklin Lafayette Riley, A. B. Thesis: *Colonial Origins of New England Senates.*

Francis Edgar Sparks, A. B. Thesis: *Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689.*

John Thorne, A. B. Thesis: *Syntax and Style of Macrobius.*

Leland Stanford Junior University.—Mary Roberts Smith, Ph. B., M. S. Thesis: *Almshouse Women; A Study of Two Hundred and Twenty-eight Women in the City and County Almshouse of San Francisco.*

University of the City of New York.—Arthur C. Perry, B. S., M. Sc. Thesis: *State Control of Railways*.

University of Pennsylvania.—Charles Henry Lincoln. Thesis: *The Origin of the Second Chamber in France*.

Joseph Solomon Walton. Thesis: *Nominating Conventions in Pennsylvania*.

Charles Seligman Bernheimer. Thesis: *Public Education in Philadelphia*.

Gustav A. Kleene. Thesis: *History of the Ten Hour Day in the United States*.

University of Wisconsin.—George Henry Alden, A. B. Thesis: *New Governments West of the Alleghenies before 1780*.

Helen Page Bates, A. B. Thesis: *State Irrigation in the Australian Colonies*.

James H. Hamilton, A. M. Thesis: *Savings Banks*.

Harry Huntington Powers, A. M. Thesis: *Wealth and Happiness*.

Samuel Edwin Sparling, A. B. Thesis: *Municipal History of the City of Chicago*.

Yale University.—William Bacon Bailey, A. B. Thesis: *Railroad Earnings in the United States, 1881-1895*.

Kate Holladay Claghorn, A. B. Thesis: *Law, Nature and Convention, a Study in Political Theory*.

James Lee Mitchell, A. B. Thesis: *The Growth of the Spirit of Toleration from the Reformation to the French Revolution*.

Sarah Margaret Sherrick, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Despotism of Richard II*.

For the academic year 1896-97, appointments to fellowships and post-graduate scholarships have been made in our leading institutions, as follows:

Amherst College.—*The Roswell Dwight Hitchcock Memorial Fellowship in History, Political Economy and Political Science*, Everett T. Kimball, A. B., and Frank Alonzo Watkins, A. B. Fellowship divided.

Boston University.—*The Jacob Sleeper Fellowship in Economics and History*, Clarence H. Dempsey, A. B.

Bryn Mawr College.—*Fellowship in History*, Ellen Maud Graham, A. B.

University of Chicago.—*University Fellowships in History*, James F. Baldwin, A. B., James W. Fertig, William Rullkoetter, William H. Wright, Charles T. Wyckoff; *in Political Science*, Carl E. Boyd, Ethel A. Glover; *Bucknell Fellowship in Political Science*,

Ephraim M. Heim; *University Fellowships in Political Economy*, Don C. Barrett, Lyon M. King, Simon J. McClean, George G. Tunell; *Armour-Cram Fellowship in Political Economy*, Henry P. Willis; *University Fellowships in Sociology*, Jacob D. Forrest, Albert T. Freeman, Harry A. Millis, Paul Monroe.

Columbia University.—*University Fellowship in American History*, Frank Green Bates, B. L.; *in European History*, Horace Mann Conaway, A. B.; *in Economics*, Charles Franklin Emerick, A. B., A. M., M. S., Ph. M.; *in Finance*, Frederick Smith Hall, A. B.; *in Public Law*, Frederick Berg Hartranft, A. B.; *in Sociology*, Anselm Viuet Hiester, B. S., A. B.; *in International Law*, Francis Raymond Stark, A. B., A. M.; *in Economics and Social Science*, Adna Ferrin Weber, Ph. B.; *President's University Scholarship in Municipal Administration*, William Herbert King, B. S.; *University Scholarship in Public Law*, Carl Evans Boyd, Ph. B.; *in Political Economy*, Schuyler Emerson Day, A. B., and Herbert Camp Marshall, A. B.; *in Constitutional Law*, William Oscar Gennert, A. B.; *in Sociology*, Francis William Howard, A. B. and William Ransom Tuttle, A. B.; *in History*, Walter Flavins McCaleb; *in Administrative Law*, Milo Roy Maltbie, Ph. B., Ph. M.

Cornell University.—*President White Fellowship in Political and Social Science*, Henry J. Gerling, A. M., LL. B.; *Fellowships in Political Economy and Finance*, J. B. Phillips, A. M., William Henry Glasson, Ph. B.; *Fellowship in American History*, Charles Henry Rammekamp, Ph. B.; *President White Fellowship in European History*, Martha Bell Barrett, A. B.

Harvard University.—*Morgan Fellowship in History*, Arthur Mayer Wolfson, A. B.; *Henry Lee Memorial Fellowships in Political Economy*, Guy Stevens Callender, A. B., A. M.; *John T. Kirkland Fellowship in History*, James Sullivan, Jr., A. B., A. M.; *Robert Treat Paine Fellowship in Social Science*, Enoch Howard Vickers, A. B., A. M.; *Ozias Goodwin Memorial Fellowship in History, Government, and Constitutional Law*, Theodore Clarke Smith, A. B., A. M.; *Henry Bromfield Rogers Memorial Fellowship in Ethics in its Relations to Political Economy*, Edward Henry Warren, A. B.; *Thayer Scholarship in History*, Frank Maloy Anderson, A. B.; *in Economics*, Oliver Mitchell Wentworth Sprague, A. B.; A. M.; *Townsend Scholarship in Political Economy*, Herbert Camp Marshall, A. B., A. M.; *Edward Russell Scholarship in History*, Norman Maclaren Trenholme, A. B.; *University Scholarships in Economics and Government*, Don Carlos Barrett, Ph. B., A. M., and Charles Sumner Griffin, A. B.; *in History and Economics*, Clarence Woodbury Leach, Ph. B.

University of Illinois.—*University Fellowship in Economics*, Charles H. Garnett, A. B.

Johns Hopkins University.—*Fellowship in History*, James Morton Callahan, A. B.; *in Economics*, Frank Roy Rutter, A. B.; *Hopkins Scholarships Offered to Virginia and North Carolina Students*,* *Honorary Scholarships*, G. C. Lee, A. B., E. W. Sikes, A. M.; *Scholarships*, F. L. Carr, Ph. B., J. W. Gregg, S. B., E. W. Kennedy, A. B.

University of Minnesota.—*Fellowships in History*, Miss Cravath and Hope McDonald, B. S.

University of Pennsylvania.—*George Leib Harrison Senior Fellowship in Political Science*, Charles Henry Lincoln, Ph. D., *George Leib Harrison Fellowship in European History*, Arthur C. Howland; *in Political Economy*, Walter E. Weyl; *in Political Science*, Frederick S. Shepherd; *George Leib Harrison Scholarship in English and History*, Joseph S. Kratz, A. B.; *in History and Philosophy*, Harold Donaldson Eberlein, A. B.

University of Rochester.—*Sherman Scholarship in Constitutional Law*, George Briggs Huntingdon, A. B.

Swarthmore College.—*J. W. Lippincott Fellowship in History*, John W. Gregg, B. L.

Vassar College.—*Babbott Fellowship in Sociology and Political Economy*, Emilie Louise Wells, A. B.

Washington and Lee University.—*Howard Houston Fellowship*, Jacob D. M. Armistead, A. B.

University of Wisconsin.—*University Fellowship in Economics*, Balthasar H. Meyer, B. L.; *in History*, Charles T. Wentworth, A. B.; *Japanese Fellowship in Economics*, M. Shiozawa; *Rockford College Fellowship in Economics*, Mary Sabin, A. B.; *Christian Endeavor Graduate Scholarship in Social Science*, Mary Spence, A. B.

* These scholarships are awarded by the Academic Council to college graduates, the choice being guided by the character and intellectual promise of the candidate.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

PROF. JOHANNES CONRAD, of the University of Halle, Germany, has just published a new and enlarged edition of Part I of his "*Grundriss zum Studium der Nationalökonomie*," * which was prepared originally for distribution among his students as a substitute for the dictation previously given at each lecture. In its present shape, it is intended to meet the needs of a larger public as well. Part I contains the outlines of lectures on theoretical political economy, the other parts which are to follow, will deal with practical economic problems and statistics. The book is quite readable throughout, and a thoughtful person will find in it more than an ordinary syllabus. The definitions are prepared with great care, and the bibliographical references are well-selected, up to date, and very complete. It is not difficult, from these outlines, to get at Professor Conrad's point of view on the fundamental questions of value, price, population and money. His vigorous hold on the best German and foreign literature of his subject, combined with a calm, moderate, eclectic temperament, make his views such as ought to find a warm welcome in America.

IN THE STRUGGLE for industrial supremacy, technical education seems destined to play an increasing part. It is the popular belief that to its excellent technical schools, Germany owes a large part of its manufacturing prestige, while that Great Britain, secure in its position, has neglected this factor of industrial growth. But what was true ten years ago is no longer the fact. A recent report of the Belgian Ministry of Industry and Labor † furnishes conclusive evidence of the enormous progress made in this regard in Great Britain in recent years. Dr. Oscar Pyfferoen, of the University of Ghent, was commissioned by the Ministry to study technical education in England, and this comprehensive and careful report is the result of his labors. The body of the book is devoted to the legislative and administrative basis of the system, and to a description of a large number of institutions. As the facts are accessible to our readers in the Report (Eighth Annual) of the United States Bureau of Labor on

* *Grundriss zum Studium der politischen Oekonomie, I Teil, Nationalökonomie*, Von Prof. Dr. J. CONRAD. Pp. 79. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

† *Rapport sur l'enseignement professionnel en Angleterre*. Pp. 321. Brussels: Ministère de l'Industrie et du Travail, 1896.

Industrial Education, a summary of them here is not essential. In his excellent introduction Dr. Pyfferoen happily characterizes the function of the technical school, as two-fold:—to remedy the evils brought about by the decline of apprenticeship, and to acquaint the workman with the general notions of his trade in order that he may labor more intelligently and be competent to perform all the operations of this or cognate industries. With a laboring population so trained, many of the difficulties which the uncertainty of modern industry brings with it, would be overcome. Belgium, he tells us in conclusion, cannot neglect to profit by the experience of her neighbors, and that she may not retrograde in the competitive struggle, he suggests an organization of technical education, not unlike the English, though adapted to local conditions.

THE DATA of economic geography are in large part derived from geology and physical geography. It is rare that information of this kind is presented in a form so fascinating as that in which Major Powell has described the Colorado River basin in his book on the "Canyons of the Colorado." * The explorations of this region made by Major Powell from 1869-72, and the reports published by the Smithsonian Institution are known to all students of geology, but are not familiar to many others. The present volume gives a non-technical account of the Colorado country by publishing the diary kept by Major Powell in the summer of 1869. The diary is printed, as it was written, in the present tense, and in it, geography often takes the form of thrilling tales of adventure. The diary comprises chapters V-XIV, of the book, the first four chapters and the last being devoted to a general description of the physical features of the Colorado basin. Throughout the narrative frequent references are made to the Indian tribes inhabiting the region, and thus the book contains an account of the present condition and past civilization of these interesting pueblo-building aborigines. Every reader of Major Powell's writings knows the charm of his style, but in the present volume his descriptions are rendered more than usually vivid by a wealth of excellent illustrations. The book is an artistic volume as readable and instructive as it is beautiful.

THE WAR between Japan and China came at a time when the United States, because of industrial conditions at home, was giving more than usual attention to the development of foreign trade.

* *Canyons of the Colorado*. By J.W. POWELL, Ph.D., LL.D., formerly Director of the United States Geological Survey. Pp. 400. Price, \$10. Meadville, Pa : Flood & Vincent, The Chautauqua-Century Press, 1895.

Unquestionably our greatest commercial progress in the future will be in securing a larger share in the growing trade of Asia and South America, and for this reason any book that helps us to understand the trade conditions of either of these regions will be of service. In the "Future Trade in the Far East,"* the leading commercial cities of Japan, China, Siam, the British East Indies, and India are briefly discussed from the standpoint of their present and probable trade with England. The author's attempt was a modest one, and he has essayed to present only a few facts regarding each city and country mentioned. What the author has said is well chosen, and the chief fault of the book is its brevity. The foreign trade of Japan and China is certain to increase as the results of the treaty of Shimono-seki, and the commercial treaties which Japan is making with England, the United States and other nations, and if Mr. Wakefield's conclusions are correct, this trade is to be a direct one between producer and consumer. "The tendency," he says, "is in every instance to throw off the yoke of the intermediary trader and to deal directly with the producer, and this tendency is especially present in the minds of both native and foreign manufacturers whose interests lie in China and Japan." Although the author finds evidences "of something akin to commercial revolution" in Japan and elsewhere, he believes "there is still a vast scope for the profitable employment of foreign money and enterprise."

"SHORT STUDIES IN PARTY POLITICS"† is made up of a series of articles originally published in *Scribner's Magazine*. These papers present in a most readable manner an analysis of the principles and tendencies of political parties rather than a study of party machinery. Throughout the work are to be found interesting allusions to men prominent at different times in the history of the nation. The value of the studies is enhanced because of the personal acquaintance of the author with the men and measures of a great part of the period. The twenty-seven portraits of presidents and statesmen, copied from "highly prized photographs and paintings," form a unique feature of the book.

DR. MAX HIRSCH, the enthusiastic advocate of trade unionism in Germany, has recently published in pamphlet form‡ his essay on the

* *Future Trade in the Far East*. By C. C. WAKEFIELD, F. G. R. S., Member of the London Chamber of Commerce, with maps, illustrations, appendices, glossary and index. Pp. xii, 184. London and New York: Whittaker & Co., 1896.

† *Short Stories in Party Politics*. By NOAH BROOKS. Pp. 205. Price, \$1.25. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895.

‡ *Die Entwicklung der Arbeiterberufsvereine in Grossbritannien und Deutschland* Von Dr. MAX HIRSCH. Pp. 76. Price, 1.50 m. Berlin: Hermann Bahr, 1896.

Development of Trade Unions in England and Germany, which originally appeared in the *Jahrbuch für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*. The movement is far from having attained in Germany the importance which belongs to it in England. Of recent growth, it had not hardened into an institution, when some twenty years ago the labor question assumed so marked a place in the political and social life of the empire. Vaguely understood, and often suspected as an importation and not an organic growth, the unions had to contend with many difficulties. On the one hand Socialism enticed the laborers with the promise of an easier way to happiness, while the state, with its patriarchal tendencies, hemmed in rather than encouraged these outgrowths of private initiative. Between the two opposing forces the unions have grown slowly, and have brought forth few fruits. Dr. Hirsch depicts the vicissitudes of this growth and seeks to demonstrate, that though these fruits may be far inferior in quantity, they are similar in kind to those produced in England. This line of argument affords an admirable opportunity to exhibit the strength of unionism, a task which the author accomplishes with a master hand.

DR. CARL ALFRED SCHMID has had the courage to prepare for German readers a Digest of the Report of the Royal Commission, as a contribution to the history of labor.* With infinite patience he has delved through the voluminous report and presented here its main features. His work has been chiefly that of selecting and condensing the evidence from the great mass of material. He does, indeed, at the close of each topic, give a brief résumé, and some ten pages toward the close of the book summarize the author's conclusions; but he has effaced himself and allowed others to speak through his words. A complete system of references indicates precisely the source of all facts and opinions cited. The main portion of the book treats of wages, hours of labor and the general standard of life of the laborer, while an appendix summarizes the testimony in regard to the actual condition of co-operative enterprises. The book might have been entitled a "Guide to the Report of the Labor Commission," and as such will prove of permanent usefulness to students.

THE PUBLICATIONS of the Musée Social give promise of considerable value, notably to students of the labor question in all its phases. Thus, a recent circular (No. 1, Series B), gives the text of a bill passed by the French Senate on the Liability of Employers. The meaning

* *Beiträge zur Geschichte der gewerblichen Arbeit in England während der letzten 50 Jahre, Nach den Erhebungen der Royal Commission on Labour.* Von Dr. CARL ALFRED SCHMID. Pp. 215. Price, 4.50 m. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

of the bill is made clear by a series of notes which summarize the debates on important topics. An ample bibliography gives for the various countries a list of laws and of parliamentary and official documents, as well as other works which relate to labor accidents. Another circular (No. 6, Series A), gives an account of the recent Seventh International Congress of Miners at Aix-la-Chapelle. After a brief historical statement of the work of the preceding congresses, it gives a digest of the debates on the eight-hour day, women's labor, over hours, and kindred topics. It closes with a biographical sketch of Thomas Burt, M. P., who presided over the Congress, and who has long been known as a leader in labor matters in England.

"INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE"* is the somewhat misleading title of a volume of sixteen lectures, delivered by the late Professor Seeley, of Cambridge University, during the years 1885-86. Though a professor of history, Seeley regarded himself as in the field of an historian when he discussed political science as well as when he presented some period of history. It is his doctrine that "History without Political Science has no fruit; Political Science without History has no root." Taking the states which have appeared in the world, as history shows them to us, he attempts to treat them as a botanist would treat the plants which nature gives him. States are to be considered as natural growths. They are organisms. The duty of political science is to explain them, not to start with a *priori* conception of what a state ought to be. In other words, true progress in political science is to be made by the inductive method. The first task of the science is classification, and it is to this that Seeley entirely devotes his attention. He finds three stages of development: the tribal state, the theocratic state, and the state proper, depending respectively on the three "state motives," kinship, religion, and interest. Besides the states which may be so classified, there exists certain quasi-states, or inorganic states, which are held together by force and are usually the result of conquest.

The author considers the various terms which were introduced by Aristotle as entirely inadequate and misleading, when applied to most of the forms of government which have appeared, and makes the following classifications: city states and country states (Athens being a type of the former and any great European nation of the latter); centralized and decentralized states; states having a large province and states having a small province; states having a government making organ and those which have not; states where power is in one hand

* *Introduction to Political Science.* By SIR J. R. SEELEY, K. C. M. G. Pp. xi. 387. Price, \$1.50. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

and where it is distributed. In the last three lectures aristocracy and democracy are treated and it is said that "there is no opposition between the principles; there is only a practical opposition of tendencies" which may, however, be reconciled. Though somewhat paradoxical, the lectures, like all of Seeley's works, are interesting. They contain much acute and valuable discussion of terms and a vast number of historical illustrations. As might be expected much use is made of English history. To one already familiar with general history this volume forms a very suggestive commentary on the forms of government which have grown up in different ages and under diverse conditions.

REVIEWS.

La Loi des Pauvres et la Société Anglaise: Organization de l'Assistance Publique en Angleterre. By ÉMILE CHEVALLIER (Ouvrage couronné par l'Institut, Prix Beaujour). Pp. 411. Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1895.

The literature in relation to the English poor law system is already voluminous, and comprehends many works of undoubted excellence. As far as the history or description of the administration of the poor laws is concerned, there can, therefore, scarcely be said to exist any great need for another work. Moreover, the Frenchman is not in general an apt or devoted student of foreign institutions. A book on this subject by a native of France, therefore, if it is to be of value to the English-speaking public, must do something more than give a history and description of the system. It must possess some peculiar merit on account either of the attitude assumed by the author in making his study or of comparisons made with other systems with which he is equally or more familiar.

Handicapped by these rather severe conditions, the work of M. Chevallier nevertheless has a real *raison d'être*.

A student of foreign social questions cannot but be struck with the different attitudes with which the same problems are considered in England and in France. A question which in the first country is deemed to be strictly one relating to poor relief, in France, is a labor question. The present movement for workingmen's insurance in Europe is an excellent example of this. In France the question is considered without the slightest suggestion being made as to its influence on poor relief. In England, workingmen's insurance is proposed strictly as a measure of poor law reform. It is precisely in respect to this distinction that M. Chevallier's work is of chief importance. Though the account of the history and administration of the poor

law system seems to be clear and correct, it is the last hundred pages of his work, a part which might have been fittingly entitled the relationship of the English poor law system to the labor problem in England, that is of interest to the American or English student.

The questions here considered are: what have been the effects of the system of the organization of labor upon the extent of pauperism, and, *vice versa*, what have been the effects of the poor laws upon the creation and development of workingmen's organizations and employers' institutions for the benefit of their employes. In answering these questions, the author has given us an admirable sketch of the fundamental differences between the English and French laboring man, and English and French workingmen's institutions.

As regards these latter the experience of the two countries have been in marked contrast with each other. The first of these differences consists in the widespread development in France of the so-called *Institutions Patronales*, or institutions founded by employers for the benefit of their employes, and their almost total absence in England. In France it is almost an exception to find a large industrial establishment that does not make a considerable pecuniary sacrifice for the carrying on of work to improve the condition of their employes. The Coal Mining Company of Blanzky expends over a million of francs a year in subsidizing sick insurance funds, in providing for old age pensions for its invalidated workingmen, in erecting dwellings, and assisting its workingmen to become owners of their own homes, in providing schools, a medical and hospital service, etc., a sum which is equal to one-half that distributed by the company in the way of dividends. The Coal Mining Company of Anzin does still more, and expends over a million and a half for similar purposes, and the great iron and steel works of Le Crensol an equal amount. These, though notable, are not isolated examples. Practically all of the great coal mining companies, such, for instance, as those of Douchy, Courrières, Siérin and Bessiges do as much in proportion to their resources as Blanzky and Anzin. The Bon Marché at Paris, the printing house of Mame et Fils at Tours, the glass works of Boccarat, and scores of others might be mentioned for their sacrifices for the same purposes. In England, such a system of workingmen's institutions does not exist. In other words, as regards at least the large industries, employers in France have created or assisted in the maintenance of institutions which take care of the workingmen when sick or in trouble, which assist them to make savings and become houseowners, or to provide for pensions in their old age. In England employers have taken no such precautions for the assistance of their workingmen when in need, but on the other hand have

developed a general poor law system. It is not clear whether the absence of workingmen's institutions has contributed to the development of poor relief, or the fact that such a system was in existence, seemed to obviate the necessity for creating relief institutions. Whatever the explanation of these facts, there can be no doubt that the difference of the condition of affairs profoundly modifies the problem of poor relief in the large manufacturing communities.

Co-operating with these *Institutions Patronales* which assist the workingmen to make provisions for times of need, is the enormous development of the principle of savings in France. This is probably the greatest difference in the temperament of the working classes in the two countries. Though England was the first to create a postal savings bank, and France did not follow the lead until twenty years later, the development of this institution in the latter country soon surpassed that of the former, both in respect to the amount of deposits and the number of depositors. Moreover as the law of England permits of a larger maximum account for each depositor than is the case in France, there is no doubt that the poorer classes are much better represented among the depositors in the latter than in the former country. Statistics of private savings banks in France show a similar greater development of these institutions in France.

Turning next to mutual aid societies organized by the workingmen themselves, England has gone a long way toward making up her lack of other kinds of prudential organizations by the great success achieved in this field. The great development of the friendly societies is well known. France to be sure has similar institutions in her very successful *Sociétés de Secours Mutuels*, but she has no such institutions as the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Manchester Unity, the Hearts of Oak Benefit Society, etc.

It is unnecessary to follow this comparison further. Enough has been given to show the attitude of the author in making his study. With him the effort has been made not so much to study the system, as to study the effect of the system upon English society. The fundamental points that it was desired to emphasize were: that the poor law system of a country must be studied in its relations to existing social institutions, and to determine in how far it is possible to avoid the necessity for poor relief by the development of institutions of saving and forethought.

To the French reader other portions of M. Chevallier's work will doubtless be of equal interest with those commented upon. For American readers, however, the features referred to constitute its chief value.

In conclusion, it should be added that this study is based upon a personal investigation made by the author, and received the Beaujour prize from the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, as the best work submitted in a competition held by the Academy.

W. F. WILLOUGHBY.

Washington, D. C.

Civic Club Digest of the Educational and Charitable Institutions and Societies in Philadelphia. Compiled by a Committee of the Social Science Section of the Civic Club, with an Introduction on Social Aspects of Philadelphia Relief Work by Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph. D. Pp. clxxiv, 201. Price, 1.00. Philadelphia: Civic Club of Philadelphia, 1895.

It seems that as long ago as 1879 the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity published a "Manual for Visitors among the Poor, with a Classified and Descriptive Directory to the Charitable and Beneficent Institutions of Philadelphia." This was one year before the Boston Charities Directory was issued and two years before the appearance in print of the "London Register and Digest."* But while the charity organization societies of London, New York, Boston and Baltimore have issued successive editions of their charities directories to correspond with the rapid increase and development of charitable institutions, the Philadelphia book has remained in its original form, and so has long ceased to be a directory to the existing charitable agencies. It has now been replaced by this work of the enterprising Civic Club.

The most notable feature of the new directory is the introductory matter, covering 164 pages, written by Professor Lindsay, of the University of Pennsylvania. The formal statements found in a charities directory under the name of each organization are useful for reference, but the ordinary reader is not able from these statements to gain any clear conception of the charity work of a city as a whole. Much duplication of effort becomes at once apparent, but one is left in doubt as to the adequacy of the efforts made, the real quality of the work accomplished, and the ideals toward which improvements should be directed. The delineation must be thrown into perspective by one who is familiar with the relative positions of the various organizations, and one who can treat the whole scene in the light of the accumulated experience which modern charity commands. To supply this need was evidently the purpose of Professor Lindsay's introductory essay. The result is worthy of high commendation.

* Pp. xliii, xlv.

The introduction may be analyzed as follows:

1. A discussion of the general principles of charity work under such headings as "Charity, New and Old," "Personal Requisites for Charitable Work," "Public *vs.* Private Relief," "Outdoor Relief *vs.* Indoor Relief," "The Unemployed and Tramp Class," and "Care of Helpless and Dependent Children."

2. Sections devoted to the historical development of some phases of charity work, such as "Charity Organization Movement in England," "Charity Organization Movement in the United States," and "Alms-houses and Public Relief in Philadelphia."

3. A treatment of local conditions in charity and relief work under such titles as "The Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity," "A United Charities Building an Imperative Need," "Pennsylvania Poor Law," "Settlement and Residence," "Department of Charities and Correction," "Public Health Regulations," "Care of the Insane and Feeble-minded," "Hospitals, Dispensaries and Free Medical Aid," "Wayfarers' Lodges and Woodyards," "Provident Loan Associations and Pawnshops," and "Charitable Work of the Churches."

To this essay are added as appendices: (1) Suggested Rules and By-Laws of a Charity Organization Society Committee [London], (2) By-Laws of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, (3) The Pennsylvania Lunacy Law, (4) A List, with Addresses, of the City Physicians [fifty in number], City Apothecaries, Health Board Inspectors and Vaccine Physicians, (5) Immigration Laws and Regulations, (6) Suggestions Regarding Disinfectants, and (7) Bibliographical References for General Reading.

Nearly every topic of the essay is treated with some reference to its historical development, and frequent comparisons are made with the experience of other cities in similar lines of work. References are also made under each topic to the special literature of the subject. For local use the work would serve well as a text-book for the study of this branch of sociology, and those who may wish to qualify for efficient social service in Philadelphia are fortunate in having so good a guide.

In the discussion of general principles Professor Lindsay presents the commonly accepted views of progressive administrators of charity. The difference between the old charity and the new is given in the statement that "henceforth, the chief test of charity will be the effect on the recipient." Public outdoor relief (abolished in Philadelphia, 1879) is condemned on the ground that it "invariably undermines self-reliance and independence." Yet in other lines of relief work the best results are expected from an enlarged public policy. "Public relief, and public relief alone, can in the best sense have a large

restorative end in view. It can be co-ordinated and graded in a way that private charity can scarcely ever hope to be, with the ultimate purpose of reducing the need of it to a minimum." He is in agreement with Professor Warner and most writers upon the subject in the statement that public relief "can only be relied upon" "to provide successfully when its administration can be reduced to simple and definite rules." It may be questioned whether too much is not made of this routine character as a criterion in the demarcation of the suitable boundary between public and private charity. The administration of a hospital for the insane, which is considered a typical institution for public management, is not an undertaking of essentially more routine character than the granting of orders for groceries and coal where public administration has signally failed. In fact, it is thought necessary to have at the head of such an institution a man of the highest skill, clothed with the greatest discretionary power. The important element to be kept in view is not so much the difficulty of management as the difficulty of deciding upon whom the benefits shall be conferred. The insane form a class readily distinguishable, and a class which no one will join for the sake of its benefits. Whether free treatment be granted only in cases of actual destitution, or more generously, even as in Minnesota, to the extent of the state's assuming the care and support of all who are afflicted with insanity, is a matter not of extreme social importance.

The same may be said of schools for other classes of defectives and in some degree of hospitals for the sick. Without great danger almshouses, when properly conducted, may be made comparatively free for all who will apply. But outdoor relief is something which breeds an appetite for itself and an indefinite population is ready to qualify for it. Children, parents, brothers and sisters are ready to abandon their relatives to its care. The public almoner is under constant political and social pressure to increase his grants. That which is demanded as a right is given without sympathy and received without gratitude. Public outdoor relief therefore has seldom if ever succeeded in improving social conditions except in communities where poverty is so general as to preclude extravagant expenditure for its relief. When the general welfare requires the constant refusal of suppliants it is not safe to place the discretion in the hands of a public official with an unlimited resource in the tax list.

The work of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania receives merited praise and its system of boarding out children under supervision is described in detail. The reader is allowed to infer that the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity is relapsing from its former activity, especially in respect to meetings of the Assembly and

conferences of women visitors, while developing inordinately in the direction of relief giving.

A counterpart to the German compulsory service is found in the provision that any citizen chosen to serve as a director in the Department of Charities and Correction shall be fined \$60 if he is able but unwilling to perform this service.*

In the division of the unemployed into three classes† perhaps the most numerous class is omitted—men who are willing to work and are fairly capable except for their irregular habits which render them subject to frequent dismissal.

The directory itself cannot well be criticised from this distance. The data seem to have been gathered with care, and the arrangement is fairly good, though improvable. The names of honorary officials of charities are carefully given, but the officials who are in charge and to whom correspondence should be directed are generally omitted. A list of "Charity Organization Societies in Foreign Countries," is apparently taken from the list of correspondents published by the London Society and includes many organizations which are by no means charity organization societies. This list includes the public bureaus of charities of many French and German cities, but the Philadelphia Department of Charities and Correction seems to have been overlooked by the compilers of the directory. A very serviceable index closes the volume, but unfortunately the introduction is not included within its scope.

DAVID I. GREEN.

Hartford, Conn.

A History of Modern Banks of Issue, with an Account of the Economic Crises of the Present Century. By CHARLES A. CONANT. Pp. 595. Price, \$2.50. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896.

In his preface Mr. Conant disclaims any attempt at either original investigation or profound analysis of his subject. "My purpose," he says, "has been to bring together, in compact form, the leading facts regarding the banks of the world authorized to issue circulating notes, and the history of the financial and economic crises through which they have passed. There is no work in English covering exactly the ground covered by the 'History of Modern Banks of Issue.'" This is entirely true, and his book will undoubtedly perform a useful function as a reference volume in this country during the next few years, when the banking question is likely to equal, if not supersede in

* P. lxxix.

† P. cviii.

interest the silver question. Yet the book is only a compilation, and not a connected history. It is a series of independent historical sketches of the world's banking systems, in which the only continuity of purpose seems to be a desire to give fully and honestly as many facts, figures and dates as possible. To the student, therefore, who has access to the financial literature of France and Germany, Mr. Conant's book will have little value except as a guide, and here only in part, for his reliance has been wholly upon French and English treatises. With the German literature upon banking he appears to have no acquaintance. Nevertheless, he has done his work conscientiously, intelligently and in clear English, and the result is an exceedingly timely and useful book. The present generation of bankers in this country, many of whom seem to have an idea that the national banking system of the United States is almost ideal, and that a banking currency, to be safe and acceptable, must be based on government bonds, will find much novel and interesting material in Mr. Conant's book.

In the first chapter of twenty pages Mr. Conant presents his "Theory of a Banking Currency," which is that known as the "banking principle," holding that notes should be based upon the general assets of banks rather than upon a required reserve of coin or legal tender. This is not a very satisfactory chapter. Mr. Conant advocates the "banking principle" without reservation, but his presentation of its advantages, both in this chapter and in the closing chapter of the book, which is headed "The Advantages of a Banking Currency," is lacking in cogency and clearness. Mr. Breckenridge, in his thorough monograph on "The Canadian Banking System," is much more convincing in his defence of the same principle; and so is Mr. Horace White in his discussion of this subject in his recent "Money and Banking." Mr. Conant first states "two important truths which should be clearly understood at the outset: (1) That bank-notes are not money; (2) that bank-notes are a form of credit, and are of substantially the same nature as bills of exchange, promissory notes and checks." As he gives the reader no definition of money, it is rather difficult to get a clear understanding of the distinction between bank-notes and money. If he means by "money" a commonly accepted medium of exchange, his book contains abundant evidence that bank-notes should be classed with money instruments, although checks and bills certainly cannot be so classed. The demand notes of a government are of substantially the same nature as its interest-bearing bonds, and both are a form of credit, yet Mr. Conant appears to regard government paper of the first kind as money. Except in the case of inconvertible government paper, the only distinction

between government demand-notes and bank-notes is the fact that the former are usually a forced legal tender, while the latter are not. The distinction, however, which Mr. Conant apparently has in mind relates to the effect which bank issues have upon the volume of currency. "Inflation by bank-note issues," he declares, "when banks are required by law and by commercial custom to redeem their notes in coin on demand, is not conceivable in any such sense as inflation by means of government paper money, issued without regard to the demands of business and incapable of contraction with the diminution of those demands." That is true, for governments, when they issue notes, even though they redeem them in coin on demand, do not at the same time act as banks of deposit, and so provide an innocuous retreat for the surplus money in circulation, the export of gold to other countries being, therefore, the only check upon inflation. Bank-notes, on the contrary, do not drive out gold when there is an excess of money, but go themselves into retirement. But this difference in the effect of bank and government issues does not justify calling one of these forms of credit money and classing the second with other promissory papers. In fact, the question as to whether bank-notes are money or not hinges on definitions, and is unimportant. Whether we call them money or not, however, it is important to understand the exact nature of the money function which they perform.

The national bank-note of this country, being a legal tender between banks and being accepted by the government in payment of most dues, has been proved by experience to constitute almost a fixed part of the monetary supply, and instead of regulating the volume of currency in accordance with commercial needs, it has been almost as inelastic as the government greenback or treasury note. If a definition of money includes the greenback, it must certainly include also the national bank-note. On the other hand, experience has proved that the circulation of bank-notes issued under a free banking system, if redemption in coin is maintained, varies with the ebb and flow of trade, thus often rendering unnecessary the expensive import or export of specie. This is the important part which the genuine bank-note—a credit instrument based on commercial assets and not secured or guaranteed by government pledges—plays in the field of money, and it does not matter whether we call it money or not.

The two countries which have furnished the best illustrations of the advantages of free banking are Scotland and Canada, and Mr. Conant gives sixty pages to the history and description of their systems. As his chief object "beyond that of a narrator," is avowedly to "impress upon thinking Americans the importance of having the currency

regulated by commercial conditions and not by the whims of politicians," it is a little surprising that he does not accord more space to Scotland and Canada. So much of these sixty pages is filled with historical statistics of little significance, that in his analysis and exposition of the advantages of the banking system the author is apparently cramped by the necessity for condensation. In his discussion of the Canadian system he gives due attention to the positive enactments of the law, but does not bring out clearly the fact that the excellence of the system as a whole is due in large part to the lack of law. He does not mention the fact, for instance, that a Canadian bank is not obliged to accept the notes of other banks, or that the notes have no legal tender quality whatever. Yet this fact gives the strong, conservative banks the power to exert an effective restraining influence on any speculative or dangerous tendency that may develop in any of the more adventurous banks. This may be called a negative feature of the Canadian system, but it is a most important one, and one that, unless especially pointed out, will not be discovered by the average American reader, familiar as he is with the fact that our national bank-note is legal tender in several directions. However, Mr. Conant's sketches of the Canadian and Scotch systems deserve commendation rather than criticism. Any reader at all familiar with banking operations will readily get a clear idea of the laws and conditions necessary to the successful management of banks under the so-called free banking principle.

Further evidence in support of the "banking principle" Mr. Conant finds in his study of banking operations during the last 100 years in this country. The three chapters on this part of the subject, covering 100 pages, treat respectively the Bank of the United States, the State Banking Systems, and the National Banking System. He shows very clearly that a comparison of the state banking systems must lead to conclusions unfavorable to the present national banking law, holding that "the experience of the New England and Indiana banks is the triumphant vindication of the principle of banking on general assets and issuing notes redeemable in coin on demand;" whereas the experience of banks with circulation based on securities affords a hint of what the present system "would become if note issues, based upon state and municipal securities, were substituted, as is sometimes proposed, for note issues based upon national bonds." This is one of the best chapters in the book.

Little need be said of the other portions of the book. There are chapters on the banks of the leading countries of Europe, including England, France, Italy, Austria, Ireland, Germany and Russia, and in two chapters on the banks of Northern and Southern Europe there

are brief sketches of the banks of Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Greece, Switzerland, Portugal and Turkey. There is also a chapter on the Banks of Latin America, and Banking in Africa and the East. These articles are condensations from well-known French and English authorities, and are valuable mainly because they present in a single volume much information hitherto inaccessible to the average English or American reader.

Commercial crises or panics constitute the subject-matter of the last 100 pages of the volume. The only apparent reason for including a discussion of panics in a treatise upon banking is the author's desire to show that the two things are not related to each other, the notion that panics have frequently been caused by excessive bank-note issues being erroneous. Although the argument in support of that opinion might have been put in ten pages, one need not find fault with the author for giving the subject more space. The author had the same excuse for treating crises *in extenso* which led him to write the history of banking, for there is no satisfactory work upon either subject in the English language.

Mr. Conant's history of panics is characterized by the same clearness of style and impartiality of statement which give value to his history of banking. The subject is treated in four chapters under headings as follows: "Crises and Their Causes," "The Early Crises of the Century," "The Later Crises of the Century," "The Crisis of 1893." In his treatment of the causes of a crisis he is open to the charge of vagueness. A sentence like the following, for instance, needs a great deal of explanation: "The seeds of a new crisis are sown in three ways—in the production of merchandise, in the excessive consumption which apparent prosperity brings, and in the effect of production and consumption upon loanable capital." The average American reader will never guess what Mr. Conant means to say in that sentence. There is also ground for suspicion that the author is not quite free from the taint of mercantilism. The export of gold from a country he always seems to regard as a most serious matter. For example, he remarks on page 456 that "the withdrawal of gold from the bank reserves and its export abroad is usually the most striking visible sign that business is upon the eve of a crisis." It is true that an export of gold does usually precede a crisis, but a crisis by no means usually follows an export of gold or a reduction of the bank reserves, and the export, therefore, need not be regarded as a sign of impending disturbance. The taint of mercantilism, again, is noticeable in such a statement as the following: "Metallic money is the money of the world and of international exchange." Mr. Conant must know that there is no such thing as "money of the world," and all talk

about the "money of international exchange" is a violent metaphor that knocks clear thinking on the head. Wheat and cotton and pork have as much right to the designation "money of the world" as has gold or silver, and securities probably deserve the designation more than any of them, for they appear to have had more to do with the so-called "settling of balances" in recent years than any single commodity, including the precious metals. Gold, like wheat or cotton, flows to the countries where it can be most profitably exchanged. Mr. Conant seems to think (page 17) that the movements of gold in obedience to changes in the loan market, as when, for instance, the Bank of England raises its rate of discount, are exceptional in character, and are not adequately accounted for by the classical theory of the territorial distribution of money in accordance with prices. He here confuses money, or gold, with capital. A high rate of interest in New York is a bid to the world for capital. It is an announcement that debts can be bought there cheaper than elsewhere, and it has precisely the same effect upon capital, and later upon gold, which would be caused by a reduction below the world's level in the price of wheat or cotton.

However, all this concerns the subject of money rather than of banking or crises, and I should not like to give the impression that Mr. Conant's work is seriously marred by mercantilist conceptions. The fault with him appears to be one of language rather than of ideas, and is probably the result of his familiarity with the "jargon of the street." Thus on page 18 he talks indiscriminately about the "price of money" and the "rate of interest." But these slips in the use of terms do not conceal his thought which as a rule is not confused.

His discussion of panics, while it lays perhaps undue stress upon the movements of the precious metals and does not always bring clearly into view the conditions which caused those movements, is the best that has yet been given to American readers. He is clearer than Juglar as translated, and is more likely, therefore, to hold the interest of the bankers and business men who take up his book. Mr. Conant combats the theory that crises are usually the outgrowth of an abuse of credit. He finds their chief cause in the misuse of capital, in its withdrawal from legitimate commercial uses for the support of speculative enterprises. The crises of 1810, 1825 and 1837-9, for instance, he holds to have been due to the unproductive employment of capital, the expansion of credit in each case being an incidental effect. In no case were issues of bank paper responsible for the distress. The panics of 1857 in the United States and of 1864-6 in Europe he traces to the influx of new gold and to the large employment of capital in railway and manufacturing projects. And so on down to the panic

of 1893, which he regards as the joint result of silver legislation and the absorption of capital in "boom" towns, suburban improvements and street railway expansion. His description of the phenomena of this panic is clear and full, but he does not handle the monetary side of it satisfactorily. The export of gold prior to 1893 was not, as he calls it, an illustration of Gresham's law, but was the effect of an inflation of the currency. There was no depreciated money in circulation and gold would probably have been exported in the same amount even if every dollar in circulation had been gold of equal weight and fineness. Whatever one may think about the prior speculative rise of capital—and the evidence that it was excessive is hardly convincing—the panic was certainly precipitated by the scare over the diminishing reserve in the United States Treasury, and its depletion can be directly traced to the silver legislation of 1890 and the consequent inflation of the currency and withdrawal of foreign capital. Mr. Conant does not give this feature of the panic the attention which it deserves.

JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON.

University of Pennsylvania.

Criminal Sociology. By ENRICO FERRI, Professor of Criminal Law. The Criminology Series. Edited by W. Douglass Morrison, M. A. No. 2. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896.

From the time of the appearance of the "Essay on Crime," which was written in 1693 and attributed to the Marquis of Beccaria, down to the present day, Italy has been noted for writers and thinkers on the subject of crime and criminals. In our own time the Italian, Lombroso, has established the experimental or scientific school of criminology whose aim is "to study the natural genesis of criminality in the criminal and in the physical and social conditions of his life, so as to apply the most effectual remedies to the various causes of crime." Starting with the anthropology of the criminal, the school has developed so that it now takes into account psychology, statistics and sociology. It is to this school that the author of the work under review belongs.

The volume before us is only a portion of Professor Ferri's work on "Criminal Sociology," and deals more especially with the practical problems of penology. It is divided into three chapters. Of these the first treats of the "Data of Criminal Anthropology," and is in the nature of a short review of the work of Lombroso and others, touching the physical characteristics of criminals.

The second chapter relates to "Criminal Statistics," and is exceedingly suggestive. In it Ferri points out the errors which other

writers have committed and comes to the conclusion that crime of a serious nature is everywhere on the decrease, crime against property much more so than crime against the person. This is a fact that has been verified by other careful students, notwithstanding the newspaper and pulpit utterances to the contrary. Arrests for slight offences are, however, far more numerous now than ever before. This is partly, if not entirely, owing to the fact that a great many new laws and enactments have been and are being made.

Ferri carefully analyzes the physical and social conditions which influence crime; thus in years of famine, a greater number of petty offences are committed, often merely to secure maintenance at the public expense. We believe that because of enforced idleness in years of depression, many laborers spend their time in taverns and sometimes, while under the influence of liquor, commit crimes for which they are convicted, want not being the essential cause of their criminality, but lack of employment. The author rightly shows that the statistics of crime are not constant from year to year, as some would have us believe. The record of crime shows as frequent variations the social and physical conditions which surround criminals. Another point our author proves beyond a doubt is that punishment has no deterrent action on crime. This is shown by history and statistics. As Ferri justly observes "punishment as a legal deterrent cannot neutralize the constant action of climate, customs, increase of population, agricultural production, economic and political crises, which statistics exhibit as the most potent factors in the growth or diminution of criminality." Punishment acts physically and it can therefore only influence those who commit crime from physical reasons.

The author divides society into three classes. "The highest, which commits no crime, restrained only by the authority of the moral sense—unfortunately very small." The second class is the lowest, to which belong the born criminal, the ignorant, diseased and degenerate. A third class "alternates between virtue and vice," and furnishes the occasional criminal. In order to make punishment effective the different motives which actuate the members of these different classes must be taken into account. The author has no faith in punishment as such but suggests certain "penal substitutes."

In the economic sphere he shows that certain measures have restricted crime, while other measures have increased it. Free opportunity to emigrate; relief works in time of famine; freedom in trade; restriction of the sale of alcohol, limited hours of work for responsible services; proper salaries for offices of trust; high and well-lighted roads; wide streets; airy dwellings; destruction of slums; these are

some of the social means whereby crime may be prevented. Cheap and easily obtained indemnity for losses due to the crimes of others, and the simplification of the law itself, are the principal legislative reforms required. While the prohibition of cruel spectacles, vulgar and sensual entertainments, and substituting for them of wholesome amusements and exercises; the physical education of the young and the boarding out of abandoned children, are other measures which act as penal substitutes. Such social reforms as these Ferri considers much more efficient in suppressing crime than the common modes of punishments.

In Chapter III, the author reviews the special practical reforms needed in prison and penal legislation. First, he would do away with the jury system for all common criminal offences, and the reasons he advances for this change are strong and conclusive. But before the jury system can be abolished, there must be established a judiciary which shall be independent and capable. The judges should be well trained in sociology, biology and psychology, and there should be experts in criminal anthropology. The experts should likewise be attached to the court, but there should be only one set and they should be in the employ of the state as a sort of commission. They should have but two things to determine: first, the guilt or innocence of the accused; and second, when guilty, the classification of the criminal; whether insane, born, professional, occasional, or led by passion. Having placed him in the proper category, the judge would simply turn him over to the institution provided for his treatment; for the insane criminal, the insane asylum; for the born or incorrigible criminal, an indefinite period of segregation in a penal colony. A lifelong term should be the rule in such cases, or at least segregation as long as the interests of society require it. For minor crimes, indemnity for the damage done, not so much to the state, but to the victim. This indemnity should be obtained from the criminal either by compulsory or voluntary work. Under the present system, if a man is robbed, the state usually pays the cost of prosecution and takes the value of the convict's labor, but the person robbed receives nothing for his loss in money and time. As Ferri well puts it, "If the individual ought always to be responsible for the crimes he commits, he ought always to be indemnified for the crimes of which he is the victim." Thus segregation for an indefinite period and indemnity are the two forms of punishment which the author believes in. This part of the work abounds with other practical suggestions which show the sound sense of the author. The state should insure its citizens against loss by crime as private companies now insure against loss by fire.

The death penalty Ferri finds impractical since, in order to be effective, it must be applied in a vigorous manner, and our modern civilization would not tolerate daily executions. This subject, which has been so often and so fully treated by writers on penology, is well summed up in a few pages. Criminals who act from passion, who commit violence out of a feeling of love or honor, are usually sufficiently punished by the remorse they suffer, and therefore for them Ferri recommends temporary removal from the scene of crime and some sort of reparation.

Such then are the practical suggestions made by Ferri in this part of the "Criminal Sociology." They are not especially novel, but the reasons with which the author backs up his recommendations and the careful consideration which he gives to the social causes of crime, are in striking contrast to those writers who have but one specific panacea to cure all diseases in all persons. "Criminal Sociology" unites the work of the Italian anthropologists with that of the French sociologists. Society makes many men criminals, but some men are criminal in any society, and by recognizing these two facts a proper philosophy of crime can be worked out. The translation is on the whole good, and it is to be regretted that any part of the original work was omitted.

M. V. BALL.

Philadelphia.

Hull House Maps and Papers. A presentation of nationalities and wages in a congested district of Chicago, together with comments and essays on problems growing out of the social conditions. By Residents of Hull House, a Social Settlement at 335 South Halstead street, Chicago. Pp. viii, 230. Price \$2.50. Special edition, with maps mounted on cloth, \$3.50. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1895,

Social Theory. A grouping of social facts and principles. By JOHN BASCOM. Pp. xv, 550. Price \$1.75. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1895,

Southern Side Lights. A picture of social and economic life in the South a generation before the war. By EDWARD INGLE, A. B. Pp. 373. Price, \$1.75. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1896.

Among the recent issues in the *Library of Economics and Politics*, edited by Professor Richard T. Ely, these three books are of most direct interest to students of sociology. Among others of sociological interest, Wines' "Punishment and Reformation" * and Warner's

* See ANNALS, Vol. vi., p. 516, November, 1895.

"American Charities" * have been reviewed elsewhere in the *ANNALS*. Eleven volumes have now appeared in this series. For the most part, the editor has well selected his material. No library dealing with these topics can afford to be without them, and the publishers are rendering a real service to the cause of economics in offering it in convenient and attractive volumes at a moderate cost.

"Hull House Maps and Papers" speak for themselves. The work has been done by several contributors and is interesting and valuable. The maps follow the coloring adopted by Charles Booth in his wages-maps, and the work is of equal excellence. Both the maps and the outline schedules as used by the United States Department of Labor, and also in the Hull House investigation, are full of valuable suggestions which teachers of social science and settlement workers will do well to study.

Agnes Sinclair Holbrook comments on the maps and groups their salient results. Florence Kelley, one of the Illinois State Inspectors of Factories, has a paper on the Sweating System, and conjointly with Alzina P. Stevens, another on "Wage Earning Children." Isabel Eaton, whose larger monograph on "Garment Trades" is a careful piece of work, has a chapter here on "Receipts and Expenditures of Cloakmakers in Chicago." Charles Zeublin a chapter on "The Chicago Ghetto;" Joseph H. Zeman on "Bohemian People in Chicago;" Julia C. Lathrop on "Cook County Charities;" Ellen Gates Starr on "Art and Labor," and Jane Addams concludes with a paper on "The Settlement as a Factor in the Labor Movement," and an appendix entitled "Hull House: a Social Settlement," being an illustrated sketch of Hull House which, in its reprinted form, has been widely circulated.

By far the most ambitious work that has thus far appeared in Professor Ely's series is that of Professor Bascom. He claims that it is independent of his earlier work entitled "Sociology," and that it is both a theoretical and practical treatise intended for the general student and not the specialist. The title, "Social Theory," is misleading, because if there is one defect more serious than another in the book it is the lack of any definite, clear theory about which to group the mass of social facts which the author has collected or probably transcribed from his class-room notes. So far as it is possible for the reader to supply a theoretical basis for Professor Bascom's opinions, which are freely expressed and for the most part characterized by calm judgment, good sense and a progressive spirit, it does not differ materially from the philosophy expressed in an earlier work on sociology and in his volumes bearing philosophical titles. It is the constant

* See *ANNALS*, Vol. v., p. 982, May, 1895.

confusion of the problems of economics, sociology and ethics that makes Professor Bascom's new book unsatisfactory. He regards sociology as the inclusive social science. To him the sociological problem is one of social control, not in the sense in which Professor Ross or Professor Patten would use the term, but in a sense that differs little from the problem of politics on its practical side, or from that of economics on its theoretical. He seems to regard the problem as one of class adjustment, assuming huger dimensions in proportion to the rapid exchange of wealth. The book is divided into five parts, treating of Customs, Economics, Civics, Ethics and Religion, each considered as a factor in sociology. These parts really constitute four more or less independent treatises. About fifty pages are devoted to Customs, which are defined as instinctive, unreasoned sanctions for action. Here and in the last chapter of the book on Sociology and Evolution is the only place we need look for a contribution to sociological theory, and we look in vain. A few suggestive remarks on the influence of customs, a fairly strong statement of the suffrage side of the woman question and the problem of divorce, and a mystical and hazy notion of what social evolution means is about all one gets from these pages. The reader may wonder what woman suffrage and divorce have to do with the subject outlined, but that is a sensation to which the author treats us frequently. Parts IV and V, on Ethics and Religion, may be mentioned together. They are both fragmentary and superficial discussions within the limits of sixty pages, of the nature of ethical law and of the growth of religion. That leaves the bulk of the book to be divided between the parts on Economics and Civics. In these sections, Professor Bascom has taken up most of the traditional topics in works on political economy and politics, and examined some of the postulates and results of both subjects in the light of social facts. His treatment of economics rarely suggests the use of the term in any broader sense than that of political economy. His definition of it is better than its use. "A deductive science," "treating of values simply," and "in connection with those primary impulses which give rise to them." From such phrases we can almost construct the definition, "Economics is the science of utilities," but further than this we find little trace of any influence from the newer subjective economics in Professor Bascom's pages.

If the statement that "In sociology we treat of production, distribution and exchange as modifying society and modified by it, as playing a part in the one whole of human welfare," is indicative of Professor Bascom's constructive thought in sociology, we prefer to adhere to his economics. In reality he has gathered together many interesting facts bearing on rent and population, on the growth of

agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, on labor, co operation, profit-sharing, etc., which he brings to bear in criticism of the classical political economy, without modifying it much in a constructive way. The part on Civics or Politics is more dogmatic, but contains some excellent suggestions of a practical nature on the new duties of the modern state, in relation to judicial procedure, railways, corporations and patents. Professor Bascom has a reputation of being an inspiring teacher, and we have no doubt that much of this volume, if presented to a class with the personal force of the living teacher, would stimulate thinking on a wide range of social topics.

In "Southern Side Lights" Mr. Ingle has attempted to write the history of a section of this country for a short period, somewhat after the model set by Professor John Bach MacMaster. Unfortunately for Mr. Ingle, Professor MacMaster's success is largely due to a wide mastery of sources, a brilliant style, and above all, a cautious and clever use of statistics. Mr. Ingle gives us, in a running story, a discussion of the traits of the Southern people, the cotton kingdom, phases of industry, trade, and commerce, educational and literary work, the politics of slavery, and the crisis with the North. The period covered is chiefly the decade 1850-60, with frequent references to the one preceding it. Little or no attempt is made to introduce economic or social theory in connection with the narrative. The author tells us that his "sources of information have been, with few exceptions, writings published before 1861." We find that so far as he quotes authorities, he rarely goes beyond the pages of De Bow's *Commercial Review*, and the *Southern Literary Messenger*. There is no reference to Frederick Law Olmsted's "Seaboard Slave States" (1856), "Journey through Texas" (1857), "Journey in the Back Country" (1860), or to his "Journeys and Explorations in the Cotton Kingdom" (1861, largely a condensation of the three former works), which so able an authority as Professor Albert Bushnell Hart regards as an indispensable source of information for the history of this period. Nowhere in Mr. Ingle's volume does one feel the thrilling scenes of Southern life as rendered by Mr. Olmsted in pages fresh from the daily records of a most exciting journey on horseback through this section. Nowhere does Mr. Ingle bring out the economic effects of slavery so strongly as does Mr. Olmsted in a "Letter to a Southern Friend."*

Mr. Ingle repels the general reader by a profuse and unsystematic use of statistics throughout the volume. The thoughtful student and the expert statistician will be sceptical as to the correctness of many of the figures quoted, and as to the value of some of the

* Pp. 27. Printed as an introduction to the volume "A Journey through Texas." 1857.

comparisons between North and South, where the "South" means "the territory occupied by fifteen states, including the District of Columbia, in which slavery was maintained as a distinct institution," and the "North," "the rest of the country." The chapters on "The Educational Situation" and "Literary Aspirations" are the best. The book as a whole is disappointing in its execution of what every historical student will regard as an interesting and important task.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

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The Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain. By S. H. JEVES. Pp. viii, 258. Price, \$1.25. New York: Frederick Warne & Co., 1896.

This sketch deals with the political life of the present Colonial Secretary. Mr. Chamberlain's parliamentary career began in 1876, when he was forty years old. Before that date he had taken an active part in municipal affairs of Birmingham, having been elected to the town council in 1869, and chosen mayor in 1873-74-75 successively. After amassing a fortune, Mr. Chamberlain retired from business in 1874 in order to devote his whole time to politics. He administered the city's affairs according to the business methods which he had so thoroughly and successfully applied in private life. Under the Chamberlain regime the city purchased the gas and water works, and established parks, free libraries and public baths, as well as various other institutions, which greatly enlarged the scope of municipal activity.

Mr. Chamberlain's rise in politics was rapid. Four years after entering the House of Commons he took a place in Mr. Gladstone's 1880 cabinet. In 1885, under the leadership of Mr. Chamberlain, the Radicals turned out the Conservatives and brought into power the first Home Rule administration. In this administration Mr. Chamberlain accepted a seat in the cabinet, which, however, he resigned six weeks later because he could not agree to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. There are three degrees of Home Ruleism: local self government; an Irish cabinet with a parliament subject to it; entire independence. Mr. Chamberlain has been a consistent believer in the first. In 1895 Mr. Chamberlain took office under the Salisbury Government, holding the important post of Secretary for the Colonies.

Thus in his party associations he has left the Radical wing of the Liberals to hold office under the Tories. This great change in party fealty, however, does not indicate a reversal of political views, for in these Mr. Chamberlain has changed but little. Backed by a large body of followers, he has given support to that administration most in accord with his views on certain great questions, such, for instance, as

free education, disestablishment, land tenure reforms, payment of members of parliament, improvement of laborers' dwellings, etc.

Mr. Jeyes' book is an interesting sketch of political movements in Great Britain during the last two decades. These movements are necessarily the background for his delineation of Mr. Chamberlain's political career, and in the main he allows the reader to draw his own inferences.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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Democracy and Liberty. By W. E. HARTPOLE LECCKY. 2 Vols., pp. 1169. Price, \$5.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896.

The announcement that we were to have an exhaustive analysis of democracy in its relation to liberty, from the pen of Mr. Lecky, had led us to expect a philosophical examination of that movement, which, perhaps, best characterizes the nineteenth century. To many students of politics the two volumes published under the above title will be a great disappointment. Instead of the expected philosophic work, we have been given a collection of notes which bear the appearance of a political handbook. While the author does not expressly identify himself with any of the great parties—his treatment of many questions occupying a middle position between the extremes of English political thought—the two volumes on “Democracy and Liberty” might well be adopted by the right wing of what was the Liberal Party before 1886, as their contribution to the collection of “Handbooks for Electors.” Viewed in this light the ten chapters into which Mr. Lecky's work is divided, might be a valuable aid to the intelligent citizen in search of facts. Had the work been received in this spirit in England and America, a lengthy examination of the author's views would hardly be necessary. It would occupy a place—and a most honorable one—amongst handbooks on practical political problems.

That this has not been the case is evident from the comments of the English periodical and daily press. Coming at a time when the extreme liberal or radical element in English politics has fallen into disfavor, when a conservative wave is sweeping over the country, the book is regarded by many as the summing up of the achievements of democracy and a fair account of the part which this form of government—for it is only as a form of government that the author regards democracy—is likely to play in the immediate future.

Whatever the author may have intended, the spirit in which the book has been received is likely to be productive of much harm, not

only in distorting the views of large classes as to the nature of democracy, but, what is probably far worse, in further confusing the notion of individual liberty—a notion none too clear at the present time.

The author's conception of democracy means nothing more than a "form of government." That it represents a stage in social evolution, an evolution which has found most distinct expression in the changes of governmental forms, is a thought entirely foreign to the work. The greater part, if not all, of the splendid results of recent research and scientific analysis which point out the difference between social development and political forms, is ignored. Democracy means primarily the democratic evolution of society. Democratic forms of government are the necessary results of such an evolution and cannot be judged simply as political devices. It was inevitable that the industrial and social changes of the present century should have brought with them the participation of an ever-increasing proportion of the population in the political life of the countries of western civilization. That this involves a change in the form of the state, in the nature of its problems, and in the seat of sovereignty, is equally clear; but these facts are scarcely hinted at. Government by the ignorant, unpropertied masses seems to summarize most accurately the author's view of the meaning of democracy. The broader aspects of the problem are equally ignored. The higher concept of social duty due to the broadening of political ideals, the growth of common national standards of right and wrong, the view that the state represents something more than a few wire-pulling individuals who direct affairs, are questions which find no place in the author's discussions. In speaking of Plato's political ideas, Jowett has said, "the magnificent treatment of the relation between the nature of the state and the nature of the individual" constitutes their lasting value. Judged by this standard, the present work has utterly failed to give an adequate treatment of the subject. It is the lack of this method that explains the absence of philosophic breadth of view and scientific depth of treatment. Whatever may be our attitude toward the democratic movement, we have advanced beyond the stage of regarding it as the rule of poverty over wealth and of ignorance over intelligence.

The author's antipathy to democratic tendencies is stamped on every page. The failure of democracy to solve any of the great problems of political or economic policy is the burden of his song. A special plea might be presented that the magnitude of the new problems of social legislation and the suddenness with which they have been thrust upon us, should be admitted as an extenuating circumstance; that these problems would have arisen and presented similar, if not greater difficulties, under any form of government. Mr. Lecky's

intimate acquaintance with the eighteenth century should have deterred him from making the many comparisons unfavorable to the nineteenth. Applying the Spencerian standard that "institutions are to be judged by their effect upon character"—a standard which the author impliedly accepts, the case against democracy is surely not as hopeless as eight of the ten chapters would lead us to suppose. His own previous publications furnish abundant material to show that the national sensitiveness to social wrongs, the higher concepts of social duty are products of the present century. All the sciences—the political and economic are pervaded with this new spirit. Rights and wrongs, utilities and disutilities, have come to be regarded from the standpoint of society rather than from that of the individual.

When we examine the author's views on the nature of liberty we find the same atmosphere as in his discussion of democracy. No conscious attempt is made to bring the two notions into direct relation one with the other, although the inferences to be drawn from the analysis of each are unmistakable. The absolute right to do as one chooses as long as direct physical interference with one's neighbor is avoided, is an idea which for some time has been relegated to the lumber-room of politics. Recent writers have very generally recognized that with the increasing complexity of economic conditions and relations, increased restriction upon individual activity in certain directions would become necessary. This does not necessarily imply a decrease in the actual content of such liberty. On the contrary, it means that to assure orderly and continuous social progress, new restraints must be established whenever and wherever old customs and habits are in conflict with new conditions. The rapid growth of large cities and the great mass of police regulations thereby rendered necessary, are sufficient proof of this fact. The degradation of large classes due to the lack of such regulations is one of the undisputed facts in the history of English municipal institutions. That this tendency has in no sense endangered individual liberty, but has tended to elevate the moral tone of the community and with it the potential freedom of the working classes, is hardly less evident. The experience of the last two decades has shown the immense educative value of such regulations. The legislation of England and America in this respect, and the growth of equity jurisprudence in both countries are exceedingly instructive in this connection. They are both distinct expressions of the transition from a negative to a more positive view of the authority of the community. In England this transition occurred later than in most of the countries of Western Europe, and when made, the conditions had already reached a point

where state regulation and supervision could no longer be fully effective. With the sudden extension of state and particularly municipal activity, many weaknesses were bound to show themselves. To rehouse the poor, to reconstruct whole cities, to introduce drainage, etc., were gigantic problems. The author has looked at but one side of the question, viz., the restrictions on individual activity which this involves. Its great social importance has escaped him.

But disregarding for the moment the question of the dangers of such increasing restrictions, we are brought to the central thought of the book—or at least what one would expect to be the central thought of the book, viz., the relation of liberty to democracy. In this the author gives us a classic instance of intellectual gymnastics. He has observed two movements going hand in hand—advancing democracy and increasing restrictions on individual action. Without any discussion as to the relation between the two, they are connected as cause and effect.

To this kind of reasoning one might very well reply that increased regulation does not necessarily imply decrease of liberty, and that under any form of government, or in any stage of social evolution in which great industrial changes have taken place, such as those of the present century, increased regulation would be necessary. Whether for good or evil, these regulations must not be charged to democracy, but to the changed conditions of social life. It is only fair to say that in treating concrete labor problems the author takes far more kindly to state regulation than in his theoretical discussions.

As a result of viewing democracy from its purely political side, and from but a portion of that combined with a mechanical theory of individual liberty, we are given no definite conclusions as to the nature and functions of the state and the real meaning of individual liberty, nor are we given any clue as to where the unhealthy development of both, which the author seems to take for granted, is to lead society.

In order to give some idea of the method of treating concrete problems let us take one or two involving the economic and political ideas of the author.

Of the former the most characteristic, illustrating Mr. Lecky's ideas both of democracy and liberty, is his treatment of taxation. In his premises he agrees entirely with Mr. Spencer that increasing taxation means a restriction of freedom by lessening the portion of individual earnings that may be expended as one chooses. To bring this question into relation with advancing democracy, the author endeavors to show that the purse-strings being in the hands of unpropertied classes, the willingness to incur large expenditure is almost unlimited. From this he concludes that democracy "means a constant increase of taxation which is in reality a constant restriction of liberty. One of the

first forms of liberty is the right of every man to dispose of his own property and earnings, and every tax is a portion of this money taken from him by the force and authority of the law. Taxation under a democracy is likely to take forms that are peculiarly hostile to liberty." * We have here the mediæval concept of taxation; a quota taken by force and for which there is little if any return. The historical fact that in the modern state increasing taxation has gone hand in hand with highly productive forms of public expenditure does not enter into the author's financial theories. It is hardly necessary to add that in these views Mr. Lecky finds himself at complete variance with all modern writers on finance. From the same premise of government by the unpropertied classes, the author is led to the conclusion that as the masses begin to realize that by a mere majority vote all financial obligations may be discharged, the legislative doctrine of the repudiation of public debts is likely to find an increasing number of adherents.

Another instance of the economic views of the author is to be found in his treatment of labor problems. Without any analysis of the economic relations involved, we are assured that "with an intelligent and provident working class the 'living wage' and the 'just wage' will be easily reached through the improved conditions of the market." †

Throughout the discussion of economic problems a negative attitude in treating questions of principle is apparent. A complete system of politics is summarized in the statement that "Society is a compact, chiefly for securing to each man a peaceful possession of his property," ‡ and as long as a man fulfills his part in the social compact his right to do what he wills with his inherited property—or for that matter any property which he may own—is not to be disputed.

When we examine Mr. Lecky's political views, the most characteristic factor is an unconquerable distrust of representative institutions, especially the growing ascendancy of the more popular branch of national legislatures. In fact, the chapter on this question is opened with the statement that "Of all forms of government that are possible among mankind, I do not know of any which is likely to be worse than the government of a single, omnipotent, democratic chamber." § It is this sentiment which is taken as the standard by which to judge the development of political institutions in Europe and America.

* Vol. i, p. 258.

† Vol. ii, p. 433.

‡ Vol. ii, p. 501.

§ Vol. i. p. 361.

With regard to the English Parliament the author finds much cause for complaint. He finds the model Parliaments in a period prior to the extension of the suffrage, and dates the decline of the House of Commons from such extension. The participation of an increasing proportion of the population in the political life of the country is given no social significance. In fact, it means nothing more than the injection of a great mass of ignorance into the body politic. "Nothing in ancient alchemy was more irrational than the notion that increased ignorance in the elective body will be converted into increased capacity for good government in the representative body." * This is bringing politics back to its old status of an analysis of purely governmental relations. The reaction of the governing on the governed, the political consciousness which this participation must develop in all classes of society, and the higher meaning which the state must acquire thereby, are factors which are completely disregarded. In placing the emphasis on the dangers which this extension of suffrage brings with it, the author is led to favor any device which will check the effective expression of the national will in positive legislation. He is thus led to favor a written constitution for Great Britain in order to secure property rights. In this the fact is apparently lost sight of that in another portion of the book the indifference to political life, which is characteristic of the well-to-do classes in America, is ascribed to the constitutional guarantees of property and liberty. The conclusions of the author are not surprising, however, when we stop to consider that his view of the state is that of a commercial corporation instituted for purposes of protection. From these criticisms it must not be inferred that the work of Mr. Lecky is devoid of all value. It contains a great mass of interesting information. Nor do all the chapters show the defects which we have had occasion to point out. On three points especially, the author's treatment is extremely lucid and satisfactory. In the discussion of the position of the church in the modern state, a remarkably clear appreciation of the relative importance of different religious forces is shown. The description of the position of woman in modern society shows the results of much careful thought and keen observation. Educational questions are also treated in a very much broader spirit than most of the other problems.

The note of warning which sounds throughout the book is not without value, but this would have been greatly increased had the author been more careful to keep the note clear and in harmony with recent scientific research. The experience of the present century is not of a kind to warrant the monotonously pessimistic conclusions

* Vol. i, p. 26.

which he has reached. Through this narrow view of democracy and his mechanical theory of liberty, Mr. Lecky has considerably diminished the value of his sermon to the democracy of the twentieth century.

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Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle. Contenant : 1° *La Géographie Physique* ; 2° *La Géographie Politique* ; 3° *La Géographie Économique* ; 4° *L'Ethnologie* ; 5° *La Géographie Historique* ; 6° *La Bibliographie.* Ouvrage commencé par VIVIEN DE SAINT-MARTIN, et continué par LOUIS ROUSSELET. 1879-1894. Seven volumes. Pp. I, 850; II, 1008; III, 1078; IV, 1052; V, 999; VI, 998; VII, 565. Price, 205 fr. Suppléments 1-2-3, each 80 pp. AA-Balkans. Price of each supplement 2 fr. 50c. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie.

The mere magnitude of such a work as the "*Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle*" must command the wonder of every one who examines the seven ponderous quarto volumes. In these seven volumes of about 1000 pages each, is contained as much material as could be put into something over 100 octavo volumes of 500 pages each, 350 words to a page. The first volume of the dictionary appeared in 1879 and the seventh was completed in 1894. The preparatory work must have antedated the appearance of the first volume by several years, so that it is no exaggeration to say that it is the product of twenty-five years of scientific labor. The editor down to 1890 was M. Vivien de Saint-Martin. His chief associate was M. Louis Rousselet, to whom the editorship fell when old age rendered M. Saint-Martin incapable of carrying on the work. Associated with these two geographers in the undertaking, was a large number of the scholars of France who are specialists in geography and in allied sciences. Besides the editor-in-chief no less than six of the most zealous collaborators died before the completion of the final volume.

The plan followed by the editors in constructing this Dictionary of Geography has not been to include a notice of all known places. In general, places with a population of less than 1000 have been omitted; deviations from this rule, however, have been frequently made whenever the importance of a place of less than 1000 inhabitants was unusually great because of historical reasons. Having thus limited within reasonable bounds the number of places noticed, the editors gave to each of the important countries and states of the world as complete a treatment as could be gotten within the space of an ordinary sized volume. A monograph has been devoted to each important

country. Each monograph discusses the country under six heads: Physical Geography, Political Geography, Economic Geography, Ethnology, Historical Geography, and Bibliography.

Under this comprehensive plan of treatment, it has been possible to present the geographical data in a most satisfactory manner. The physical, political and economic geography is treated comprehensively, but according to much the same scheme the gazetteers have followed in the past. In the matter of ethnology, this work goes far beyond anything attempted by other works. In this particular, the "*Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle*" makes a distinct contribution. Historical geography also has been emphasized more than it has been in the past. Perhaps the most satisfactory part of the plan, as it has been executed, is that of giving a very complete bibliography at the close of each important article. The editors say that there are in the seven volumes of the main body of the work 150,000 bibliographical insertions. There is nowhere else to be found such a complete geographical bibliography, classified in so satisfactory a manner. The editors deserve the thanks of every student of geography and allied sciences for this feature of the dictionary.

The main body of the work was completed in 1894, nineteen years after the actual preparation of the first volume began. During this time the progress of scholarship in geography and allied sciences was rapid. Inevitably, therefore, the earlier volumes of the work were considerably out of date when the last number issued from the press. Realizing this fact, the editors immediately on the completion of the main body of the work, began the publication of a comprehensive Supplement, which is now appearing in installments of eighty pages each, of which three have thus far come to hand. The articles in the Supplement are designed to bring the data presented in former volumes down to the present time; to give recent social and economic statistics; to continue the historical narrative, and to make note of all political changes that have occurred since the original articles were published. This, however, is by no means the chief purpose of the Supplement. The first aim has been to inculcate in it the results of the rapid progress which has been made in geographical knowledge, because of the direct study of that science and because of the advance which the sciences auxiliary to geography have made during the last two decades.

The nature of the Supplement is well illustrated by the article on "Africa," in which exploration and ethnology are given a place as prominent as that accorded to the record of political changes and the statement of the present position of European powers in Africa. Likewise the general articles on "America" and "Australia" devote

much space to ethnology. This is a side of geography that has been especially developed during the last two decades, and now for the first time it is possible for a comprehensive Dictionary of Geography to give anthropo-geography its proper rank. This anthropological side of geography is, however, not unduly emphasized in this latest and most exhaustive work, but merely given its proper place among other phases of the general subject. The treatment given to Africa in the Supplement would make a volume of 200 pages, 350 words to the page. The bibliography is carried out in an even more comprehensive manner in the Supplement than in the main body of the work.

It is most difficult to measure adequately the value and importance of such a great work as this "*Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle*." While its greatest service will be rendered to French scholars, because the work is in French and the bibliographical references to French works are more complete than the references to foreign works; still the work has been done in such a cosmopolitan manner that it will be hardly less useful to foreigners. Being published in the French language, it can be read by the scholars of every country. No one, of course, will expect to find, even in a dictionary of this size, an exhaustive treatment of special questions; but students of every phase of geography will find within the pages of this great work such a treatment as they will desire, unless their purpose be that of making a special and detailed study of certain topics. This dictionary supplemented by a comprehensive well-indexed atlas, will equip a library with a very satisfactory storehouse of geographical information. To criticise a work of this kind in detail is impossible. The general plan of the work is admirable, and it has been well executed. Editors, collaborators, publishers, and the public are each to be congratulated upon the completion of this comprehensive geographical treatise.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

Social Rights and Duties. By LESLIE STEPHEN. Two vols. Pp. 255, 267. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan & Co.

Made up chiefly of addresses delivered before the Ethical Societies of London, these volumes touch a variety of subjects, sometimes in an occasional way, often more seriously, but always suggestively. The greater number of the essays are ethical in their interest, viewing from an ethical standpoint the problems of competition and the struggle for existence, heredity, luxury and punishment. That on the "Sphere of Political Economy" presents a sweeping criticism of recent tendencies in economics. Mr. Stephen's idea is that the purpose of the science is to determine the play of economic forces in society. The

questions for it to answer are: What are the conditions of industrial equilibrium, and what measures are necessary to restore it when disturbed? Having limited the field in this way, he goes on to show that psychological considerations are of little use, and that mathematical formulæ are meaningless. Any formula which attempts to account for all the economic forces must be a function of so many variables as to be worthless; one which omits any forces for simplicity's sake must be inaccurate. But if the mathematical method fails, economics must become a part of sociology, or limit itself to statistical inquiry. As for the classical economists their systems furnished no general laws, but went to make up the prolegomena to the as yet unconstituted science of sociology.

While we may not feel disposed to agree with Mr. Stephen's conclusions as to the field of economics, it is interesting to note his opinions on one or two other recent discussions. He is not one of those who see in Mr. Kidd's "Social Evolution" the maker of a new epoch in thought. Mr. Kidd, he says, maintains that a little stupidity is a very good thing; that progress depends on the possession of ultra-rational, or perhaps irrational beliefs. The Greeks were more intellectual than ourselves; yet they died out. But Mr. Stephen objects to this argument. Are we to include among the Greeks any of the stupid Bœotians or the slaves? There is not enough known about them to warrant such a generalization. Even admitting for a moment that they had a greater proportion of great men, it is not proved that the average was higher. Neither is it justifiable to say that the Greeks perished because of defective altruism. The Romans were certainly no better endowed, yet they overpowered the Greeks. It is impossible to divine the causes of the success or decay of a race from any such sweeping generalizations about ill-defined qualities. Mr. Kidd does not take into account the influence of the Greek environment. He states his facts so vaguely as to leave no distinct problem before the reader. And the book is a good illustration of the results that come from rashly applying somewhat doubtful formulæ to new and complex questions. The greater part of Mr. Stephen's essay on "Hereditry" is taken up with a discussion of other weak points in the book.

Among the other essays should be noted that on the "Vanity of Philosophizing," in which Mr. Balfour's "Foundations of Belief" passes under review. This book, it would seem, does not yield so easily to attack, for the criticism is hardly as satisfactory as the last.

The volumes as a whole contain ideas which are well presented, timely and worthy of attention.

W. H. SCHOFF.

Philadelphia.

Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History.

By STEPHEN B. WEEKS. Pp. xiv, 400. Price, \$2. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Extra Vol. XV.)

In its patient research among original records and rare books, its dispassionate statement of the facts ascertained, and its generally lucid style and orderly arrangement, this forms a valuable contribution to the institutional history of the old states of the South. Though Dr. Weeks is not a Friend, he has entered upon his study of the Friends' history with a large measure of sympathy, and has dealt with the subject in a manner which entitles him to their thanks.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading. It is not merely a history of the relations of the Southern Friends to the institution of slavery, but a practically complete history of the Friends in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

The chief features in the experience of the Friends in the South have been their beginnings, which were accompanied by more or less persecution; their growth, partly by immigration directly from England, but much more by that great south-moving stream of migration starting from Pennsylvania early in the eighteenth century; their various difficulties under the pressure of demands for military service, church tithes, etc.; their economic and social struggle with the institution of slavery; their great movement, about the beginning of the present century, to Ohio and Indiana; the injury done them by the divisions in the Society, in 1827; their almost complete ruin during the shock of the Civil War; and lastly their recovery of courage and revival of strength since that time. All these Dr. Weeks has dealt with very thoroughly, and the work done in his book furnishes a safe authority for future writers.

Elizabeth Harris, a Friend from London, visited Virginia in 1656,—the year when Quakerism first appeared in America, and Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, the pioneers of the society here, were imprisoned and expelled at Boston. Josiah Cole (or Coale), and Thomas Thurston came in 1657 on a religious visit, and from that time there were a number of persons holding Friends' views in the coast region of Virginia. They were numerous enough by 1660 to be persecuted by Governor Berkeley, and to be stigmatized by name, in a cruel act of the Colonial Assembly (probably copied from that of Massachusetts, 1658), which provided imprisonment, deportation, and other punishment for all those "commonly called Quakers." In 1672, about May, William Edmundson, being on a religious journey in Virginia, went into Albemarle, in the northeast corner of the present State of North Carolina, and there found Henry

Phillips, a Friend, living on Perquimans River, where the town of Hertford now stands. By the labors of William Edmundson,—though he remained in that neighborhood but three days,—and those of George Fox, who visited this part of North Carolina a few months later, there were a number of converts among the settlers, and from this beginning the Society has had a continued existence in that state. In 1700, the Friends formed the largest body of Dissenters in Virginia and the Carolinas.

The movement from the northern colonies began about 1725. It started from Pennsylvania, showed first in Maryland, and had reached the Shenandoah Valley, at Hopewell, in 1732. Moving, later, into Southern Virginia, and thence to Surry, Stokes, Guilford, Alamance, Chatham, and Randolph Counties, North Carolina, it passed much diminished into South Carolina and Georgia. "This southward-moving tide of Quaker migration," says Dr. Weeks, "is almost identical in character, as it is in time, with the movement of the Scotch-Irish. It started from the same province, Pennsylvania; it moved over the same territory, and it has left its indelible impress on much of this territory. It did not have a southern wing coming in at Charleston, as did the Scotch-Irish; it did not spread over the whole country; but it also stood for education, morality and religion; it did not bring the sword, and it did not seek political advancement."

The greatest strength of the Friends in the four states was probably just before the Revolutionary War. They suffered in that convulsion—as is usual with them in such times—in two ways: by distress and loss of property, if they adhered to peace principles, and by severance from the Society if they took up arms. Dr. Weeks, with great industry, has formed very complete lists, and a tabular statement, of all the Friends' meetings in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee, which he ascertains ever to have existed. Altogether, he finds that there have been 257 "particular meetings," (*i. e.* separate places of worship), of which 178 have been laid down, and 79 continue. These 79 meetings are divided: Virginia, 16; North Carolina, 56, and Tennessee, 7. No meetings now remain in South Carolina or Georgia.

The opening of the Northwestern Territory to settlement caused a general and almost complete exodus of the Friends from the South to the new lands north of the Ohio. They literally fled from contact with slavery to enjoy the conditions of freedom. The movement fairly began about 1800, and continued for almost half a century. Dr. Weeks shows with precision its extent and character in his narrative, and in a table made from the minutes of 11 monthly meetings in Virginia, 15 in North Carolina and 13 in South Carolina and

Georgia, giving the number of certificates of removal in the period between 1800 and 1860. In these meetings, in the sixty years, there were 2178 certificates thus granted, of which probably two-thirds, say 1400, represented not individuals but families. Altogether, it is estimated that 6000 Friends of both sexes and all ages thus migrated between 1800 and 1860 from the four states to Ohio and Indiana. Of the 30 monthly meetings included in Dr. Weeks' table, 12 were ended outright by the departure of members, and later others were "laid down" because of their weakness due to this cause. In South Carolina and Georgia the exodus was complete, and the Society in those states ceased to exist. The movement was stimulated by exciting features. Large importations of slaves were being made by the rich planters, in anticipation of the limiting date (1808) in the national constitution, and the Friends' testimony against slavery daily became more unpopular and difficult of maintenance. Zachariah Dicks, a Friend of Cane Creek, North Carolina, who had been to Europe, 1784-87, visited the South Carolina meetings between 1800 and 1804. "He was thought to have also the gift of prophecy. The massacres of San Domingo were then fresh. He warned Friends to come out of slavery." His preaching produced, a local account says, "a sort of panic," and the Friends departed in a body. "They sold their lands, worth from ten to twenty dollars per acre, for from three to six dollars, and departed never to return." Their descendants may be found now by thousands in the central West and the newer states which are its children. Secretary Stanton was the grandson of Benjamin Stanton, a North Carolina Friend, and Secretary Windom is descended from the Spencers, who were Friends in eastern Virginia.

The Civil War, as has been said, almost destroyed the remnant of the Southern Friends. Since it closed, earnest efforts have been made to rebuild the Society, especially in North Carolina, and material progress has been made. Dr. Weeks calls it, in a chapter heading, "The Renaissance of North Carolina Yearly Meeting." Peace and the abolition of slavery have made conditions in which success has become possible.

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NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

AMERICAN CITIES.

New York City.—The decision of the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court on the Report of the Rapid Transit Commissioners, offers an excellent instance of the far-reaching powers exercised by American courts in the decision of non-judicial questions. In fact, an examination of the history of the case will show that after long discussion in the State Legislature, an overwhelming decision by the people and a favorable report by one of the most able commissions in the history of the state—all in favor of the construction of a rapid transit system by the municipality, we have an adverse decision by the court; a decision involving no questions of law, but pure questions of fact which ordinarily come within the province of legislative assemblies. It is true that the decision is not adverse to every scheme for rapid transit, but only to the particular scheme submitted by the Commissioners.

In accordance with the terms of the Rapid Transit Act of 1894, a Board of Rapid Transit Commissioners was appointed to inquire into and adopt a route and general plan for a rapid transit system. In order that the plan thus adopted should be valid it was provided that the Commissioners should obtain the consent of all property owners along the line of the proposed railway. This the Commissioners were unable to obtain. It was then provided by the act that in such case, application to the General Term of the Supreme Court should be made for the appointment of commissioners to take testimony and report to the court upon the advisability of constructing such a railway. The report of this special commission was presented to the court on March 6, 1896, and was unanimously in favor of a plan to build an underground railway extending from Battery Place through Broadway on Fourteenth street; thence dividing, one branch extending up Broadway and under the Boulevard to One Hundred and Eighty-fifth street, and on the East side extending from Fourteenth street through Fourth and Park avenues to Mott Haven. The maximum cost was to be fifty million dollars (\$50,000,000), and work was not to be begun until the contractor to whom the work of construction was awarded should file bonds protecting the city against any outlay beyond this maximum. After many months of careful research and testimony by acknowledged experts, it would seem that the decision of the Commission would be

regarded as final by the court. In the decision, however, the court rejects its conclusions. All the arguments in favor of a scheme of rapid transit are fully conceded and the court takes particular pains to lay stress upon the fact that its opposition is not based upon any views antagonistic to rapid transit schemes in general. The unanimous opinion of the court points to the uncertainty of the financial estimate of the Commission, and upon the ground that this uncertainty would endanger the whole scheme, rejects the plan submitted to it. The opinion seems to disregard the fact that the maximum contract price was fixed at \$50,000,000, and arguing by analogy from other public works arrives at the conclusion that the present scheme would cost much more—probably \$90,000,000. This would take the city far beyond its constitutional debt limit, and thus endanger the whole scheme. The court here takes occasion to give the city a lecture on sound financiering. Another objection to the scheme as emphasized in the opinion, is the fact that the plans only extend to One Hundred and Eighty-fifth street, and thus fail to reach the city limits. This objection has been much criticised, inasmuch as the question of extension is merely one of time, the plans as at present drawn, giving possibility of developing the system indefinitely.

The decision being upon a question of fact is final, as the Court of Appeals will only take cognizance of questions of law. The probabilities are that a new plan will be framed by the Rapid Transit Commission, and the same procedure adopted as in the present case. The attitude of the Supreme Court being known, it will be possible to outline a plan in accordance with these views. The creation of "Greater New York" will be distinctly favorable to the elaboration of a far larger scheme giving the newly incorporated sections easy and rapid access to all parts of the city.

Small Parks. The effects of the Small Parks Act are making themselves evident in a large number of plans for breathing spaces in different parts of the city, but especially the lower East side. We have already had occasion to refer to the Mulberry Bend Park* which was the result of long years of effort.

At a recent meeting of the Board of Street Opening a number of plans were approved. The most important of these, viewed from the probable good to be effected, is the park to be constructed on the East side to include the two blocks bounded by Pitt, Sheriff, Stanton and Houston streets. The cost of this park will be about \$3,000,000.

Another plan which is to be carried into execution as soon as

* See ANNALS, Vol. v, p. 802, March, 1895.

practicable, is a small park for the West side, covering the block bounded by Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth streets, and Ninth and Tenth avenues. The cost of this park will be over \$4,000,000, one-third of which is to be paid by assessments upon the adjacent property benefited.

At the same meeting, the Mayor's Committee on Small Parks* reported unanimously in favor of an additional small park for the East side, to include the three blocks bounded by Canal street, East Broadway, Jefferson, Suffolk, Hester and Essex streets. This will be a very expensive piece of work, but the people of the city, as well as the authorities, seem determined to open up some of the more densely crowded sections in this way. In this work the State Legislature has played no unimportant part; having several times compelled the city to appropriate large sums for this purpose.

Tenement Houses.† The present condition of the proceedings instituted by the Board of Health in relation to the condemnation of unsanitary tenement houses in this city, is such that it is impossible to give final results. The Board of Health, under the new tenement house law, passed in 1895, has condemned a number of rear tenements. The owners are contesting the proceedings on various grounds—some on constitutional grounds. A decision was handed down by Justice Lawrence of the Supreme Court of Appeals on July 20, in which he incidentally affirms the constitutionality of the act, but he thinks that it is essential that certain changes shall be made in the petition of the Board of Health. Under Judge Lawrence's decision it seemed to be necessary to offer to buy the houses, and they are now going through this form. It seems probable, however, that the Board of Health will be successful in these cases as it was in its contention with Trinity Church corporation, which resulted in the opinion written by Judge Peckham, then of the Court of Appeals, now of the United States Supreme Court; which opinion may be said to constitutionalize modern sanitary legislation.

Boston.‡—The new provision of the city charter extending the mayor's term to two years went into effect this year, and on the first Monday of the month the Hon. Josiah Quincy, the third mayor of that name, became the city's chief magistrate.

Two important steps taken by the Mayor are based upon practically the same principle that in Berlin gives something like 10,000 persons a share in the government of the city through voluntary

* Mr. James B. Reynolds is chairman of this committee.

† Communication of R. W. Gilder, Esq.

‡ Communication of Sylvester Baxter, Esq.

service on advisory committees, etc. The first of these was the constitution of the "Merchants' Municipal Committee of the City of Boston." This body is purely a personal creation of the Mayor and formed under no legal authority. But so useful has it already proven that it will probably continue as a regular institution of the municipal government. It is composed of seven members from the six leading trade organizations; two from the Associated Board of Trade, and one each from the Chamber of Commerce, the Clearing House Association, the Merchants' Association, the New England Shoe and Leather Association, and the Real Estate Exchange. The members are chosen by their respective associations. They are not necessarily citizens of Boston, and since the organizations contain numerous members who live out of town, and chiefly in the suburbs, persons who are non-residents, but have large property and business interests in Boston, are thus given an indirect but powerful voice in the municipal government. The committee meets with the Mayor every Tuesday. Among the important subjects which it has considered have been the improvement of the harbor, railway terminals, school sanitation and tax reform. Largely through its influence and activity the national government has appropriated \$1,400,000 for harbor improvement; the reformation of the railway terminals on the south side of the city has been determined on and two great union stations are to be built; \$300,000 has been appropriated for the proper sanitation of the public schools; and the Legislature has authorized a special commission to consider the question of taxation. The committee is, of course, non-partisan. Four of its members are Republicans, and this fact has obtained favorable legislative consideration for matters which otherwise might be viewed with prejudice, the administration being Democratic.

The other step is the constitution of a Board of Visitors for the Public Institutions. This body is composed of representatives from various philanthropic, charitable and public organizations, like the Associated Charities, the Municipal League, the Twentieth Century Club, etc. The various bodies send the names of two or four suggested representatives to the Mayor, according to the size or importance of the organization, and from these the Mayor chooses one or two representatives from each. The members are to visit and study the various public institutions from time to time and report the result of their observations to the Mayor, who thus obtains the aid of the best thought on the subject. Both men and women serve on this board.

Still another application of this principle of voluntary co-operation with the Mayor on the part of citizens was that in relation to public

baths. The Mayor appointed a committee of citizens, representing various philanthropic interests and trade organizations to consider the subject. A valuable report was made and a comprehensive system was recommended. An appropriation of \$65,000 was made by the City Council for the erection of the first bath-house and the Mayor entrusted the same committee of citizens with the selection of the site and plans, and supervision of building. The bath-house is to be built on Dover street, at the south end, convenient to a large tenement district. The land costs \$15,000; the building, \$50,000. It is to be a "cleanliness bath;" swimming baths are recommended, but they will come later.

The adjacent town of Brookline was the first to adopt the principle of all-the-year-round public baths, and last year authorized the erection of a fine bath-house to include a swimming bath. The first winter public bath in Boston was established by the Park Commission last winter, which successfully made the experiment of opening free to the public the fine bathing facilities of the gymnasium at Charlesbank. Boston was the first American city to establish free summer baths; for over twenty-five years there have been many of these at various points along the water front; one, a beach bath for nude bathing, is the most popular in the country. These summer baths are in charge of the Board of Health. This year the Park Department opened a great beach bath at Marine Park, with over 900 dressing-rooms.

Last year the City Architect's Department was abolished by the Legislature. Mr. Edmund M. Wheelwright, who had been city architect since 1890, and had, by his work, given Boston the highest standing among American cities for the character of its civic architecture, favored the abolition of the department only on condition that the office of Advisory Architect be constituted, to pass upon all plans and designs for public edifices. This was not done and the architectural work of the city lapsed into a chaotic condition. A machine politician, who had been proven guilty of malfeasance in office while city architect, was even entrusted with some important municipal commissions. Mr. Wheelwright favored the abolition of the office on account of the unstable tenure and the possibility of unsatisfactory results from arbitrary changes with changes of administration. But while he was in charge, the city's expenses for architecture were much below the average of private offices. This year Mayor Quincy constituted the office of Advisory Architect and appointed Professor Chandler, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to the position. Each executive department employs its own architect and the plans and designs must be approved by the Mayor before they

can be carried out. As the Mayor cannot be expected to possess the necessary technical knowledge for passing upon such work, his approval would have to be a mere matter of form, if he did not consult professional authority. His advisory architect, therefore, very properly receives his compensation from the Mayor's contingent fund. This precedent will doubtless be followed by succeeding mayors, and the result will naturally be the maintenance of a high standard in civic architecture. If architectural work be undertaken outside of any regular department the present law authorizes the Mayor to entrust it to whom he may see fit. It was under this provision that he recently authorized the citizens' committee to take charge of building the new public bath.

This year's Legislature passed a law requiring an entirely new registration of the voters of Boston. It was charged that over 4500 names were fraudulently on the voting lists. It will make much trouble for foreign-born citizens, for proofs of naturalization must be produced. The general registration must be repeated every ten years. The cost this year will be about \$100,000.

For several years the election of the Board of Aldermen has been under the "limited choice" system. No voter may cast a ballot for more than seven candidates of the twelve to be elected. The practical working proved very bad, for each of the two parties would make but seven nominations, thus assuring the election of twelve out of the fourteen candidates. Efforts for improvement, including a true system of minority representation, having been unavailing, the Municipal League this year proposes to nominate a ticket of its own and thus, if possible, break up the bi-partisan combination.

Brookline has just constituted an Art Commission which has functions in advance of those of the Boston board. It passes not only upon sculptures, paintings, etc., for public buildings and places, but also upon architectural design in public work. It was originally proposed to extend this scope to all architecture. The Commission was to examine the designs for all buildings in the town, and if these were offensive to good taste the inspector of buildings, by request of the board, was to refuse a permit. In town meeting, however, this struck a majority of voters as an undue interference with individual rights. The office of the board in this respect was, therefore, restricted to moral suasion. It apparently needs considerable education to bring even a cultivated American community to comprehend that a public nuisance, offensive to the eye, is as reprehensible as one that affronts the ear or the nostrils.

The Legislature this year appropriated for the work of the

Metropolitan Park Commission, \$1,000,000 for public reservations, and \$500,000 for boulevards and parkways in the metropolitan district.

The joint board upon the improvement of Charles River, consisting of the Metropolitan Park Commission and the State Board of Health, has followed its report on the estuary of the river, by one devoted to the fresh water reaches in the metropolitan district. The question has a sanitary as well as recreative aspect, for the changing level of the water produces malaria to a serious extent. It is recommended that all this portion of the stream be made a part of the Metropolitan Park system; that through the warm months the water level be made as nearly permanent as possible; that arrangements be made for the convenient transfer of boats over the dams; that certain lands on the banks be taken for recreative purposes, and that rights be taken in all the remaining frontage to prevent obnoxious uses.

San Francisco.*—The tax levy for 1895-96 was the largest in the history of this city. Upon a valuation of \$327,000,000, the levy for city and county purposes was 1.56½ on each \$100, and the rate for state taxes being 0.68½ the total rate was \$2.25. When the time came for payment there was general dissatisfaction, quite as much from the advocates of the "improvements" which were to make San Francisco another Paris at once, as from the cooler headed enemies of them. Yet those who handle the people's money are friends of a large levy, as is shown by the fact that when the estimates for the coming year were handed in by the heads of the several departments, a number of them exhibited a generous increase over the present year. Thus the street department asked for an increase of a round million of dollars, the public school department added fifty per cent, while the fire department was equally watchful. This alarmed the county grand jury, while the Merchants' Association, the Civic Confederation and the Non-partisan County Committee were deeply concerned. As a result, the Superintendent of Streets went before the Grand Jury and stated that he had asked for a million increase because it would be necessary, if he were to do all that was asked of him, but that he might get along with what he had last year. The School Department has not yet been heard from, and it is one of the departments which relies upon public sentiment to support its claims.

The new levy for 1896-97 has not yet been determined, but there will be some new features in the valuation. The city and county assessor was arrested recently upon the complaint of a citizen and charged with perjury, in that he had last year assessed the property

* Communication of I. T. Milliken, Esq.

and franchises of the Market Street Railway Company, which controls nearly all our street railway systems, at less than four million, while the company has \$17,500,000 of outstanding bonds. The assessor has been released by the court, but the assessment has been raised. A similar step has been taken in regard to the franchises and property of other corporations.

Cincinnati.*—Two questions, important to Cincinnati, have been settled this summer: the city will build a new and costly waterworks and the Southern Railway will not be sold.

The last Legislature passed an act which provided for the building of a waterworks by a board of commissioners, appointed by the Governor, the board being given complete control of the work. The commissioners have power to let the contract for the building of the works as an entirety, or in sections, as they may deem it best, or they may contract for the building of the entire plant and lease the same from the builders for a period of forty years, with the privilege of purchase at the end of every ten years. The commissioners may issue city bonds to the extent of \$6,500,000, for which the plant itself, as well as the credit of the city, is to be pledged. The Governor has appointed a commission of five, three Republicans and two Democrats. The Republican members are all well-known local politicians and are closely connected with the dominant political ring. For this reason the legality of the measure was called into question, but on July 28th last the Circuit Court sustained the law, and it is now generally believed that the Supreme Court will affirm this decision.

All citizens concede the necessity of a better and purer water supply, but the majority would prefer to have the *personnel* of the commission of a character calculated to disarm all criticism. It is to be hoped, however, that this city may escape the usual consequences attendant upon work contracted for and carried on under political supervision, and that Cincinnati may obtain an efficient and sanitary water supply.

The Sale of the Southern Railway.—In 1869 the electors of the city of Cincinnati authorized the construction of a railway from Cincinnati to Chattanooga, Tenn. This road was built by the city at a cost of \$18,400,000, which sum is represented by four issues of bonds, as follows: \$10,000,000, due in 1902; \$6,000,000, due in 1906; \$2,000,000, due in 1908 and 1909; \$300,000, due in 1911 and 1917; \$100,000, perpetual leases, at 6 per cent, upon which the gross interest and rent charge is \$1,272,584 annually. To-day the bonds outstanding on account of the Southern Railway are \$17,009,700.

In 1893 the company, which is at present operating the road under a lease from the city, was placed in the hands of a receiver, who has

*Communication of Max B. May, Esq.

been compelled to issue over \$162,000 of receiver certificates to pay the rental and make necessary repairs, and there was danger of a default. In order to avoid the evil consequences of a forfeiture of the lease the Sinking Fund Trustees, by virtue of authority vested in them under a law passed in 1887, negotiated for the sale of the road. The following offer was accepted and recommended to the electors for approval: to pay in gold coin \$19,000,000 on October 1, 1896, with interest in gold coin from October 1, 1896, at 4 per cent per annum, payable semi-annually; payment to be secured by mortgage on the road and equipment; (2) to pay in cash \$1,440,000 in quarter yearly instalments of \$60,000 each, beginning October 1, 1896; (3) to pay in cash a sum equal to 10 per cent of gross earnings of the road in excess of \$4,500,000 after 1902; (4) to expend annually for eight years not less than \$250,000 in betterments; (5) the \$19,000,000 shall be evidenced by such negotiable securities as the Sinking Fund Trustees shall prescribe, to be used and applied only in payment of the city's debt on account of the road, that is, a lien on the property; (6) a sinking fund is to be established, after 1902, of an amount sufficient, if invested at 4 per cent interest, to retire all of the \$19,000,000 in or before 1996.

This offer was made by Messrs. A. B. Andrews and Henry A. Taylor, individually, but with the intention of transferring their interests to a corporation to be organized under the laws of one or more of the States of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, for the purpose of operating said line of railway, "*and when such corporation shall have been organized to the satisfaction of the trustees, it is their intention to transfer to it all their rights under this offer, or its acceptance; whereupon their individual rights, interests and liabilities under this offer and its acceptance, and the contracts in pursuance thereof, shall vest in, and rest upon, the said corporation alone.*"

The Sinking Fund Trustees, believing that the offer was *bona fide* and in the interest of all, accepted the same. Suit was immediately instituted to restrain them from carrying out the proposition, but the Supreme Court upheld the action of the trustees, and in pursuance with their request, the Mayor called a special election for August 3, 1896, when the question was submitted to the voters. The submission of this offer to the people called forth much discussion pro and con. Pamphlets, circulars, personal appeals, interviews, were the order of the day. The main objection to the sale was the fact that no actual cash was to be paid.

The vote was extremely light, being only 31,324, of which 15,493 were in favor of the sale and 15,831, a majority of 338, against the measure. The usual city vote is 70,000 and more. Many ballots had to be discarded for irregularity in making them up. If the evil

consequences predicted occur, the tax rate will be greatly increased, but for the present, at least, Cincinnati remains the owner of the Cincinnati Southern Railway.

FOREIGN CITIES.

Edinburgh.—*Improvement Scheme.* Profiting by the experience of Glasgow, Edinburgh is about to inaugurate a new plan for the improvement of the slum districts. In some respects Edinburgh has been the pioneer in this movement for as early as 1866 a special act of Parliament was obtained for the purpose of acquiring by compulsory purchase certain unsanitary districts. Under this act some \$3,000,000 was expended and some of the very worst sections improved. There still remained a very large district where the congestion was greater than in any other city of Western Europe. This was due partly to historical considerations, partly to the peculiar position of Edinburgh. The old town had clustered itself about the castle and the city walls cramped it into a space less than half a mile wide. As a result the rapidly increasing population found accommodations in tenements, ten and twelve stories high. The hilly ground upon which Edinburgh is built made it necessary to build high on certain sides. Many buildings are four-stories high in the façade on one street, while the rear portion, facing another street, may be ten or more. Furthermore the system of building up the "closes" or portions usually reserved as back yards greatly increased the congestion. With the extension of the city limits, the congestion was somewhat relieved, but the central sections of the old town still remain in a greatly overcrowded condition. To deal with this problem will require the expenditure of large sums of money, as the property in question is extremely valuable. The city has, under special powers given to it by Parliament and also under the general act known as the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890, taken some five or six sites by compulsory or amicable purchase. The total area of these is but little over thirteen acres. While this will do but little to relieve the situation, steady work of this kind must make its effects felt in the course of time. It would seem that what is most needed at present is a system of rapid transit which would enable the working classes to find homes in the suburban districts. The present horse car system is entirely inadequate to meet this need. The city owns the tracks and leases them to a private company. This company is about to convert the motive power from horse to cable which will do something toward spreading the population. As long, however,

as the lines do not extend in every direction, the central districts will show all those elements of overcrowding—degradation, debauchery, drunkenness and vice in every form—characteristic of certain sections of the city. Until some such plan is adopted, the eradication of fever in more malignant forms will be an impossibility. The beauty of the city itself, its favorable situation and other advantages call loudly for some radical remedies for this one evil.

As to the property with which the city is at present dealing, the report of the city engineer gives some interesting information. The actual work of clearing the worst areas has begun in two places. The scheme includes 130 dwellings in six different areas. The procedure of acquiring property of this character has been greatly simplified and the financial position of the municipality in determining the price, greatly improved by the provisions of the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890. By the terms of this act it has become possible to take into consideration the improper use of property, its unsanitary condition and the rack-renting usually attendant in tenement rentals in arriving at an estimate of the value. In this work the city has two distinct problems in hand. The first is the acquisition of property for the purpose of widening streets, for which purpose some \$3,000,000 is to be expended. Of this sum over \$230,000 has been recently applied. The other is the destruction of slum areas for the purpose of constructing workingmen's dwellings. To this nearly \$500,000 has been appropriated and \$215,000 expended. The high price of property thus acquired will make it necessary to construct tenement houses at least five stories high. The plans for new constructions have already been completed on this basis. Every requirement of modern sanitary science has been complied with, special stress being laid upon unobstructed ventilation of each apartment from front to rear.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

Potato-farms for the Poor in Berlin.*—The authorities in charge of poor relief in Berlin have for a number of years assisted needy families by allowing them the use, at about half cost, of allotments of land for potato raising. This is not considered as city relief, though the recommendations for admission are made by the district poor commissioners on the ground that otherwise relief would probably be needed in the course of the winter. Persons who have already had allotments, or who have a large number of children and can therefore use the potatoes for their own home consumption, have the preference.

The latest complete statistics appear to be those for 1894. In that year sixteen pieces of land, lying to the east, northeast and north, mainly within the city limits and in the vicinity of workingmen's quarters, were hired for this purpose and provided 2600 lots of 400 square metres each. These were divided by lot among the applicants from the corresponding parts of the city, so that no one had far to go to his bit of land.

The payment required for the use of a lot, ready ploughed and manured, is seven and a half marks (\$1.87), to be paid in five installments, one on receipt of the potatoes for planting and the rest monthly, beginning with the first of May. The applicant fills out a blank (giving name, address, rent, wage, former allotment, if any, relief, number of children and name of person recommending), and receives a paper giving full directions as to payments, method of cultivation and obligations incurred.

The potatoes for seed (75 kilograms) must be called for within a fortnight after the drawing of lots; they must not be taken home, but carried direct to the field. Some difficulty is caused by the inclination of many to eat the potatoes instead of planting them.

The planting must be done according to the inspector's directions and the planting of earlier varieties of potatoes or of anything but potatoes is forbidden. Careful instructions are given as to weeding, hoeing and so forth. In case of inability to do the work at the right time the inspector can have it done at the charge of the lot holder. When the potatoes begin to ripen a field watchman is put on duty, and persons are admitted to lots only on presentation of a paper and during daylight hours. The holders are notified when to harvest and must do so within a fortnight. Each must measure his crop and notify the

* This note is contributed by Miss Emily Greene Balch.

inspector of the amount. It is intended to have the potatoes used for family consumption, and their sale is accordingly forbidden.

The inspector speaks, on the whole, favorably of the work done, though there are always certain individuals "who make life a hell." The born Berliners are said to be far more satisfactory and efficient than those who have come to the city from country districts.

According to the figures for 1894, 2644 families at first applied for the 2600 lots, but 152 afterward withdrew so that 108 were, on their desire, granted a second lot. The 2492 families represented 15,542 persons, of whom 8993 were children under fourteen, giving an average of 6.2 persons and 3.6 children to each family. In 154 cases there was a failure to pay the required sums, but in 123 of these the crop was not declared forfeited in consideration of their urgent need. Thirty-three lots were dropped by the holders and cultivated for the benefit of the undertaking by the authorities. The remaining 2567 lots yielded 1,761,140 kilograms or nine times the amount planted.

Reckoned at the average November price (five marks for 100 kilograms) this gives 88,057 m., which sum, less 18,532 m. paid in, gives the cultivators a return on their labor of 69,525 m. or 26.74 m. (about \$6.50) per lot. The cost borne by the community was 17,792 m., of this 52 m. was met by a legacy. The Poor Board therefore paid out 17,740 m. or 6.82 m. per lot. Reckoning this together with the cultivator's payments as cost, the proceeds of the labor amounted to about 20 m. per lot.

The inspector reports for 1895—fifty hours of labor spent on the average on each lot beside one day for harvesting. If we call the time sixty hours the return was 33 pfennigs for an hour's labor, which for otherwise unemployed time, and a presumably poor grade of workers must, in comparison with prevailing Berlin wages, be considered favorable.*

Poor Relief in Holland.—The Netherlands Society for Political Economy and Statistics is engaged in an extensive investigation into the care of the poor in Holland. It has published a first installment relating to the city of Rotterdam,† accounts of other cities being in preparation. This is a careful account of all the agencies at work in Rotterdam, religious and philanthropic as well as governmental, for the alleviation of the condition of the poor. It gives a detailed statement of some sixty-eight such agencies, an account of their

* According to official statistics for Berlin, the weekly wage of a day laborer in May, 1887, was 16.20 m. The hours are not given, but with a ten-hour day this is only 27 pf. an hour.

† "*Armenzorg in Nederland, Gemeente Rotterdam*," M. Ph. Falkenburg, 2 parts. Pp. 286, Amsterdam, 1895 and 1896.

administration, and the statistics of their activity for recent years. The only general view is a brief statistical summary.

German Trade-Unions.* There are two general classes of these labor organizations in Germany, the *Fachvereine*, or *Gewerkschaften*, which are organized on an essentially socialistic basis, and the *Gewerkvereine*, more commonly known as the *Hirsch-Dunkersche* unions, from the names of their promoters, which are liberal and individualistic in character. Not all the members of the *Fachvereine* are socialists, however, and the careful attention to practical details of management, and avoidance of political discussions, due, of course, to German repressive laws relating to political associations, relieves them from a part of the stigma generally attaching to social democracy. The *Fachvereine* held their second Congress in Berlin May 4-8 last. One hundred and thirty-six delegates, representing fifty-six organizations, with a total membership of 300,000, assembled, and their discussions are indicative of some interesting tendencies in the German labor movement.

The topics of State Insurance and Labor Legislation were excluded on account of their political bearings. But the policy of maintaining out-of-work benefits was attacked on the ground that "There is no reason for relieving the state of its duty to the people." Though this principle seemed to find hearty acceptance, the benefits were recommended to the organizations as heretofore, because they were considered an indispensable weapon in the wage-struggle. Communal employment bureaus were discussed from the radical point of view, and the Congress voted to maintain the principle that the sale of labor must be wholly under the control of organized workers, and to oppose all experiments on any other basis. This means opposition to the present movement toward the erection of public employment offices, under joint control of representatives of employers and employed, a movement which has largely owed its origin and furtherance to the *Gewerkschaften* themselves. This doubtless means also hostility to practical experiments with state or communal agencies, such as insurance against unemployment as already introduced into Switzerland, and proposed in Frankfort-on-the-Main, Munich, Mannheim, and Cologne.

The Congress spent much time in discussing its form of central organization. No great change was made in the "General Commission" as constituted at the last Congress. It is still retained with little change in its personnel, and with Herr Legien as its president, in the capacity of a representative and executive body for the associated unions. More vigorous efforts will be made to organize women

* The substance of this note was sent from Berlin by Miss Emily Greene Balch.

in connection with men in the unions, and to fight the sweating-system.

The statistics of strikes, as given by the "General Commission" for the period 1890-91 to 1895, are as follows: Expenses for 541 strikes, lasting 3302 weeks, and involving 58,242 persons, were \$676,464.50. Three hundred and two strikes were defensive, 87 being successful, 75 partly successful, and 119 unsuccessful. Two hundred and forty-two strikes were aggressive, and these were proportionally more successful, the figures being: 90 successful, 91 partly successful, and 57 unsuccessful.

Building and Loan Associations as Promoters of Saving.—The first building association in America was organized in Frankford, Philadelphia, January 3, 1831,* and Mr. F. B. Sanborn, in his report relating to them presented at the annual meeting of the American Social Science Association at Saratoga in September, 1888, designated Philadelphia as the "breeding place" for these associations. The fourth annual convention of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations, organized by Mr. Seymour Dexter in 1892, was held in Philadelphia, July 22-23. Mr. Michael J. Brown, vice-president of the League, said that the present accumulation of money in the building associations in the United States, estimated for an average of only five years, is \$600,000,000. He also said that twice this sum which is invested at present has been saved by building society people. Most of it doubtless went into some permanent investment when drawn out as the shares matured. Carroll D. Wright, in the United States Labor Department Report, estimated in 1892 that there were 5860 associations in the United States, with 1,655,456 share holders and assets aggregating nearly \$500,000,000. According to the same report an analysis of the sex and occupation of the share holders in forty-two New England societies showed 80 per cent men and 20 per cent women; 72 per cent wage-earners, 16 per cent proprietors and managers, 7 per cent agents, clerks and bookkeepers, and 5 per cent professional occupations. Pennsylvania and Ohio are the leading states in this work. Mr. Brown's report at this convention showed 1239 associations in Pennsylvania, about 500 of which are in the city of Philadelphia. The assets of the associations of the state aggregate over \$100,000,000. There are at the present time in the United States over 6000 building associations, modeled on the local original ideas. This does not cover the national associations, which do not

* From data contained in Edmuud Wrigley's "How to Manage Building Associations," Philadelphia, 1873, quoted by Seymour Dexter in his "Treatise on Corporative Savings and Loan Associations." Pp. 299. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1889. An excellent sketch of the rise and growth of this movement, together with a summary of legislation on the subject up to date of publication.

always adhere to the original principles, and many private organizations of a speculative character.

The object of the League is to bind together for purposes of mutual conference and profit the associations that are operated on true building association principles and run on philanthropic lines. A list of the topics discussed in this year's proceedings will indicate the character of the work and the wide range of interest in topics pertaining to the promotion of thrift which the leaders of this movement advocate. "The School System of Savings: Its Development and Growth," by D. Eldridge, of Boston; "The Building and Loan Association as a Permanent Savings Fund," by B. G. Vasen, Quincy, Ill.; "Pennsylvania Local Building Associations," by M. J. Brown, Philadelphia; "Voluntary Liquidation of Building Associations," by C. F. Bentley, Grand Island, Neb.; "Building Associations in the South," by J. H. Westover, Williamstown, Ky.; "Real Estate Depression of the Past Three Years and Its Effect on Building and Loan Associations," by H. T. McClung, St. Paul; "The Laboring Man in Building Associations," by Hon. James Clarency, Philadelphia; "The Relation of the Co-Operative Bank to the Community," by R. W. Hilliard, Massachusetts; "The Effect of Building and Loan Associations on the Growth of Chicago," by W. R. Smith, Chicago; "Legislation and Judicial Construction Affecting Building Associations," by I. H. C. Royse, Terre Haute; "The Best Methods of Paying Matured Stock," by Seymour Dexter, Elmira, N. Y.; symposium on "The Merits or Advantages of the Philadelphia and the Dayton Plan of Building and Loan Associations Compared," by Clerk of Philadelphia Select Council Joseph H. Paist and S. Rufus Jones, Dayton, O.

Money has been lost in many associations through ignorance as to the best methods of management, through fraud, through innocent speculation and unforeseen accidents in business, but on the whole they constitute, under many different names, in different parts of the country, one of the best agencies for the development of a class in society above the need of charity, but one which, without such inducements to thrift, might readily become a feeder to the dependent class and one which, by such aid, is easily made a bulwark of good citizenship.

The last few years have been trying ones for the managers of all such organizations, but the following words from the president's annual report seem to indicate a healthy financial condition in spite of difficulties:

"The past year has been one which in all financial affairs have called for conservative management. The financial panic of 1893, though stringent while it lasted, was less trying to building associations

throughout the land than the long period of liquidation which has followed in its train, and which has been more severely felt by them, in common with like institutions, during the past year than at any previous time.

"It is with keen satisfaction that we can report that the building and loan associations connected with our League have passed through the trying ordeal with an excellent showing, and that notwithstanding the fact that the interests confided to them are so large, yet carefulness of management has saved them from any great losses.

"In several instances where local associations have failed during the year, an examination of their affairs has revealed a departure from the correct principles of management of this class of associations by the granting of large loans upon real estate of a speculative character, instead of confining the operations to loans upon homes of moderate value. The years of steadily advancing values of real estate prior to 1893 induced an over-confidence, which permitted the granting of such loans.

"Painful as are the losses inflicted by such catastrophes, they are the unavoidable result of erroneous business methods; and these losses are not too high a price to pay for the experience, if the public will thereby learn to distinguish between the co-operative local building and loan associations and those which, while assuming their name, do not conduct business in accordance with their time-tried methods, but are in reality corporations sailing under false colors, and from the management of which the principles of co-operation have been eliminated."

The League made the following recommendations to the associations in reference to state legislation in the several states:

"That it is for the interest of building and loan associations that their management should be subject to supervision by the state; that the supervision should be conducted at the expense of the state, and not at the expense of the associations.

"That information of legislative enactments concerning building associations in various states should be collected.

"That the formation of reserve funds should be made compulsory by law."

It is probable that ere long the League will establish a bureau of information for the collection of more satisfactory statistics of associations and the dissemination of knowledge concerning their management. The next convention will meet in Detroit. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President, Michael J. Brown, Philadelphia; First Vice-President, Luke W. Sanborn, Galesburg, Ill.; Second Vice-President, Colonel

William M. Bloomer, Buffalo, N. Y.; Third Vice-President, Timothy R. Foster, Vicksburg, Miss.; Treasurer, George H. Eddy, Fall River, Mass.; Secretary, Herman F. Cellarius, Dayton, O.; Assistant Secretary, George Forman, New Jersey.

Executive Committee.—Julius Stern, Illinois; George W. Smith, Indiana; W. E. Dodsworth, Louisiana; David Eldredge, Massachusetts; Frederick J. Maher, Mississippi; Thomas A. Fry, Nebraska; Seymour Dexter, New York; Frederick Bader, Ohio; Joseph H. Paist, Pennsylvania; Edmund E. Read, New Jersey.

Free Public Employment Office in New York City. *—Chapter 982 of New York Statutes for 1896 provided for a free employment bureau in New York City. The act became law May 28, and the bureau was opened at 331 East Fourteenth Street on July 20. Similar bureaus have been conducted with apparent success in Ohio and California. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor has examined the subject carefully but in a recent report it seemed disinclined to take any practical steps toward introducing these bureaus. The Massachusetts report claims that the public is disposed to expect too much from such offices and experience in Paris would seem to warrant this assertion. The movement to remove any of the pressure at congested points in a metropolis like New York and to supply needed labor in rural districts of the state would seem to meet with favor all around. The crucial test will be the rigid investigation of the qualifications of all registered applicants and great caution in making recommendations to employers of labor, combined with considerable firmness in turning the totally unfit element over to charitable agencies whose business it is to deal with them. Only in this way can the office win the confidence of the employers of labor and in consequence render any service to the worthy laborer. This will be an exceedingly hard task for any public office if politics is allowed to play any part, however slight, in its administration. The New York office seems inclined to start out aright and its success will be watched with great interest by all students of the subject and many other persons anxious to advocate similar measures in other states. The following sections of the recent New York act will give an outline of the plan just inaugurated in New York City.

SECTION I. It shall be the duty of the commissioner of statistics of labor, immediately upon the passage of this act, to organize and establish in all cities having a population of one million five hundred thousand inhabitants or more, a free public employment office or bureau for the purpose of receiving all applications for labor on the

* Mr. John J. Bealin, Superintendent of the Free Public Employment Office, New York, has kindly furnished the facts for this note.

part of those seeking employment and all applications for help on the part of those desiring to employ labor, and to appoint a superintendent and such clerical assistants for each office so organized as in the judgment of said commissioner may appear necessary for the proper conduct of the duties of the several offices.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the superintendent of every free public employment office so organized to receive and record, in a book to be kept for that purpose, the names of all persons applying for labor or help, designating opposite the name of each applicant the character of employment or labor desired, and the address of such applicant. It shall also be the duty of every such superintendent to make a weekly report on Thursday of each week to said commissioner of the names and addresses of all applicants both for labor and help, and the character of employment or labor desired, and also the names of all persons securing employment through the respective offices. Said superintendent shall also perform such other duties in the collection of labor statistics, and in the keeping of books and accounts of their respective offices as the commissioner may determine, and shall make a semi-annual report of the expense of maintaining their respective offices to the commissioner.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the commissioner to cause to be printed weekly a list of all applicants for labor or help, and the character of the employment or labor desired, received by him from the various offices organized pursuant to the provisions of this act, and to cause two copies of such list to be mailed on Monday of each week to the superintendent of each of said offices in the state, one of which copies shall be posted by the superintendent immediately on receipt thereof in a conspicuous place in his office, subject to the inspection of all persons desiring labor or help, and the other of which copies shall be filed by the superintendent in his office for reference. Said commissioner shall also cause one copy of such list to be mailed to the supervisor of each township in this state.

SEC. 4. Every application for labor or help made to any office organized under this act shall be null and void for thirty days from the receipt unless renewed by the applicant.

SEC. 5. Every applicant for help shall notify the superintendent of the office to which the application was made, by mail, within ten days after the required help designated in his or her application has been secured, which notice shall contain the name and last preceding address of the employe secured through such office, and any refusal or failure by any applicant for help so to notify such superintendent shall bar such applicant from all future rights and privileges of such employment office, at the discretion of the commissioner, to whom the superintendent shall report such refusal or failure.

SEC. 6. No compensation or fee whatsoever shall, directly or indirectly be charged or received from any person or persons applying for labor or employment through said offices. The commissioner, any superintendent or clerk, or any other person employed in any such offices charging or receiving any compensation or fee from any applicant for labor whomsoever, as provided in this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined in any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars or imprisonment not exceeding thirty days.

SEC. 7. Applicants for help shall be construed to mean employers wanting employes, and applicants for labor shall be construed to mean persons wanting work to do.

SEC. 8. The tenure of office for all superintendents and clerks of free public employment offices, shall be two years from the date of appointment, but the commissioner shall have power of removing any such superintendents and clerks for good and sufficient cause.

SEC. 9. The superintendent of each of the offices organized under the provisions of this act shall receive a salary, payable monthly, which shall be fixed by the commissioner, but which shall in no case exceed the sum of one thousand two hundred dollars per annum. The clerk or clerks required in such offices shall receive a salary of not more than fifty dollars per month. Salaries, postage, stationery and other expenses necessary for the proper conduct of the business of such free public employment offices shall be paid by the state out of any funds of the state treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Five thousand dollars were appropriated to start with. During the first week the office was open 3000 names were registered. This seems like a very large number but perhaps "new hopes" helped to enlarge the roll. The British Government Report for ten governmental bureaus in London gave a much smaller total for London for the whole month of May. There were registered during the month of May in London at St. Pancras Station, 120; Battersea Station, 126; Islington, 189; St. Martin's, 85; Hackney, 85; Salvation Army, 1006; Y. M. C. A., Regent St., 68; Cavendish St., 400, which gives a total of 2077. In the provinces the registrations were as follows: Salford, 20; Ipswich, 49; Plymouth, 78; Liverpool, 118, making a total of 265. The registration blanks used at the office in New York give the following items: name, address, age, nationality, occupation, read or write, married or single, number of children, number of dependent children, where last employed, how long employed, how long idle, how long a resident of New York State, rate of wages received from last employer, and cause of idleness.

Cultivation of Vacant City Lots in Brooklyn.*—The cultivation of vacant lots by the unemployed has been continued in Brooklyn this year with increasing success. The experiment was begun in the spring of 1895, under the direction of a committee of citizens appointed by Hon. Charles A. Schieren, at that time mayor of the city. Land was granted free of expense by the German-American Improvement Company. About twelve hundred dollars were contributed by a few citizens to defray the expenses of conducting the experiment. The results of the first year were not so successful as some of the promoters of the undertaking had hoped. Only about twenty men out of all the unemployed in Brooklyn availed themselves of the opportunity. About half the fund raised was used in paying a superintendent and in having the ground plowed and fertilized. The value of the crops gathered by the cultivators exceeded the amount expended, and six hundred dollars of the sum originally contributed was left for the present year. Land was granted again by the same company and thirty-five men gladly availed themselves of the opportunity. Each man was allowed the use of about an eighth of an acre; the land was plowed and fertilized, tools and seed were furnished by the committee. A very important factor in the work has been the granting of free tickets by the Brooklyn City Elevated Railroad, so that men from different parts of the city have been able to ride between their homes and their garden plots. All applications for land were made at the office of the Bureau of Charities, the general secretary of which organization was also the secretary of the committee on the cultivation of vacant lots. Care was taken that all to whom land was assigned should be men with families dependent upon them and in need of assistance.

Very few had had experience in gardening, but under the direction of the superintendent, a practical farmer, nearly all have succeeded in raising excellent crops of vegetables. The largest crop is potatoes, but peas, beans, tomatoes, beets, onions, turnips and other vegetables have been raised.

Thirty-five poor families have had the benefit of an abundant supply of vegetables during the summer, and a store will be laid by for winter use, and all from about four acres of land.

The great value of the enterprise, however, does not consist in the amount of the material product obtained, but in the moral effect upon the men who have taken part in the work, and in the example which has been afforded of the possible resources of the land in reach of the inhabitants of the city tenements.

* Contributed by Rev. William I. Nichols, Secretary of the Bureau of Charities in Brooklyn.

If every poor family could have a garden, even a small one, the condition of the poor of the city would be greatly improved. Gardens cannot be taken to the occupants of the tenement houses, but the inhabitants can be transported to the land and bring the products back to their homes.

Furthermore, it is reasonable to hope that some of the poor of the city can be induced to move into the country after having been taught how to cultivate the soil.

Any one familiar with the problem of dealing with the poor of a large city must recognize that the diminution of the number trying to live in the city is an indispensable condition of any permanent improvement.

Too many people are seeking to obtain self-supporting employment in a limited locality. There are many convinced of this necessity who are willing to go into the country if they are taught how to do the work that will there be required of them. A great need in every large city is more industrial education, especially in an agricultural direction. It is true that there is a steady stream of population tending from country to the city, but it is equally true that another stream in an opposite direction can be created.

As youth of the country are attracted to the city by the glamour created by their imagination, on the other hand the youth of the city, impressed by the bitter experience of the hardships of city life, are ready to be guided to the happier life of the country.

The schools in the country too often devote chief attention to studies which fit their pupils for city life, and really unfit them for the work of the country. To counteract this evil, the city schools should give more attention to that kind of education which will qualify the children of the city to enter upon agricultural employment. A right education of the children of the poor is a most important mode of relieving poverty. The surface of this continent is abundantly able to sustain a far larger population than is living upon it now, provided they will spread out over it, and will intelligently and industriously develop its resources.

To this desirable end, the cultivation of vacant city lots is a first and an important step.

Socialism.—The most significant feature of modern socialism probably consists in its claims as a political faith. It ought to be at its best the greater the measure of political power it enjoys. M. Yves Guyot and the *Nation* (N. Y.) remind us frequently that the government of the small socialistic towns in France, where the socialists have complete control of the town council, will not increase our faith in socialism in practice. At the recent municipal elections in France,

the socialists held their own in Paris, whose council is made up of a large number of socialists. It seems that they are in control in Marseilles, La Cidtat, Calais, Roubaix, Carmaux, Cette and in St. Denis, a suburb of Paris where they have had complete control for years. The socialistic platform, in many cases where these political victories have been won, has been scarcely more than a moderately radical labor program including many things we readily concede in this country and in England. It would make an interesting study, however, if some one will examine, in an impartial but thorough and scientific spirit, the methods the socialists pursue and the results of their endeavors. M. Guyot can hardly be considered an impartial observer and the work should be undertaken in a more thorough way and on a larger scale. M. Guyot claims that the socialists in St. Denis have not fulfilled any of their pledges, and worse than this, that they have added to the very burdens which they formerly criticised so freely. For example, instead of abolishing octroi charges they have increased them on many articles, directly affecting the goods consumed by the poor. The cost of administering the affairs of the town council, including salaries of officials, has risen, it seems, from 12,000 *frs.* in 1892 to 44,000 *frs.* in 1895. Hospital relief and relief formerly voted for widows, orphans and unemployed has curiously enough been abolished. In a note on "Socialistic Municipalities," in the issue of *London* for May 7, 1896, it is stated that similar results have followed the election of socialistic majorities in many towns in Belgium. The mere suggestion of such things should arouse the spirit of inquiry, and it is to be hoped that the opportunity will not be lost to make a careful and fair study of all the conditions under which the socialistic labor parties are working in these foreign towns. If some one will undertake to do this piece of work thoroughly and comprehensively, he will find a large audience for whatever he has to say on the subject, and may perform a very useful service to social science.

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THE RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO
PSYCHOLOGY.

The creation of a new science is a difficult task. Seldom does a happy inspiration turn its early investigators into the right paths. Bad terms, confused ideas, misleading analogies and the inferences and methods of other sciences constantly lead them astray. Sociology is particularly open to such inroads of foreign ideas and terms. To some it is a physical science and these describe human history as a mode of dissipating solar energy. To the believers in astrology it was an astronomical science and they thought that human events were determined by the course of the planets. To those who held the doctrine of the association of ideas it was a chemical science. They thought that the only real things were ideas, the combining and blending of which created knowledge and belief. To those who hold that society is an organism it is a biologic science and they try to describe it in terms of cells, nerves and ganglia. And now Professor Giddings would make it a psychologic science and finds a social mind, a social will and a social memory among its

phenomena.* He would have us believe that the social mind perceives and reflects, that it is self-conscious and has the other attributes of individual minds. He admits that the description of society in biologic terms is a mistake, but I am unable to see in what respect his psychologic terminology is an improvement. There are often better terms than those he uses, and when not, better words could easily be found. Social memory is not so good a term as race knowledge, nor is social will so definite as social control. Professor Ross has set a good example by coining terms that will endure because so appropriate.† What could be more expressive than "social ascendancy," "social control" and "social influence." They fill a gap in sociologic terminology and will increase the definiteness of the thought of any one who uses them. Sociologic terms must be developed from those in use in social life just as economic terms have been developed from economic life. Analogies are barren and they bring up trains of thought that mislead the user. Even the best of distinctions lose their force if the words convey a double meaning because used in two sciences. Occasionally an imported word holds its own in a new habitat, but such cases are so rare as to prove the rule that each science must make its own terms and be built up from its own data.

The use of analogy may have some utility in what may be called the kindergarten stage of a science, but it is out of place in advanced instruction or in books intended for mature minds. A recent scientific book has for one of its chapter headings, "The Brain as a Central Telephone Station." I can imagine how some youthful student, restricted to the physical sciences, can by this illustration get some aid in breaking out of the ruts in which his thought has moved, but it seems odd to me that any one should seriously propose such an illustration to the general public as a means of increasing its knowledge. It assumes on its part an

* "Principles of Sociology." Book i, Cap. ii.

† See his article on "Social Control," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1896.

absolute blank in all that relates to the scientific study of mental science. What more can be said in favor of the solar energy theory of history, the chemical theory of ideas, or the biologic theory of sociology? They may do for novices, who are startled by the thought that human society has laws, but are a block to progress as soon as this concept is acquired. Nor is the theory of a social mind much in advance. The essence of this doctrine is contained in Professor Giddings' statement that psychology is the science of the association of ideas, while sociology is the science of the association of minds.* I take this to mean that the fundamental facts of psychology relate to the chemistry of ideas and those of sociology to the blending of minds into a higher unity. If this be true, simple or unsociologic psychology has to do with nothing but ideas, while advanced or sociologic psychology includes all other forms of mental activity. Beings become social as soon as mental activity becomes complex. Sociology is thus based on psychology, and society needs no outside conditions to promote its growth.

I cannot accept this double psychology because I do not accept the distinction on which it is based. It assumes the truth of a particular theory of psychology which is not above question. The traditional psychology is the creation of a group of sceptical idealists. In the endeavor to get unity and simplicity, they have thrown out all the complex forms of thought that do not fit their theory. Nature, atoms and other objects have been eliminated and the universe is so emaciated that its only content is a single series of ideas. If these sceptical idealists cannot find a place for the objective world or any proof of the existence of other minds, still less can they find a basis in their psychology for the social relations which grow up between men. If the non-self cannot be put on a par with the self, society loses its reality. This mode of reasoning admits of nothing but a crude individualism which pictures each person in a world

* *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

of his own as complete and independent as the series of ideas which makes up his mind.

A reaction from these notions has created a school of transcendental idealists who seek to gather up the fragments thrown out by the sceptics and to make of them a higher mind conditioning these lower minds and determining their activity. Professor Giddings uses the methods of this school when he seeks to introduce into sociologic literature a social mind similar to the higher mind of the transcendentalists. By so doing he joins his forces with theirs and makes his success depend on the truth of their doctrines. No science should, however, have its terms and ideas so constructed that they depend on a particular theory in a related science.

The real evil lies not in his agreement with the transcendentalists but in his acceptance of the narrow dogma of the sceptics that the individual mind has no phenomena but the chemistry of its ideas. Such a psychology must be discarded before a solid basis for sociology can be found. When a more complex concept of the mind is worked out in which other elements of human nature are on equal footing with its sensory ideas, there will be no need of such hybrid concepts as minds above minds or a social will above that of individuals.

The emphasis of a few simple distinctions will make a resort to such a psychology needless. Psychic progress may be either sensory or motor. Progress in the motor powers increases psychic control. In low forms of life each motor centre acts for itself and thus prevents the co-ordination of movements necessary for quick effective adjustment to the environment. Gradually these centres are subordinated to some one centre through which psychic control is exercised. The organism can then affect complicated adjustments and increase its power to sustain life or to avoid pain.

Progress on the sensory side of the mind gives clearer ideas of the environment. The sensory powers should indicate

the presence of any object and the qualities of which it is made up. The perception of any of these qualities should, through the association of ideas, bring up all the ideas the object usually excites. These ideas become clear and numerous by the analysis of objects into their elements and by the associations that grow up between these ideas. Trains of thoughts are ideas so bound together that each idea brings up the next. Long series of ideas are thus formed, the perception of any one of which starts a train of thought bringing up the whole series. Sensory activity starts other forms of sensory activity. It thus tends to perpetuate itself and to check motor activity. Circles of ideas are created, differentiation after differentiation is made, but the ideas perceived are so loosely connected with the motor side of the mind that they do not lead to activity.

Ideas of this kind can properly be called sensorial because the activity they excite is confined to the sensorium. They lead to no movements and cause no adjustments to be made between the man and his environment. A growth of sensorial ideas is the chief result of a purely sensory development. Such ideas, instead of making men more social, reduce the tendency to be social by weakening the connection between ideas and the motor activity which should follow their perception.

It is not then the psychic progress of men that makes them social. Their motor development belongs to an earlier period and their sensory development by itself weakens the social tendencies. From a psychic standpoint, social ideas are not higher ideas, but ideas due to a distorted development of the sensory powers. Society is made, not by any psychic or physical necessity, but by certain complex aggregates of psychic and physical phenomena. The formation of these aggregates and their influence on social phenomena can be explained only by a study of the environment. Although the environment creates the conditions which determines both the sensory and motor activity, yet the

environment of the sensory powers is different from that of the motor powers. Sensations are created by the direct influence of natural forces on the organism. From the vibrations of ether we get sensations of light; from those of the air we get sounds. We can taste only that which has been dissolved in water, and smell only that which has become gaseous. We learn of the coarse aggregates in which the forces and elements of nature are united only by inferences. They are not the elementary forms of sensorial knowledge. The motor reactions, however, do not depend upon these elements isolated and refined, as they must be, to become objects of perception, but to the aggregates into which they are united. Motor reactions are rather excited by rocks, fields, food, houses, animals and similar aggregates, animate and inanimate, of which the world is made up. The sure-footed animal must step from rock to rock. Animals or men find good fields and select the proper food; friends must be aided and enemies destroyed or avoided.

The sensory powers thus depend on universal forces and elements or those so abundant that they rarely become conditions of survival. The motor powers, however, are stimulated by the presence of the limiting aggregates—those complex sources of pleasure that are scarce or those evils that are superabundant. All motor activity tends to remove, modify or create these limiting aggregates. By changing them or decomposing them into their elements pleasure is increased or pain removed. To their peculiarities every motor reaction is due and upon them all motor activity is exerted. There is thus an environment of elements and an environment of limiting aggregates. The elements and natural forces excite sensations. The limiting aggregates create the motor reactions. Each environment has its laws and relations which control the psychic phenomena created by it. Motor activity and sensory activity should therefore be independent in their growth because normally they depend on different conditions. The sensory powers, however,

have been checked in their development by the fact that the limiting requisites have not been among the elements and forces of which the world is made up, but among the aggregates into which these elements are combined. Rarely or never are light, heat, water, air and other forces and elements the conditions of survival. They are usually present in superabundance. The determining conditions are certain aggregates such as soils, rocks, mineral deposits, rivers, seas, peculiar plants, animals and combinations of moisture and heat. Sensory phenomena cannot acquire an importance unless they indicate some limiting aggregate and are joined with some motor reaction which affects an adjustment. The mental units formed by contact with these aggregates are complex, partly motor and partly sensory. The social concepts belong to this class. They are not the outcome of mere contact with the forces and elements of nature, but are due to the necessities and relations of the limiting aggregates. Sociology has nothing to do with sensory or motor phenomena as such, nor with any isolated development of either sensory or motor distinctions. Psychic phenomena become social only when motor reactions of some kind accompany sensory perceptions. The sensory ideas stimulated by external conditions must, to become social phenomena produce feelings of pleasure or pain, of fear or love, of desire or antipathy, of attraction or repulsion. The social unit is an aggregate of these two elements and the form of the social phenomena depends on the way they are compounded. Every social element is thus partly sensory and partly motor.

Such a study is no more a part of psychology than the study of the limiting aggregates is a part of physics. It is true that these aggregates are made up of atoms controlled by physical laws, but the interest of the sociologist is not in the atoms nor in the chemical and geological laws by which they are arranged, but in the complex result. A plant grows because of certain combinations of physical and chemical elements in certain soils and the growth of the right plant

depends on still more special combinations. There is just as much physics, chemistry and geology in a poor soil as in a good one. So also the psychic phenomena of an unsocial man does not differ from that of the social man. The psychologist would find the same elements and ultimate principles in both men. The difference between them lies in the peculiar ways in which the ultimate sensations are aggregated or in the type of reaction which takes place when certain sensory impressions are present. A psychologist could if he chose examine these peculiar groups of impressions and the accompanying reactions just as a geologist could examine a cultivated field, but if either of them did this, they would waste their energies on poor material unless their primary interest was social or economic.

Only one class of ideas can be called social, those whose perception starts motor reactions. In pure sensorial knowledge, all ideas and distinctions are of equal importance. It is like the classification of plants on the Linnæan system, in which unimportant plants get the same attention as the more important, and the differences by which the varieties and species are distinguished are, usually, of a trivial nature. Only the important sensorial distinctions become a part of the race knowledge by which men are kept in touch with the essentials of their environment. Such knowledge is connected more closely with the motor powers than with the pure sensorial ideas. Its essentials thus receive more emphasis, and are so adjusted as to become the starting points of motor reactions.

The art of riding a bicycle illustrates the type of motor adjustments upon which the growth of society depends. When a man walks, the sense of falling starts motor reactions which restore the equilibrium. In riding a bicycle these motor reactions are weakened or lost, and in their place new motor reactions are developed through which the wheel is turned. The equilibrium is restored by a motion of the arms instead of a motion of the body. This change of

instinct does not, however, make a rider of a bicycle physiologically superior to a walker. On the contrary a physiologist might decide that the habitual cyclist was physiologically inferior to a walker.

Social changes are of this kind. They imply different motor reactions, but not those of a higher kind. New objects become limiting requisites and the perception of them creates motor reactions which harmonize with the conditions set by these requisites. The non-social man must be able readily to distinguish differences in objects because they are his best means of detecting enemies and of avoiding pain. His motor reactions are started mainly by the feeling of fear which the perception of these differences excites. To the social man, similarities are more important than differences. His prominent motor reactions are caused by the recognition of similarities, because they indicate the presence of the agreeable, the pursuit of which is his main object. The attention of the one man is concentrated upon the disagreeable, that of the other upon the agreeable. The differences between the two men are due to differences in limiting aggregates by which they are surrounded, and not to differences in their psychic experiences.

Motor reactions caused by pleasure are not different in kind from those caused by pain. In either case the first contrast is between the agreeable and the disagreeable, between objects causing pain and those giving pleasure. This contrast creates for men their concept of self. The self is not a mere sensory impression with an unvarying content. It includes all those feelings whose perception produces no motor reactions. The non-self is created by motor reactions which eject from the self all ideas associated with the disagreeable. From the first the notion of the self is confounded with the agreeable. We contrast ourselves with the sources of pain and identify ourselves with the sources of pleasure. Pleasure extends the feeling of identity; pain contracts it. In states of pleasure we perceive agreements and harmonies;

in states of pain differences and discords attract the attention. The feeling of identity expands and contracts with changes in the conditions which determine the extent of the agreeable and the disagreeable.

In advanced beings there is a narrower or analytic self and a broader or synthetic self. When pleased, beings expand their personality so as to include all that is pleasurable, while in pain they contract it so as to exclude all causes of pain. The self of man thus depends upon his moods and these in turn upon the environment. This expansion and contraction of the self is also much greater in a pleasure economy than in a pain economy. In the latter the self cannot be extended beyond a limited group of similar objects because so many of them have pain associations. Nor can it be contracted so as to exclude the bodily organism; the identity of the self and its organism is a necessity to beings so situated that their first thought must always be of the organism. The synthetic self might however be so expanded as to include the whole universe. Many tendencies in this direction show themselves as soon as the thought of a pure pleasure economy is acquired. It is only the realities of a world of pain that check their growth. In a pleasure economy the organic self does not demand first attention and its parts may be isolated from the self. This tendency is strengthened by the fact that the evils of a pleasure economy are largely due to the weakness or over development of bodily organs. Such men must learn to distinguish between the flesh and the spirit and in this way the analytic self becomes an abstract concept with no sensory qualities.

This thought of a variable self may perhaps be made clearer by representing the scope of the possible variation in the feeling of identity as a plane with two extremities. At one extremity the self is contracted so as to be purely abstract; at the other it is so expanded as to include every thing within itself. The self identifies itself with the universe. In a given environment the plane of identity is much more contracted.

Its synthetic extremity would be the point of greatest expansion in the feeling of identity of which the agreeable elements of the environment will admit; its analytic extremity is at the point of greatest contraction in the feeling of identity consistent with the being's welfare. In such a society there would be an equilibrium of identity somewhere between these two extremities towards which the feeling of identity in its members would tend. Those whose feelings of identity correspond to this equilibrium would be normal; all others would be abnormal because they include too much or too little in their concept of self. Individuals are sceptics if their concept of self is abnormally small; they are mystics if this concept is abnormally large. The mystic cannot see how the sceptic can contract his personality so much and the sceptic is equally at loss to know how the mystic can include so much in his personality. There is thus a gulf between them which reasoning alone cannot bridge. Changes in the environment move the equilibrium of identity nearer to one extremity or the other thus making new classes of men normal and abnormal. The sceptics or the mystics of one age may seem to have the opposite qualities to people of another age merely because the equilibrium of identity has changed. The normal self is relative to the conditions of existence.

Social reasoning depends on the content given to the self. Only as the feeling of identity is expanded can the organism, the material world, society and the universe become real to men. Should their attitude become strictly sceptical all these would become unreal. Trains of sensorial ideas alone would remain. It is the synthetic self that is the basis of society. To the analytic self individualism is the only logical system. It regards the social forces as unreal. The synthetic self is the active self; the analytic self is due to our passive states. We are therefore synthetic in activity and analytic in passive enjoyments. Our interests in activity are more extensive than in the enjoyment of the reactions due to the contact with external objects. Enjoyment being thus more

individual than activity the equilibrium of identity even in the normal man moves toward the one extremity or the other as he increases or decreases his activity. In his active states he becomes more synthetic and by identifying himself with more objects becomes more social. To become social thus means an expansion of the feeling of identity and not an extension of the consciousness of kind. The one means an enlargement of motor activity and reactions and hence social solidarity, the other means merely an increase in sensory impressions which need give rise to no social phenomena.

The emphasis which Professor Giddings gives the latter concept is well deserved, but it is not the original and elementary fact upon which society is based. Consciousness of kind is a variety of the class of likenesses, and likeness depends upon the recognition of a common element in a complex aggregate. In two objects certain elements among many are seen to be alike. This attitude of mind, however, by which the complex of objects is first recognized, and then the points of agreement, is characteristic only of rational men in advanced societies. The primitive man sees only a few qualities in each object and he identifies them if they have points of agreement. Red objects are to him not alike; they are identical. All reds are red. He does not have the power to recognize a complex aggregate of qualities. If nothing else, the inability to count would prevent this. Objects are known by some one quality for which there is an interest in the same way that they are recognized by children. To the child a shining plate is not *like* the moon; it *is* the moon. To the primitive man also objects are identical whose dominant qualities are the same.

The kinds of the primitive man therefore are not the organic classes which rational men recognize; nor are they due to common blood and ancestry. Those things are of a kind that have a prominent element in common. Differences in which there is no interest do not come clearly enough

into consciousness to prevent the rise of the feeling of identity. The primitive man puts himself in a class with a hawk, a wolf, or any object in which he sees some quality common to it and to him. The shadow, the image in water, the dreamed-of spirit are identified with the self for similar reasons. The self is in all objects that are similar and agreeable. Any injury done to them is an injury to him and any power over them extends also to him. Classes based on heredity and ancestry come much later when an analytic attitude is acquired. Until it is known that sexual intercourse is the cause of child bearing, ties of blood cannot be recognized. Descent from an animal or plant seems as natural as from a human being. The primitive man was more apt to see a resemblance between himself and a wolf or bear than between himself and his offspring.

We can understand this state of mind only by recognizing the differences between ourselves and the primitive man. We classify objects and beings by the sensory impressions their presence creates. Objects are known by their length, weight, color, shape and other physical qualities. They are in essence so much material and are made by the blending of certain sensory elements. The primitive man recognized neither objects nor beings in this way. He conceived of every thing as living and classified it according to its movements and activities. Those objects were of a kind whose acts were alike. If a man put himself in the same class with a hawk, a bear or a fish it was because he recognized a similarity between his actions and those of the animal. His sensory powers were not well enough developed to classify by sensory distinctions nor had they an importance to him that demanded such a classification. His thought was concentrated on the activities of surrounding objects and naturally his classifications were determined by the necessities of his situation.

Consciousness of kind, however, depends on the sensory impressions which beings make. It is a recognition that

men have the same feelings, ideas and characters. A man is a man because he lives, thinks and feels and not because of his activities or occupation. The recognition of kind through activities and occupation is a mark of the unsocial man. The fellow feeling between bakers, builders, farmers and members of other trades produces clans and factions which do not indicate the true likenesses and furthermore are obstacles to the growth of a society. Such classifications and contrasts must disappear before a true consciousness of kind emerges. It is a product of the sensory development of men and has appeared only in recent times. To me it is an important contribution to sociology because it is the antithesis of the concepts and ideas of primitive men. It gets its force and clearness because it sweeps away all those narrowing concepts which depend upon affinities generated by common activities, occupations or ties of blood. We need a term that connotes none of these and has no associations that bring up historical relations or primitive conditions. Consciousness of kind should express the broadest relations that unify the race. But it cannot be used in this way and at the same time be made the basis of primitive societies and the cause of the first bonds which held men together.

If we would be true to history we must seek the first social forces in the conditions of the environment in early ages. When men began to live in social groups the bonds holding them together were external. The primitive man, it must be kept in mind, was in a pain economy. He was powerless before objective conditions and helpless in the presence of enemies. In the open world he had to struggle and to fight like other animals and be dominated by their motives. His only relief was in some hidden nook into which he could escape from his enemies. Even the animals had their lairs in which they were free to follow other inclinations than those dominant in the outside world. Here the beginnings of a pleasure economy were made, and about it a group of associations were formed that made society. The word home now conveys the

ideas that the early lair, cave or hidden nook made possible. Home and kindred terms are environment ideas. They call up a place, a local habitat free from the evils of the outside world. The early man tolerates another man not because of any recognized similarity, but because the latter is associated with some place and bears a mark that calls it up. The bond is in objective space, in local conditions, and not in any subjective idea. Animals check their hostility and recognize a friend not because of any purely organic odor or similarity, but from the odors of the lair, place odors which cling to them because of their contact with its objects. Wash them thoroughly and they become strangers. He is an enemy who has another place odor.

For these reasons place and pleasure are inseparably associated even in the animal world. The primitive man, therefore, starts with instincts which make him friendly to any one that bears the marks or arouses any thoughts of his home, his place of refuge. Primitive kinship is based on ties of place and not of blood. Those are friends who have the same place of refuge from which all pain activities are excluded. Habits, movements or marks acquired in such places were the original means of identification. They brought up pictures of a common home and checked those antagonisms which otherwise would be supreme. A group of such individuals would, however, form but an economic aggregate, among whom there would be no bond but their temporary interests. A true society must have some permanent hold on its members, some means through which the common interest can assert itself and check the self-assertive tendencies among its members. There must also be some form of control through which the few can compel the many to accede to their wishes. Social control is limited by the utility of the society to the individual, and before it can be exerted efficiently there must be some important pleasure or pleasures from which the leaders of the society can exclude refractory individuals.

Of this fact, the social control exercised through fire is a good example. In primitive times isolated individuals could not preserve fire and very few knew how to create it. The formation of permanent groups being a necessity the tenders of the fire became a special class, ruling the group and fixing its customs. The home now had an objective reality in the altar on which the fire was preserved, and to move it was a difficult process. Attachment to home was thus increased, and the fire became sacred because it was the objective bond of social unity. This sacredness was extended to those who tended it and to all who were near it. The altar and the home were places of refuge in or around which no acts of violence could be committed. Special fire marks became totem signs, carrying with them the sacredness of the home and altar. That the fire and the altar were at least early bonds creating permanent societies is shown by the persistence of these ideas in all religious and family life. Within historical times the perpetual fires were kept burning, guarded by a special class. In religious services the altar and burning odors still persist. The Roman family had its altar, and even in modern times the hearth has a sanctity. If fire-worship was not the first religion it certainly dates as far back as any.

Thus we see that the home, the family and society are environment ideas. They are due to the place relations, which the early types of a pleasure economy created, and are changed and developed with the changes it has undergone. To these common pleasures the different forms of control are due. Men subordinate themselves to external conditions or to other men, so that they can participate more fully in the enjoyments of a pleasure economy. Impulses are thus generated, which expand the feeling of identity, and thus bind the individual to all the objects and persons in his pleasure world. He acts with them and through them as naturally as though their dictates originated within himself. The earliest type of control is objective. The feeling of identity

is so extended that outer objects are included in it. The self is made to include all pleasurable objects, and the non-self is co-extensive with painful objects. Both groups of objects are personified, and men feel that their welfare depends upon them. These objects thus exert a control over men and cause them to modify their activities so as to conform to the conditions which their relations to these objects create. This state of mind causes the fetish worship of the early races.

Social control comes later, and cannot be made effective until certain group or home pleasures have become requisites for survival, and the resulting societies are enough differentiated to place these pleasures under the control of individuals. The relation of ruler and subject is developed and feelings arise which will make each class identify itself and its interests with the other class. A feeling of partial identity results. The ruling class is necessary to the happiness of its subjects, and at the same time it appropriates so many sources of happiness that its interests are opposed to those of its subjects. Where group interests are involved the feeling of identity is so extended that ruler and subject feel themselves to be one. In matters of wealth, however, where their attitude is analytic and their identity is severed, the temptations and dissipations of a pleasure world affect the ruling class, and make them so selfish that they cease to identify themselves with their subjects. In time the same causes narrow the feeling of identity of the subjects, so that it includes only the members of their own class and then social control in an objective form is an ineffectual means of promoting social welfare, or even of perserving society.

Social control becomes diffused with the progress of society. The more objective and centralized it is, the more coercive is its power. Each of the older institutions in its beginning was a requisite for survival, and those who exercised control through it were absolute in power, and could thus mould society and determine the instincts and impulses of its

members. This power, however, is lost when new requisites for survival arise and the old means of control become more common. The early priest through the sacred fire, the altar and the church exercised an absolute power over society. But each new form of control has reduced this power, until now the clergyman has little to distinguish him from the layman. The forms remain, but the power is gone. The early king in turn was equally absolute, but this power is so much lost that the English kings now have little but the name that resembles their predecessors. The soldier has in a like manner had his day, and now drops to the level of other citizens. The control exercised through wealth has a like history. No form of wealth was so powerful as landed property in early times. It shaped society and determined who should survive, and what should be his qualities and sentiments. Capital in the form of food is a less effective means of social control than in land. It dominates the workman less than the landowner did his serf. Fixed capital in buildings and machinery is still less powerful. The workman is now much less under the influence of the large capitalist who furnishes him tools and a working place, than he formerly was under the influence of the small employers who gave him food and shelter. Each new form of wealth is less easily controlled by a class or by a firmly united group, and it is more difficult for this class or group to keep the wealth in its hands for any length of time. Land as property is more stable and enduring than capital. Fixed capital in machinery and buildings is subject to more risks than supplies of food. Stocks and bonds in great corporations are even less secure and less likely to remain in the same hands for a long time.

The more objective forms of social control are in a pain economy. They become less stable and extensive with each transition to a pleasure economy, in the end must be displaced by a diffused subjective control through which each individual checks the inclinations of other individuals to subordinate society to their interests. This diffused control

is the ideal of a democratic society, and would in a pure pleasure economy displace, or at least transform and disguise, other forms of control. There would still be the church and priest, but they would not stand between the individual and his God. The ruler and soldier would exist, but without a will of their own. Wealth and culture would be as powerful as ever, but every one would participate in them and share in the control they exert. There would still be a nobility, but every one would feel the stimulus which family and heredity give.

It is only in cases of diffused control that a feeling of the consciousness of kind displaces the feeling of identity upon which earlier societies are based. Objective social control cannot be exercised except when the subject, in a measure at least, identifies himself with his ruler. He magnifies the points of similarity and neglects the differences between himself and others. Only in democratic societies do men think of others as having points of similarity and yet differing in many particulars. Primitive people cannot endure people *like* themselves. They demand that every one with whom they come in contact shall be identical with themselves. He is a friend who has the same faith, habits and activities. A single conscious contrast makes him a foe.

Although it is customary to speak of the common qualities of men, it should not be forgotten that these qualities are abstract concepts. They are the products of an advanced civilization, and demand for their visualization a more analytic attitude than the primitive man possessed. It has taken a long education for men to separate that which is accidental or peculiar to individuals from those race characteristics which all men possess. Without this distinction upon which the thought of a species is based, men cannot think of others as like themselves. There is either a feeling of identity or of hostility.

The common qualities in men only become vivid after repeated transitions from environment to environment. Each

transition brings out new requisites for survival, separates the temporary from the permanent and concentrates the attention upon those features which are essential to the new conditions. The ideas created by the new conditions are not thought of as new and acquired, but are projected backward into the past and thought of as though they were the ancient possessions of the race. A race thinks of itself as always having existed in its present environment, and hence ideas really new are assumed to be old and a fabulous history is constructed to account for their origin. In an unconscious way each race constructs a history which conforms in a measure to the order of events which would have taken place if its whole development had been in the present environment. A superior sanctity is thus given to the principles and rules of conduct which present conditions demand.

This tendency is emphasized by the gradual transition from a pain to a pleasure economy. The race assumes that in the distant past it had a golden age in which the advantages of a pleasure economy were realized, and from which the ideas and rules of conduct necessary in the new conditions are supposed to be derived. A natural state of man is merely a visualization of men's concepts of a pleasure economy. It varies with each stage in the development of a race because the new conditions demand new principles and ideas. A natural right is a rule of action or a safeguard which would have developed naturally and consciously if the race had always been in a pleasure economy. In a pain economy men have no natural rights. There is merely the rule of force. In escaping from such a society men picture a pleasure economy and draw from it the rules and principles by which they are governed in their new conditions. Had the development of men taken place in a pleasure economy, government might have been the result of a contract and each natural right might have been acquired in a conscious way when the race advanced to a point that made its possession vital to future progress. The necessities of a pain economy

did not permit progress to be normal, and hence the rights of men are based on a fictitious history created after the need of the rights is felt.

Liberty and equality, for example, were not among the concepts of primitive men. They were acquired only at a late stage of progress after a partial transition had been made to a pleasure economy. Their basis lay in the conditions of the present environment and not in the history of the race. A logical development of these ideas out of present conditions does not satisfy men. They prefer to visualize and idealize the principles vital to present prosperity, and to do this they picture the past in a way that does not conform to reality. If the race had developed normally on the logical basis upon which the principles of government and of social activity rest, it would coincide with the historical basis upon which men prefer to base them. The historical order in which ideas and principles arose would be the same as the logical order in which a rational being would develop them. The two series cannot present ideas and principles in the same order if society, beginning in a pain economy, is gradually transferred into a pleasure economy. The visualization of ideas which takes place under these circumstances is true to the logical order. The concept of a golden age or of a natural state gives men a logical basis for action, and aids them to develop principles suited to present conditions, but it forces them to be false to history.

Men cannot visualize an idea without constructing a picture of a concrete condition in which this idea has a prominent place. When an ideal environment is once made, it is so much more vivid than the one in which history shows the race to have been, that the former displaces the latter, or, at least, is so blended with it that its features are much more prominent. Through this process of visualization, men reconstruct history and make it subserve their present needs. It is seen to the best advantage in periods of transition, because in them new types of men come to the front and

acquire a prominence which they could not have if progress were normal and in a single environment. We are apt to think of a race as developing by steady accretions. Each age would then preserve the leading elements in the national character and add to them some characteristic helpful in the new conditions. Progress of this kind is normal and in such a society some one type of men continue in a leading place. A marked period of transition, however, destroys the superiority of the dominant type. Some of the characteristics of the race are no longer of use, or at least they lose their distinctive superiority, while the characteristics demanded by the new situation may be more developed in a type of men who were at a disadvantage under the old conditions. Judged from the standpoint of the old society, an inferior man now tends to survive. Instead of a regular progress, society reverts to a more primitive type and then begins to move along a new track.

There is also a degeneration among individuals of the dominant type in the old society. The safeguards against the temptation and vice of the new society are not sufficiently developed in them. The soldier, for example, is well suited to the vicissitudes and hardships of a campaign, but yields readily to the temptations of peaceful prosperity. The transition from a period of war to one of peace is marked therefore by a degeneration and a practical extinction of the type of men that carried the nation safely through the earlier epoch.

If the new type of men is compared with the earlier type at its best period, the tendency to revert can be easily measured. The dominant class, and especially its leaders in the struggle which the transition brings on, are men of a more primitive type than were the men they displaced. Compare, for example, the leaders of the great religious awakening in England during the eighteenth century. Value the services of Wesley as highly as we may—yet it must be admitted that he is a man of a much more primitive type than Butler, the leader of the rational movement.

Wesley has little understanding of natural law; he believes in witchcraft, and in his reforms he tries to restore the doctrines and conditions of the primitive church and the anthropomorphic concepts which prevailed in it. Yet he succeeded in transforming the religious thought of his age because industrial transition displaced through degeneration the dominant class of the earlier period and left the nation in the possession of more primitive men who were capable of a development in harmony with the new conditions. Take again the leaders in the French revolution. Rousseau was a man of a more primitive type than the leaders of the preceding epoch of French thought. He had many of the characteristics of a savage and his concept of nature belonged to a much earlier epoch. The other leaders in the same movement had similar characteristics and they could not have succeeded but for the fact that the great industrial changes destroyed the superiority of the dominant class of the earlier epoch and caused them to degenerate. Primitive men and primitive concepts could thus assert themselves and create the basis and motives for a new civilization.

It is, however, an exaggeration to identify the leaders in new social movements with primitive men. It would be better to call their ideas primal than primitive. Primal ideas are the sources not of meditation and analysis, but of activity. No sooner are they perceived than motor reactions begin, resulting in some action or motion. These ideas, like those of primitive men, have few or no sensory reactions bringing up series of associated ideas. They differ widely from the sensorial ideas that revive each other without leading to activity. Ideas usually have one or the other of these kinds of associations dominant. Either their connections with the motor reactions are strong or they are closely associated with other ideas and merely excite long trains of thought.

The difference between the two can be illustrated by the effect of the word "attention" on a soldier and on a school

boy. The word to the soldier starts motor reactions creating certain activities. To the school boy, however, the word is associated not with activity, but with reflection and analysis. He expects his teacher to analyze a plant, to solve a problem or to perform an experiment. He has, therefore, a series of analytic ideas put before him which he must remember, but with which no activity is associated. The work of school boys is largely confined to the acquisition of sensorial knowledge. They acquire merely a series of associated ideas without any outlet in activity. A table of dates, long numerical calculations and languages acquired merely for discipline are examples.

The analytic type of mind creates a multitude of such ideas. Objects are divided into parts and redivided without end. A great number of ideas are formed which are never excited, except as parts of a long series of concepts. They are clear and definite, but their presence in consciousness merely arouses other ideas of the same series. A circle of ideas is thus formed which promote discrimination, meditation and delay. Men whose ideas are of this type are clear thinkers, but weak in action. They become dominant in advanced societies, and it is among them that degeneration takes place in periods of transition. Their activities do not harmonize with their knowledge. They lose sight of the essentials to life in a multitude of minor distinctions. In the process of degeneration these circles of sensorial ideas are broken up. Many of them are lost because they are never aroused except as parts of the circle of ideas to which they belong. Those that remain do so because they are directly connected with the sensations coming from the outer world or because they are associated with motor activities. The circles of thought become shorter and the motor reactions direct and vivid. The ideas are those of advanced men and are clear and definite, because they are the products of analytic thought. They are, however, shorn of the associations connecting them with the ideas from which they are

derived or to which they are related. Their strong associations are now with motor reactions, and their perception leads to activity and not to the analysis of their content or to the history of their growth. In this respect they are like the ideas of primitive men, and the men who perceive them in their full force act with the promptness and efficiency of primitive men. Such ideas are the starting points in men's thinking, but not the first ideas they held. Primal ideas are thus primitive in form, but their content is like those of advanced men. Social ideas are of this class. They have their origin in complicated sensorial reactions and discriminations, but when once formed their sensorial associations are weakened or lost. They become independent of the circles of thought by which they were created, and form the connecting link between sensations coming from the outer world and the motor reactions which adjust men to it. They have, therefore, the simplicity, directness and independence of primitive ideas and are easily mistaken for them. The thought of equality and fraternity appears simple and primitive, yet they are based on analyses which only advanced men can make. Although the sacredness of life and the golden rule seem to have great age they are concepts foreign to primitive men, and arise only when mental analysis has made great progress. Nothing seems simpler or older than the thought of nature, of God, or of heaven. Yet the ideas associated with these words were changed many times before they acquired their present clearness and the power to direct the activities of men. Such ideas have gone through many periods of degeneration and reversion, in which they lost their original sensorial connections and were brought into closer touch with the motor powers.

Men with such ideas are synthetic in their thought and feel more keenly the harmony between themselves and other objects and beings. The concept of self is enlarged because more ideas relate to objects that are agreeable and hence capable of being joined to the self and identified with it.

The consciously disagreeable may be more pronounced but it is concentrated in fewer objects. The mass of objects become indifferent or so universally agreeable that in their enjoyment no contrast is made between the self and the non-self. The world, it is thought, would be a paradise but for a few prevailing evils. When men perceive that evil lies not in the nature of things but in a few discordant elements, they identify themselves more fully with society and the universe. Men who believe a personal devil to be the source of evil are more social than men who believe that natural objects, being impure or unclean, are the cause of their woes. It is better to believe in witches than to attribute the evils of life to the inanimate objects with which men come in contact. So also men who think that their evils are due to oppression, to their rulers, to particular measures or policies have a larger personality than if they believed mankind to be depraved and all their associates to have evil designs. Such men do not differentiate themselves so sharply from the persons and objects with which they come in contact. It is no wonder that when they become leaders in great social movements they pervert history. Real history is not sharply contrasted with their fancies. The lines between the two are so vague that it is easy and natural to change the order of events to suit their own ends. They view the past more as a picture than as a series of events. By such men the historical order of events is converted into the logical order and through their influence men picture the past in a way that harmonizes the two possible bases upon which social doctrines and institutions can rest.

Professor Giddings encourages this transformation when he makes the consciousness of kind a member of the logical series of ideas and at the same time gives it a place in the actual series of social ideas which have been developed in the history of the race. It cannot from the circumstances of the case be the first member of both series. If it is the original subjective datum of society in the sense of being the first in

the historical order, it cannot be the elementary datum in the sense of being the source from which men derive their principles and institutions. There can be no doubt as to where it really belongs. It is an idea of late origin projected backward into an ideal past, just as other ideas of the logical order are. The consciousness of kind is not the cause of society but is the product of social evolution. It is made the basis of society by a conscious process and gets its age in the same way that other ideals and natural rights acquire their alleged antiquity. With a different emphasis and a more vivid setting it may become as cogent a force in social progress as any of the group of ideals to which it belongs. But such work is for the reformer and not for the scholar. The latter should isolate the elements which the former strives to blend and visualize.

If this analysis of social phenomena is correct, the connection between psychology and sociology is not that of dependency. Social ideas are not simple psychic elements, but complexes due to the blending of certain sensory ideas with motor reactions. The sociologist must perceive that the feeling of identity is not indecomposable and unvarying, but is capable of change, and corresponds to the conditions set by the environment. There is a social self to be contrasted with a non-social self, but not a social mind to be contrasted with the individual mind. The psychic qualities distinguishing the social from the unsocial, lie within each man and not in any higher psychic unity which their relations to each other create. The requisites for survival which succeeding environments create determine the direction of social progress, but the peculiarities of each epoch are due to the kind of social control which its requisites make possible. Social control is exercised through objects necessary for all men and yet capable of monopolization. The more objective these requisites are and the more they are under the control of a few individuals, the more does society seem like a social mind. This concept is merely the personification of

social control. When social control is objective and concentrated, such a personification is easily made; it becomes increasingly difficult, however, in advanced societies in which social control is diffused. There is, therefore, no good reason for calling sociology a psychologic science. It is much better to assert its independence and to develop its terms and ideas out of its own material. In this way progress may be slower, but it will be surer and in the end will give sociology a place in the hierarchy of the sciences equal in rank with physics, chemistry, or any other independent science.

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POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS.

The necessity for some absolutely safe place for the deposit of the savings of the people of the United States has long been recognized by all public spirited and broad minded men. The entire lack of responsibility to the depositors on the part of the stockholders of savings banks, beyond the face value of their stock and the repeated ruination of depositors by the failure of such banks, has caused many people to lose confidence in them.

The faith of the people in the absolute solvency of the United States Government has created a demand for the establishment of a postal savings department, where the savings of its citizens could be deposited with a feeling of absolute security. Many laws on the subject, differing one from the other in the manner of being put in operation have been proposed. Senator Chandler, of New Hampshire, in the last Congress advocated a bill for a public loan through the issue of postal savings notes. Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, introduced a bill in which he favored loaning the deposits to national banks and making the loans preferred claims. Senator Peffer in the Senate and Mr. Mercer in the House of Representatives offered similar measures. Senator Kyle proposed a bill by which deposits should be loaned to farmers. Senator Quay, by request, introduced a measure asking for postal savings depositories. All these bills differ somewhat in the rate of interest and minor particulars, but all of them indicate the imperative demand of the people for the enactment of some law on the subject. This is further shown by the debate at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. The People's Party at its convention held in St. Louis on July 24, 1896, reiterated its former

declarations in favor of postal savings banks, in the following words :

“ We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people, and to facilitate exchange.”

The general benefits of a postal savings department can be briefly summarized. The special reasons why the United States should establish such banks will be considered after the experience of foreign nations has been reviewed.

In general, therefore, in the first place, such a department would furnish a safe place for the earnings of the laboring classes and stimulate them to habits of saving.

Second, since there are seventy millions of people in this country, and since each one on the average has ten dollars hoarded, there is the immense sum of seven hundred million dollars which is absolutely retired from circulation. The country is crippled thereby, through a scarcity of money, which might be restored to active circulation by means of a postal savings department.

Third, there would probably be at least one thousand millions of dollars deposited by the people inside of two years, which, if used to retire government bonds, would cause the debt of the country to be held by its own citizens and relieve the country from the financial control of foreign money lenders.

Fourth, the moral tone of the citizens of the country would be elevated and their independence increased by the fact of having money on deposit, and the credit and stability of the government would be firmly defended by all having deposits with the banks from the additional incentive of self-interest.

Postal savings banks have been introduced in all of the leading countries of the world, excepting the United States, Germany* and Switzerland. Their establishment has been

* Municipal savings banks are to be found in the leading cities of the German Empire.

urged by the different postmasters-general of this country, at various times, but without success.

Recent consular reports sent from Germany show that that country with its large population and adverse conditions, is more prosperous than is generally supposed. This is due to the habits of saving and thrift of the German people. France, notwithstanding its enormous war-debt, is to-day highly prosperous, due to the well-known probity of its citizens. A distinguished French writer says:

“ It is the savings bank which has taught the workman of France how he can become a capitalist, in moderating his consumption below his production, and in amassing the excess, called savings, in a fruitful place in complete security; he learns how capital is formed and how it can at first be produced. It is in fact a school which seems to be created for the apprenticeship of industrial business. It teaches a man to govern himself, to resist bad or useless impulses and so aids in building up a sound discretion which is the first success in life.”

Banks for saving were first introduced in England in 1797 when Jeremy Bentham established his Frugality Bank. Private savings banks were sustained by private funds and influence and were maintained without expectation of profit. Trust savings banks corresponding to our private savings banks were established in 1817. Mr. Whitehead was the first to propose the idea of connecting savings banks with the government by the introduction of such a measure into Parliament in 1807, but it failed to pass. His ideas, however, were incorporated fifty years later in the bill prepared by Postmaster-General Sir Rowland Hill, which was introduced by Hon. William E. Gladstone in May, 1861. Mr. Gladstone made a remarkable speech on this occasion and carried the bill through Parliament.* The second clause of the new bill provided:

* The *London Times* supported the measure and wrote editorially:—“ The country will recognize at once the universal boon of a bank maintained at the public expense, secured by the public responsibility, with the whole empire for its capital, with a branch in every town, open at all hours, more than all giving a fair rate of interest.”

"Every deposit received by any officer of the postmaster-general appointed for that purpose shall be entered by him at the time in the depositor's book and the entry shall be attested by him and by the dated stamp of his office and the amount of such deposit shall upon the day of such receipt be reported by such officer to the postmaster-general, and the acknowledgment of the postmaster-general, signified by the officer whom he shall appoint for that purpose, shall be transmitted to the depositor and the said acknowledgment shall be conclusive evidence of his claim to the repayment thereof, with the interest thereon, upon demand made by him."

Sir Robert Peel declared that the new bill was so good a measure, that he wondered that it had ever passed. On the sixteenth day of September, 1861, the post-office savings banks were opened to depositors and on that day 435 deposits were received. At the end of the following year 2535 offices were open and nearly £2,000,000 had accumulated and ten years later it had increased to £19,000,000. There are now 11,000 post offices open in the United Kingdom for receipts and deposits, from nine in the morning until six, and on Saturdays until nine in the evening. Any person desiring to open an account is furnished with a blank form of declaration and a pass-book is issued to which the depositor fixes his signature. A person can become a depositor without going to a post office and the declaration can be signed in the presence of any person known at the office; a minister of any religious body, justice of the peace or commissioner who is authorized to administer oaths. When a depositor wishes to make a withdrawal from his account, he fills up and forwards to the postal department a notice of withdrawal which he can obtain at any office. Deposit-books are not accepted as security for money and are not liable to attachment. Deposits, however, can be transferred if so desired.

Deposits may be made:

- (a) By persons of full age and not under legal disability.
- (b) By married women.
- (c) By children seven years old and upwards.

(*d*) On behalf and in the names of children under seven years of age. Money so deposited is not repayable until the children attain that age.

(*e*) On behalf of insane persons by the committees of their estates.

(*f*) By two or more persons jointly on their own behalf, provided no one of them has any other account in a savings bank.

(*g*) By one person as trustee for another person also named in the account, provided the latter is not already a savings bank depositor. A person may act as trustee in any number of accounts, and at the same time have an account on his own behalf.

(*h*) By a duly registered Friendly Society upon the application of all of its trustees. In this case deposits may be made without limit.

(*i*) By a duly registered industrial and provident society, not chargeable with income tax. In this case also deposits may be made without limit.

(*j*) By a charitable or provident society, penny bank, or similar institution, through the trustees or treasurer. In this case deposits may be made to the extent of £100 in any one year, and £300 in the whole, and, if the consent of the National Debt Commissioners be obtained, without limit.

(*k*) By societies, limited companies, and other corporations, not coming under *h*, *i* or *j*, the deposits being subject to the ordinary limits.

(*l*) By vicars and rectors of parishes, and other official persons being corporations solely, the accounts being opened in their official titles. In these cases also the ordinary limits for deposits apply.

(*m*) In the name of the registrar of the county court. Under the seventieth section of the county courts act, 51 & 52 Vict. c. 43., 'trust monies' not in excess of £500, may be thus deposited; and under the seventy-first section money paid into a county court in 'equitable proceedings' may be deposited by the registrar without restriction as to amount."

Persons are not limited in making deposits or withdrawals to the office or town in which they live. Every year depositors can avail themselves of the facility for depositing and withdrawing at any of the 11,000 offices existing, irrespective of where accounts are first opened. The accounts are kept in London and money can be withdrawn on short notice. Every depositor on the thirty-first of December of each year must forward his book to the comptroller of the postal savings bank in order that the entries in the said book

may be compared with those in the hands of the postmaster-general. Interest is paid on any sum that is a multiple of a pound. The interest is added to the principal every year, but none is allowed on deposits which exceed the sum of £200.

The English Postal Savings Bank department shows a remarkable growth, and increase of business as can be seen in the annual report of Postmaster-General John Morley.* Now one out of every seven persons in England is a depositor in the postal savings banks. The withdrawals and deposits for 1892 and 1893 are given in the following table for the purpose of comparison:—

Year ending—	DEPOSITS.		WITHDRAWALS.	
	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.
December 31, 1892	9,478,339	£22,845,031	3,335,068	£20,346,217
“ 1893	9,838,198	£24,649,024	3,618,721	£21,764,566

Interest to the amount £1,860,104 was credited to depositors in 1893, being £113,841 more than the corresponding sum in 1892. The total amount due to English depositors on the thirty-first of December, 1893, the close of the savings bank year, was £80,597,641, representing an increase of £4,774,562 during the year, or about a half million more than the increase in 1892. Besides this the amount of government stock held by depositors was augmented by £765,474, raising the total amount on the thirty-first of December 1894, to £6,364,494; distributed among 69,131 stock accounts.

A new “Savings Bank Act” which became a law on the thirty-first of December, 1893, extended the limit of annual deposits from £30 to £50, and also extended limits of investment in government stock. This act further permitted persons to reinvest once a year any one amount of stock sold within that year. Finally it laid down that any accumulation of money standing to a depositor’s account after the maximum

*See Fortieth Annual Report of the English Postmaster-General for 1894. Pp. 11-19, 47-58.

limit of £200 has been reached, subject to certain conditions, shall be invested in government stocks. In the few days between the twenty-first and the thirty-first of December, 1893, 2702 depositors added £20, in one sum to the £30, they had already deposited within the year, representing £54,040; and in the period from the twenty-first of December, 1893, to the thirtieth June, 1894, the sum deposited in excess of the old £30 limit, reached a total of £107,323, the number of deposits being 87,876. Of these deposits 20,852 were of £50 each. A comparison of the first three months of 1893 and the corresponding period of 1894 shows a striking advance. The deposits amounted to £8,142,336 as compared with £6,765,179, the increase being £1,377,157 while the difference between the amount deposited and withdrawn (*i. e.* increase of capital) was in the first quarter of 1893 only £1,962,862. The daily average number of depositors during the year was 32,150, representing £80,552. The greatest number of deposits occurred on the thirtieth of December when 83,411 deposits were made representing £300,837.

A person in urgent need of money is allowed to withdraw as much as £10 by telegraph on the same day, and £20 on the following day; on the condition that he pays the cost of the necessary telegrams. This facility was introduced a year ago and no fewer than 21,000 depositors made use of it, withdrawing a total amount of £100,000. These applications are to be found most numerous before and after the holidays. The procedure is very simple. The depositor applies to a local post office, fills up an ordinary withdrawal form; the postmaster notes that a sufficient sum is standing to the credit of the depositor in his book and telegraphs to the London office, when, if satisfactory, he receives a telegram of advice authorizing him to pay the money. The average interval between the application of the depositor and the payment of the money is thirty-eight minutes in London and less than an hour in the rest of the United Kingdom. The minimum expense is nine shillings for the telegram of

withdrawal and its repetition and six pence for the telegram of advice. It is open to a depositor, who is anxious to save the expense of the second telegram, to ask by telegraph for the payment of his money by the post next day.

Any person desiring to save one shilling, by means of penny contributions, for deposit in the Post Office Savings Bank, can do so by purchasing penny postage stamps and affixing them to the following form :—

(FORM.)

I	I	I	I	I	I	II	
I	I	I	I	I	I	II	Depositor's Book.
I	I	I	I	I	I	II	
I	I	I	I	I	I	II	Office of Issue
I	I	I	I	I	I	II	No. of Book
I	I	I	I	I	I	II	
I	I	I	I	I	I	II	Dated Stamp of I I
I	I	I	I	I	I	II	Post Office re- I I
I	I	I	I	I	I	II	ceiving the I I
I	I	I	I	I	I	II	Postage Stamps. I I

When twelve stamps have been affixed, the form may then be taken to any post office savings bank, where it will be received by the postmaster, and one shilling be allowed for the stamps, either as the first deposit in a new account then to be opened, or as an ordinary deposit if the owner of it has already an account.

Mr. Fawcett while postmaster-general stated that 58,000 new accounts were opened with the postal savings bank when this shilling system was first introduced. Mr. Morley in his reports states that 555 new schools adopted the stamp deposit system and that there are now in all 6000 schools in which the young are trained to save through the machinery of the post office. A clerk from the neighboring office comes to the school and has charge of the system. Mr. Fawcett in one of his speeches instanced a striking example of the extent to which by very slight efforts by way of saving in youth will afford substantial assistance in old age. A lad

of fifteen is commonly in the receipt of weekly wages varying from 10*d.* upwards. To put aside a penny a week is quite an imperceptible sacrifice. By such a minute act of saving, continued through life till the age of sixty, an annuity of £2, 10*s.* will be secured at that age.

The postmaster-general reported that the amount of stock investment showed a considerable increase in the year 1893. A sum of £1,544,506 was invested in that year as compared with £1,264,104 in the previous year, an increase of £280,402. The sales amounted to £711,468 as compared with £688,385 in 1892. The total amount of stock held was £6,364,492 being over three-fourths of a million more than at the end of the previous year. The number of stockholders on the thirty-first of December, 1894, was 69,000. A depositor who wishes to invest in government stock * must send to the comptroller of the savings bank department an application signed by him on a form to be obtained at any savings bank office. Such investments can be made in any post office, within seven days from the receipt of such application, the deposit account is charged with the current price of the stock purchased and is credited on the books of the government stock register. Any amount of stock from one shilling upward may be purchased, the limit for one year ending on the thirty-first of December of each year is £200; the total amount of stock standing to a depositor's credit must not exceed £500; if so the depositor must reduce the amount by sales or by a transfer to the Bank of England.

The English government has also established annuities† (pensions for old age) as well as an extensive system of insurance in connection with the postal banks. Immediate or deferred annuities of not less than £1, and not more than £100, may be purchased through the department on the life of any person over five years of age. These annuities

* See Savings Banks Investment Regulations for 1888, 1889 and 1891.

† See Annuity and Insurance Regulations of English Postal Banks, London, 1894.

are payable in equal half-yearly instalments on the fifth of January and the fifth of July, or on the fifth of April and tenth of October, according to the date of purchase. A female aged twenty-four, may purchase a deferred annuity (pension) of £1, to commence on reaching the age of sixty and to be payable half-yearly, either by an annual payment of 4 shillings 4 pence, or upon immediate payment of £5 4s. 11d. A male aged twenty-four years, may purchase a deferred annuity (pension) of £1, to commence on his reaching the age of fifty-four and to be paid half-yearly, either by an annual payment until he reaches the age of fifty-four of 4s. 4d.; or an immediate payment of £3 19s. 10d. The lives of persons of either sex between fourteen and sixty-five years of age may be insured for any amount not less than £5, and not more than £100. The lives of children between eight and fourteen years may be insured for £5. If the amount of the annuity or the insurance purchased is less than £100, further annuities and insurance may be purchased from time to time until the total amount of annuities depending on the life is £100, and the total sum insured is £100. Husband and wife can purchase an annuity of £100 and may be insured to the full amount of £100. Annuity and insurance premiums are payable through the medium of a savings bank deposit; accounts are accepted in addition to ordinary deposits for immediate investment in government stock. All amounts that may become due to a depositor or his representatives in respect to annuities or insurance will be credited to his deposit account. The following are examples of the various annuities and their cost:

A male aged sixty-five can purchase an annuity of £1, payable half-yearly for £9 13s. 4d.

A female aged seventy can purchase an immediate annuity of £1, payable half-yearly for £8 14s. 2d.

The premiums charged for insurance vary with the ages of the persons whose lives are insured and with the mode in which they are payable. The life of a male or female

between the age of twenty-one and twenty-two years of age may be insured for £10 by an annual payment throughout life of 4s. 4d; or by an annual payment to the age of sixty of 4s. 8d; or by a single payment of £4 4s. All persons insuring their lives or purchasing annuities become, if not so already, savings bank depositors; their premiums are deducted from the deposits.

Postal banks were first introduced into Canada in April, 1868, and a system prevails there similar to that in England. Postal banks are introduced in all post offices which are money order offices. Deposits of one dollar and upwards are received from any depositor, and the maximum sum that can be accepted as deposited is \$1000; only \$3000 is allowed on the books of the postmaster-general exclusive of interest. Every depositor must give name, occupation and residence and also sign the following declaration:

(FORM.)

Depositor's Book	Declaration by Depositor on
Office	making first Deposit:
No	

"I,, of do hereby declare to the Postmaster-General that I am desirous on my own behalf, to become a depositor in the Postal Savings Bank. I do hereby further declare that I am not directly or indirectly entitled to any sum or sums standing in my own name or in the names of any other person or persons in the books of said Post Office Savings Bank; and I do hereby also testify my consent that my deposits in the said Post Office Savings Bank shall be managed according to the regulations thereof."

Witness my hand this day of 18 . .

Signed by the said
in the presence of me

. }
. }

"I, the depositor named in the foregoing declaration declare that I clearly understand that for every deposit I shall place in the hands of a Postmaster for transmission to the Post Office Savings Bank, I must see that I receive a direct receipt from the Postmaster-General and that the Postmaster's entry in the Pass Book is not sufficient without the further receipt from Ottawa."

It can be seen from this that a depositor must sign a declaration that he is not entitled to any sum previously standing on the books of the postmaster-general at Ottawa, where a savings account is kept of every depositor.

If a depositor wishes to withdraw his deposit he fills out the following blank form, giving number of pass-book and the name of the office from where it is sent:

(FORM.)

Depositor's Book.	
Office	The . . . day of IS . .
No	
.	To the Postmaster-General,
	Ottawa.

I hereby give notice that I withdraw the sum of Dollars, from my deposit account, bearing above number on the books of the Postal Savings Bank, and I request that a cheque may be issued for the above named sum and be delivered to me at the Post Office Savings Bank at

. Signature,	} of Depositor.
. Occupation,	
. Address,	

Deposits can be also made by a trustee on behalf of another person in the joint names of such trustee and the person on whose account such money may be deposited, but repayment shall not be made without the receipt of both parties. Interest is calculated yearly at a rate not exceeding 4 per cent per annum and is to be computed up to the first day of the calendar month when money is withdrawn.

The interest is calculated on the thirtieth of June of each year and then becomes part of the principal. Hon. D. M. Matheson, Superintendent of the Savings Branch of the Canadian Postal Department, reports that the postal banks of Canada have proven a great success from the beginning, in the system as well as in their operation. The tables on pages 42 and 43 contain a statement of the business transacted from the date of their establishment to June, 1895.

Austria introduced postal savings banks in 1868. The last report of the director of the postal savings department speaks with great enthusiasm of the success which the system has achieved in that country.* Postal banks have been established in every post office of the empire. Every depositor must affix his signature to the pass-book. The least amount accepted is fifty kreuzer (twenty-four cents). Every larger amount must be double this sum. In order to encourage the saving of smaller amounts, postal cards are issued with a five kreuzer stamp (two cents) upon it and blank spaces for other stamps. When covered by fifty kreuzers in stamps the whole is received as a deposit. Not more than one gulden (forty-eight cents) is accepted as one deposit. A secret watchword may be placed on the pass-book, in connection with the signature of identification. An account of all savings is kept in the central office of Vienna. Interest at 3 per cent is paid on one gulden and upward. The government when requested buys bonds for depositors at the market price and charges the same up to their accounts. Interest is paid on the thirty-first of December of each year and added to the principal. Amounts from one gulden to twenty gulden can be withdrawn at any time without special notice to the central department, but at least fifty kreuzer (twenty-four cents) must remain on deposit. In case the principal exceeds 1000 gulden, the depositor is notified to reduce the amount, and if after one month the amount is not reduced, the officials buy government bonds at the market price and

* See *Zwölfter Rechenschaftsbericht des K. K. Postsparcassen—Amtes*. Vienna 1895.

PERIOD.	Number of Post Office Savings Banks at close of period.	Number of deposits received during period.	Total amount of deposits received during period.	Average amount of each deposit received during period.	Amount of depositors' accounts transferred from Dominion Government Savings Bank during period.	Number of withdrawals during period.	Total amount withdrawn during period.	Average amount of each withdrawal during period.	Number of accounts opened during period.	Number of depositors' accounts transferred from Dominion Government Savings Bank during period.
Three months ended 30th June, 1868.	81	3,217	212,367	\$65.41	165	98,577.48	\$53.35	2,146	2,146	1,959
Year ended 30th June, 1869.	213	16,653	927,885	55.71	4,787	296,754.35	61.80	6,429	6,429	2,962
Year ended 30th June, 1870.	296	21,901	1,317,901	53.93	9,178	664,553.51	70.11	7,823	7,823	3,467
Year ended 30th June, 1871.	290	33,256	1,917,376	57.66	15,148	1,006,438.86	72.10	8,424	8,424	3,570
Year ended 30th June, 1872.	255	39,189	2,261,931	57.27	20,154	1,278,465.19	81.33	10,846	10,846	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1873.	259	41,413	2,306,918	51.91	23,800	1,253,239.32	86.91	11,965	11,965	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1874.	266	43,329	2,540,281	51.63	25,814	1,268,643.42	86.04	12,048	12,048	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1875.	268	42,508	1,942,346	45.69	25,954	2,341,979.01	82.88	10,516	10,516	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1876.	279	38,647	1,726,201	41.66	24,152	2,021,457.97	77.11	10,218	10,218	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1877.	287	36,136	1,521,000	42.10	22,484	1,726,082.98	70.49	8,971	8,971	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1878.	285	40,097	1,721,371	43.00	21,914	1,763,658.73	70.55	10,658	10,658	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1879.	297	43,319	1,973,243	45.52	23,226	1,733,448.79	66.07	10,755	10,755	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1880.	297	56,031	2,729,216	48.55	26,716	2,015,813.16	69.89	14,407	14,407	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1881.	304	71,747	4,175,042	58.19	28,510	2,097,380.15	73.56	18,731	18,731	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1882.	308	97,380	6,435,989	66.09	35,859	3,461,619.31	96.53	25,778	25,778	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1883.	330	109,189	6,226,266	62.35	45,253	4,730,945.39	104.54	27,127	27,127	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1884.	333	109,388	6,441,439	58.88	56,026	5,649,011.13	100.84	26,562	26,562	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1885.	335	116,576	7,098,159	60.89	59,714	5,733,031.84	97.01	27,591	27,591	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1886.	392	126,332	7,645,227	60.52	62,046	6,183,470.60	99.40	29,103	29,103	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1887.	415	113,076	8,272,930	57.81	65,853	6,626,067.51	100.62	31,874	31,874	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1888.	433	155,978	7,732,330	49.51	78,249	7,514,071.78	96.05	37,515	37,515	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1889.	463	166,255	7,936,951	47.67	1,085,979.72	7,532,115.56	89.65	38,049	38,049	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1890.	491	151,678	6,500,896	49.67	90,151	8,575,011.08	95.12	32,127	32,127	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1891.	631	147,672	6,000,372	41.82	81,963	7,875,977.57	92.67	29,791	29,791	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1892.	642	145,423	7,036,002	51.78	77,381	7,250,539.14	93.44	28,943	28,943	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1893.	673	148,808	7,708,888	51.78	73,361	6,631,578.97	90.39	29,502	29,502	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1894.	699	145,960	7,324,266	51.55	84,941	7,433,585.46	87.98	29,116	29,116	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1895.	731	143,685	7,488,028	52.11	85,986	7,410,291.97	85.41	27,998	27,998	4,121
Year ended 30th June, 1896.	755	155,398	8,138,947	52.37	87,221	7,406,066.13	84.91	30,100	30,100	4,121

PERIOD.	Number of accounts closed during period.	Number of accounts remaining open at close of period.	COST OF MAINTAINING THE POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.						Losses sustained.	Interest allowed to depositors.	Total amount standing open accounts, including, at close of period.	Average amount standing open account at close of period.
			Total expenses management, inspection, postage, stationery, etc.	Average cost of each transaction, viz.: of each depositor withdrawal.	Percentage of cost of management due to depositors.							
Three months ended 30th June, 1868.	41	2,102	\$ 8,380 43	\$0 23 4	..	..	\$ 939 37	..	..	\$ 204,588 89	\$ 97 33
Year ended 30th June, 1869.	1,319	7,212	5,808 14	20 5	..	..	21,094 72	..	..	856,814 26	118 80
Year ended 30th June, 1870.	2,857	12,178	8,128 12	20 5	..	..	48,089 08	..	..	1,588,848 83	130 41
Year ended 30th June, 1871.	4,449	17,153	11,108 10	20 1	..	..	84,273 68	..	..	2,497,259 65	145 50
Year ended 30th June, 1872.	6,940	21,039	12,242 34	20 1	..	..	116,174 55	..	..	3,066,500 01	147 04
Year ended 30th June, 1873.	9,328	23,526	15,093 78	22 7	..	..	126,362 88	..	..	3,807,051 57	136 32
Year ended 30th June, 1874.	10,648	24,968	14,412 71	20 7	..	..	126,273 31	..	..	3,204,965 46	128 36
Year ended 30th June, 1875.	11,139	24,294	12,539 59	18 7	..	..	120,758 06	..	..	2,926,090 48	120 44
Year ended 30th June, 1876.	10,097	24,115	11,662 14	23 7	..	..	110,116 08	..	..	2,740,352 59	112 27
Year ended 30th June, 1877.	9,312	24,974	15,149 13	26 2	..	\$6,126 67	104,067 86	..	..	2,639,957 47	109 60
Year ended 30th June, 1878.	8,597	25,535	15,266 08	25 5	..	..	103,834 29	..	..	2,754,484 03	107 87
Year ended 30th June, 1879.	8,845	27,145	16,100 03	24 5	..	..	110,912 56	..	..	3,105,190 80	113 14
Year ended 30th June, 1880.	10,187	31,365	19,134 14	23 3	..	..	136,075 47	..	..	3,495,669 11	125 80
Year ended 30th June, 1881.	10,491	39,605	25,225 99	23 2	..	..	184,904 81	..	..	3,946,226 77	156 75
Year ended 30th June, 1882.	13,920	51,463	29,245 68	21 9	..	391 00	291,065 07	..	..	4,473,661 53	184 08
Year ended 30th June, 1883.	17,531	61,039	31,189 05	20 2	..	..	407,305 17	..	..	5,197,629 31	196 13
Year ended 30th June, 1884.	20,939	66,682	31,189 05	20 6	..	..	477,487 46	..	..	6,245,552 61	198 63
Year ended 30th June, 1885.	20,951	73,322	35,751 23	20 3	..	..	559,560 51	..	..	7,090,540 31	205 81
Year ended 30th June, 1886.	21,565	80,870	41,358 11	21 9	..	..	607,075 58	..	..	8,197,372 09	212 18
Year ended 30th June, 1887.	22,585	90,159	43,661 25	20 9	..	150 00	692,401 57	..	..	9,497,750 15	216 26
Year ended 30th June, 1888.	26,704	101,033	44,348 93	19 7	..	..	765,639 15	..	..	10,689,032 62	203 44
Year ended 30th June, 1889.	28,581	113,123	51,394 46	20 7	..	..	841,621 79	..	..	12,011,422 57	208 41
Year ended 30th June, 1890.	33,499	112,521	51,132 07	20 8	..	3,653 37	786,875 57	..	..	13,990,655 49	195 78
Year ended 30th June, 1891.	32,066	111,250	60,195 65	25 3	..	200 00	734,450 89	..	..	15,798,648 09	196 44
Year ended 30th June, 1892.	29,368	109,895	57,661 49	25 7	..	..	734,450 89	..	..	17,726,401 65	201 21
Year ended 30th June, 1893.	29,062	114,275	57,443 24	25 8	..	..	777,482 98	..	..	21,153,193 66	211 36
Year ended 30th June, 1894.	27,063	117,020	56,611 98	21 5	..	..	835,800 31	..	..	23,257,868 14	215 84
Year ended 30th June, 1895.	731	120,628	58,349 29	21 9	..	..	876,049 07	..	..	26,065,542 47	222 22
Year ended 30th June, 1896.	..	126,112	..	24	..	..	914,621 73	..	..	28,982,979 68	228 82

thus reduce the deposit. Employes of the banks are required to regard all transactions as secret and confidential. The postal savings department of Austria made great progress in the last ten years. In 1878 the number of depositors was 913,347 having a bank account of 29,335 gulden and held government stock having a nominal value of 11,051,370 gulden. The average amount of each deposit in 1883 was eleven gulden, while in 1892 it was thirty-two gulden, showing a decided increase. In the year 1892 the number of depositors was 65,731; the total amount being 4,493,234 gulden and government stock amounting to 1,412,690 gulden, which was the greatest increase since the foundation of the bank. During the year 1893 the number of depositors increased to 58,059, the amount of deposits increased 4,346,209 gulden; the total number of depositors was 971,576, having 33,681 gulden on account and 33,681,438 invested in government securities.

During the year 1895 the number of deposits made in the Austrian Empire was 1,917,784, the total amount deposited was 37,160,508 gulden, the number of deposits repaid was 667,333, and the total amount withdrawn was 31,338,747 gulden. The number of deposit books issued was 1,110,091, an increase over 1893 of 14.2 per cent. From a comparison of the number of inhabitants in the Austrian half of the empire with the number of depositors it is found that 46 of every 1000 inhabitants possess a post office deposit book, whereas this number in 1893 was 41 and in 1892 only 38. The greatest activity in saving was shown by persons between the ages of ten and twenty, to whom belong 27.8 per cent of all the deposit books (1893, 28.6). Next to them come children below the age of ten years, who represent 26.4 per cent (1893, 25.6). Those between the ages of twenty and thirty represent nearly 24.03 per cent (1893, 23.9) of the deposits. Persons between the ages of thirty and forty represent only 14.5 per cent (1893, 14.8), and those between forty and fifty only 3.7 per cent (the same as in 1893). There were

eight persons above ninety years (1893, 6), who represent 0.001 per cent of the depositors. Young people up to the age of thirty form 78 per cent of the savings bank depositors in Austria, and thus show more inclination to save than older persons. The number of books issued to children during the year was 479,418 (1893, 432,839). The gratifying participation of youthful depositors is ascribed to the efforts of teachers and post office employes, who do their best to awaken in the youth the habit of saving. The rural postmen who collect deposits when on their rounds are particularly energetic. In 1895 they collected 73,366 separate sums, with a total value of 1,902,181 gulden. With respect to sex, the males exceed by 59.1 per cent (1893, 60.8) the total number of participants. The rest is composed of females, with 39.09 per cent (1893, 39.04), and societies and corporations, with about 0.9 per cent (1893, also 0.9). When divided according to language, the German-speaking inhabitants of the empire, who, as in 1893 represented 75.2 per cent of all depositors, are most numerous ; 15.6 per cent (1893, 15.4) are Bohemians ; 4.8 per cent (1893, 5.2) are Poles ; 3 per cent (1893, 2.9) Italians ; the remainder Ruthenians, Slavonians and Croatians. If the depositors are classed according to social position and profession, the largest participation is by children, school children and students, who form 43 per cent (1893, 44) of all the depositors ; artisans and laborers form 15.4 per cent (1893, 14.3) ; domestic servants form 8 per cent ; 4.8 per cent are married women and widows ; 2 per cent of the depositors are military men ; state and parochial officers represent 1.5 per cent. The remaining 26.3 per cent are distributed among the members of a great variety of professions and callings.

The table on page 46 gives the number and amount of the deposits and repayments for each year since the opening of the Austrian Post Office Savings Bank.

Hungary introduced postal savings banks in February, 1886. During the first year the bank only paid 13.9 per cent

DEPOSITS.			REPAYMENTS.		
Year.	Number.	Amounts.	Number.	Amounts.	
		<i>Fl.</i> <i>Kr.</i>		<i>Fl.</i>	<i>Kr.</i>
1883 . .	1,821,651	7,938,296 11	185,771	3,865,280	76
1884 . .	1,350,628	10,511,890 04	286,716	8,254,727	37
1885 . .	1,187,959	14,525,496 64	299,868	11,948,456	96
1886 . .	1,171,926	15,530,844 44	322,500	13,634,030	49
1887 . .	1,138,871	15,305,990 30	339,473	13,322,970	12
1888 . .	1,147,917	16,050,585 44	356,184	13,731,443	00
1889 . .	1,224,310	18,655,175 46	388,145	15,715,911	31
1890 . .	1,277,805	21,597,857 09	428,909	18,197,149	21
1891 . .	1,351,643	23,315,393 92	469,290	19,919,565	06
1892 . .	1,452,644	26,506,491 41	513,469	22,013,256	78
1893 . .	1,598,321	29,504,224 15	543,671	25,158,015	56
1894 . .	1,759,937	32,571,870 78	599,635	27,826,757	14
1895 . .	1,917,784	37,160,508 25	677,333	31,338,747	80
Total . .	18,410,396	269,174,624 04	5,410,964	224,926,312	09

of the expenses. In 1890 it paid 80.4 of the expenses of administration and in 1894 carried all expenses and repaid the sums advanced by the Postal Department of the empire.

Austria has established also a regular clearing and check system* in connection with its postal savings banks, offering the same conveniences as a private bank. Every bank is a savings bank and bank of deposit. Anybody who wishes to take advantage of the check system must bring his pass-book, paying one gulden and fifty kreuzer for a check book and ten kreuzer for each blank receipt. A permanent deposit of one hundred gulden, (forty dollars), is sufficient to make a person a member of the check and clearing system. No limit is placed on the amount that may be deposited, but a single check cannot be drawn for more than ten thousand gulden (\$4000).

On the ninth of May, 1881, M. Arthur Le Grand introduced a resolution in the Chamber of Deputies of France for the introduction of postal savings banks. The bill was

* See pamphlet "*Belehrung ueber das Anweisungs Clearing und Check Verkehr*," Vienna, 1893.

passed and went into operation April 9, 1881*. Prior to this date the business of savings banks had been left to private enterprise. Such banks were consequently established only in important centres, where the conditions were sure to insure success. By the establishment of postal savings banks 7000 post offices in France and Algiers became agencies of the postal department. In January, 1893, an unexplicable crisis in the financial world caused a decrease in the number of depositors of the banks of France. This was due partly to the spread of false reports, and consequently many depositors withdrew their accounts. During the crisis the amount on deposit decreased by twenty-one millions from the amount in 1892, but in 1894 the deficit had not only been made up but an increase of fifty millions was shown over the previous year. The Minister of Posts and Telegraph M. Perrier, under President Sadi Carnot, says: "I look with confidence on our Postal Savings Banks. The results obtained in this epoch justifies their establishment, even surpassing the attainments of the past †." On the first of January, 1893, ‡ the number of depositors in the postal bank was 1,973,673, and by the first of September, 1894, the number had risen to 2,224,813, a net increase of 251,140. It must be especially noted that of these 2,225,000 books, more than two-thirds were below 200 francs, showing that the greater part of the depositors are working people. Women and minors, domestic servants and artisans have been active depositors. Agricultural laborers form about 30 per cent of the clientage and minors constitute about one-third of the total depositors. The number of children to whom books was issued was 54,713, the total number now being 43,893. Communes where there are no post offices and therefore no agency of the savings banks are

* See "*Manuel des Deposants aux Caisses d'Epargne*," by Leopold Arnaud, Paris; A. Lahure, 1894.

† Report of M. Perrier, 1893.

‡ "*Rapport a. M. le President de la Republique sur les Operations de la Caisse national d'Epargne*," Paris, 1894.

visited at least once a day by rural letter carriers, who serve as intermediaries between the post office and the depositors. The Postal Bank of France receives deposits from one franc upwards and the maximum sum that can be deposited is 2000 francs. Deposits for less than one franc are received in the shape of five and ten centime postage stamps on a card. The bank pays an interest of 3 per cent while private banks pay three francs and fifty centimes for every one hundred francs. An arrangement made on the thirty-first of May, 1882, between France and Belgium, allows the citizens of each country to transfer their accounts to the other if so desired. The money of depositors is invested in government securities which are bought according to the daily quotations of the Paris Exchange. The following table shows the number of depositors in France arranged according to occupation and sex:

	Men.	Women.	Total.	Per Cent.
Proprietors of agricultural, industrial and commercial establishments	21,263	5,893	27,156	6.51
Day workers and agricultural workmen	31,067	9,238	40,340	9.68
Industrial workers	45,095	23,356	68,451	16.44
Domestics	19,754	33,284	53,038	12.74
Military and marines	20,385	97	20,482	4.92
Employers	28,743	6,248	34,991	8.41
Liberal professions	12,585	3,819	16,404	3.93
Proprietors, rentiers and persons without professions	22,987	51,088	74,075	17.78
Minors not exercising any profession	47,229	33,360	80,589	19.34
Nomades	890	177	1,067	0.25
Grand Total	249,998	166,560	416,558	100.00

The following shows the sums due to depositors and the cost of management on the thirty-first of December of every year since the establishment of the banks in France:

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YEAR.	Amounts Due Depositors.		Cost of Management.		Per Cent.
	fr.	c.	fr.	c.	
1882	47,601,638	91	364,245	22	0.76
1883	77,431,414	91	481,036	50	0.62
1884	115,402,034	14	679,454	00	0.58
1885	154,155,572	47	869,437	19	0.56
1886	190,674,127	34	1,162,387	35	0.61
1887	223,519,666	19	1,254,719	22	0.56
1888	266,788,602	76	1,422,120	09	0.53
1889	332,073,912	70	1,630,117	89	0.49
1890	413,439,048	96	1,945,898	29	0.47
1891	506,379,931	30	2,555,548	70	0.50
1892	616,363,425	96	2,839,971	67	0.46
1893	610,793,920	29	3,158,059	63	0.51

Postal saving banks were established in Belgium in 1865, but modified by the law in 1869.* Before being allowed to make deposits in a postal savings bank, a person must sign a declaration stating that he possesses a sufficient knowledge regarding the laws and regulations. No deposit can be less than one franc nor more than 3000 francs in two weeks, although no limit is fixed as regards the amount recorded in the same book. When a first deposit has been made by a married woman the signature of the husband in addition must appear on the records. The public is permitted to make use of the ordinary five and ten centime postage stamps for making deposits of one franc. The inhabitants of rural districts may make deposits through the intermediary of the letter-carriers in amounts not exceeding 500 francs. For the first deposit, however, they must go to the post office. In 1886 the maximum sum upon which interest was paid was reduced from 12,000 to 5000 francs, and in 1891 was further reduced to 3000 francs, with interest at 3 per cent. The following table shows the total number of depositors classified according to profession and sex; showing that the institution extends to all classes, especially to those who earn their living by manual labor. The number

* "*Compte rendu des Operations et de Situations de la Caisse generale d'Epargne et de Retraite de la Belgique*," Brussels, 1893.

of books opened in 1893 was 79,489, of which 45,223 belong to the first four categories, and 11,425 to working women.

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Miners	1,479	7	1,502
Industrial workers exercising a trade . .	15,947	4,128	20,075
Agricultural workers and day laborers . .	11,031	2,578	13,609
Domestics	2,623	7,414	10,037
Military	4,129	. . .	4,129
Commercial employes	4,843	1,829	6,672
Professors and teachers	641	429	1,070
Officers and government employes . . .	4,703	490	5,193
Chiefs of establishments, agricultural, commercial	2,518	11,425	13,943
Proprietors, rentiers, persons without any professions, housekeepers, minors .	43,006	34,170	77,176
Miscellaneous	3,110	149	3,259
	<hr/> 90,046	<hr/> 62,619	<hr/> 156,665

The funds received from the banks become a part of the public funds of Belgium. Depositors can buy government securities at 2, 2½ and 3 per cent. They receive a book of rents in which is found the nominal value of capital and quotations of rents. Interest is added to the principal on the fifteenth of each month and can be obtained if so desired. The savings bank is also authorized to make loans. No loans are made below 200 francs or that contain a fraction of 100 francs. Loans are made from fifteen to sixteen months and they can be renewed. They are made to all persons who can show that they are solvent and no guarantee for repayment is required.

In 1881 the Swedish Government appointed a committee of five to consider the establishment of postal savings banks, which in 1883 unanimously recommended their establishment. The king approved the measure and it became a law in 1884. The minimum amount of a deposit was fixed at one crown. Like the English shilling saving system, when savings do not amount to a crown, savings stamps of the value of ten ore

each may be used. These are issued by the post office and are like the ordinary postage stamps. For the purpose of acknowledging the receipt of deposits, the Swedish post office savings bank has adopted the system of coupon receipts of the following value: 1 crown, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 crowns. These receipts are of different colors, and the value is printed thereon. The management is in the hands of a board of directors, which consists of the director-general of posts, who is the president, the chief clerk of the postal department and three members, one of whom is especially appointed by the king, one is a clerk of the Royal Swedish Bank, and one a clerk in the office of the public debt. A special commission of two ore is allowed the postal officials for every deposit.

That the Swedish postal savings bank has shown relatively good results is indicated by the fact that the bank, after having been in operation since the beginning of 1884, controls an invested capital of 28,000,000 crowns (\$7,560,000), divided among about 369,000 pass-books. This shows the whole population of the country, 8 per cent have pass-books with an investment of 580 crowns.

These savings are invested in bonds issued by the government, in the Bank of Sweden, or municipalities in the kingdom, and also in direct loans to municipalities of the country.

Postal savings banks were introduced in Russia in 1889 and exist in co-operation with private savings banks. The minimum amount of a deposit is fixed at twenty-five kopecks and the maximum amount to the credit of the depositor is 1000 rubles. A commission is paid to the postal and telegraph officials for the management of the postal banks. It amounts to ten kopecks for each depositor's new deposit, and a further ten kopecks for every 100 rubles deposited. The Grand Duchy of Finland introduced postal banks in 1886. The management is entrusted to a directory of three members, viz., the director-general of posts, who is chairman,

and three others; one of whom is elected from among the directors of the state's treasury.

Postal savings banks were established in the Netherlands by the law of May 25, 1886. The post office savings bank is managed by a director residing at Amsterdam, who conducts the business under the superintendence of a council of administration and a subordinate to the ministry of commerce and industry. The Bank of the Netherlands performs the function of cashier to the savings banks, an arrangement by which the settlement of accounts between the savings banks and the treasury is considerably facilitated. The difference between the deposits and withdrawals is invested by the director of the bank with the approval of the council of administration in the securities designated by law. Interest is paid to depositors at the rate of 2.64 per cent per annum. No interest is allowed either for fractions of a florin or for amounts in excess of 800 florins. The minimum amount of deposit is fixed at twenty-five cents (Dutch), but stamp forms like those used in other countries, as already mentioned, are provided with spaces for five-cent postage stamps.

Italy introduced postal savings banks May 27, 1875. Deposits are accepted from one lira to 1000 lire, and also five and ten centesimi stamps are issued for amounts less than one lira. Interest to the amount of 3.25 per cent is paid annually.

The English Colonies have introduced postal banks, modeled after the mother country. The savings bank deposits of New Zealand numbered 202,276, and amounted to £2,386,089 10s. 7d., which, compared with 186,945 deposits for £1,878,270 6s. 4d. made the previous year, shows a very marked increase of 15,331 in number, and £507,819 4s. 3d. in amount.

This result was largely due, it is believed, to the crisis in banking circles in the neighboring colonies during the early part of the year. It may be of interest to mention that for the six months, from April to September, of 1894, no

less than £1,350,042 were deposited in the post office savings bank of the colony, compared with £927,807 deposited during the corresponding period of the previous year. The average cost of each savings bank transaction for the year was 4s.

Hawaii introduced postal savings banks in 1886, and the depositors in three years numbered 2641, and the deposits amounted to \$885,960.

Seventeen different bills have been introduced in Congress prior to January 1, 1896, looking to the establishment of postal savings banks in the United States. Postmaster-General Cresswell recommended their establishment in 1871, and two years later discussed the subject very fully in his annual report. He said that a system of postal deposits would not only strengthen our national finances, but, by bringing large sums into circulation, would indirectly afford our monetary and banking system the very relief of which it then stood in so much need. He declared that he felt entirely satisfied that the character of the service would be elevated and that it could be cheaply done and in the best manner by government officials controlled at every step by law, and punishable by severe penalties in case of fraud or dishonesty.* Hon. Thomas F. James, while postmaster-general, also recommended the introduction of postal banks. He said in his annual report published in 1881:

“It is my earnest conviction that a system of this description, if adopted, would inure, more than almost any other measure of public importance, to the benefit of the working people of the United States.”

Mr. Lacey, chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, in 1882 introduced a bill for the establishment of postal savings banks. Mr. Lacey's bill was heartily endorsed by the State's Charity Aid Association, of New York, and by other advocates of postal savings banks.†

* Annual report for 1873.

† Report submitted February 21, 1882.

It provided that none but money order offices should receive deposits; that no simple deposits should be less than ten cents or more than one hundred dollars; that no person should deposit more than one hundred dollars within thirty days, or have any more than five hundred dollars to his credit, and that interest at 2 per cent should be paid on all sums over three dollars and multiples of a dollar, beginning the first of the month following first deposit.

At the beginning of this paper the general advantages of postal savings banks were cited. It now remains to speak of the special reasons why the United States should establish such institutions.

Ex-Postmaster-General John Wanamaker, a practical business man, is an enthusiastic advocate of postal savings banks. In three annual reports* he urged their adoption, and showed that there was a steadily growing sentiment in favor of the establishment of such institutions. He showed that there were 12,000,000 of people in this country who worked for wages. The government, in the interest of better citizenship, should extend every encouragement to induce them to become savers. He demonstrated conclusively that private banks did not afford protection, that they generally were not conveniently situated nor open at hours agreeable to depositors. He also showed that in most of the states the laws for the protection of depositors were entirely unsatisfactory, and that the banks were not carried on under such conditions as to retain the confidence of their depositors. Mr. Wanamaker proposed that the Secretary of the Treasury should keep an account of all deposits by states and, to put the money into circulation, should offer the funds arising in each state as a loan to the national banks of that state at a rate of interest fixed by him, and that the same should be declared trust funds and be preferred claims against the bank. Mr. Wanamaker also suggested that the money received from deposits could be used for building

* See report for 1892.

new post offices. The government could use the money for the establishment of a postal telegraph and a postal package express, and take these agencies out of the hands of corporations.

The widespread failure of banks in recent years renders the establishment of postal savings banks an imperative duty which the government owes to the masses. Thousands have lost their savings which they had amassed by hard work and self-denial. Many of these banks were loosely and dishonestly managed and their affairs were adjusted with great loss to their depositors.

Hon. C. S. Fairchild, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under President Harrison, said that while Attorney-General of New York he was compelled to wind up the affairs of twenty-two savings banks, with a loss to the depositors of \$4,000,000. He became convinced that the professed guardianship exercised by the state over these banks amounts to nothing. The depositors were really without protection against the dishonesty of the bank officers. Three out of every eight of the savings banks of Maine suspended between the years of 1872 to 1879, and in the State of New York twenty-two banks failed with a capital of \$4,475,661. One hundred and seventeen banks, brokers, saving banks and trust companies failed during the year ending June 30, 1891, having liabilities of over \$38,000,000 and assets of over \$20,000,000. During the three years prior to January, 1891, the failure of state savings banks and private banks in twenty-three states numbered 210, with losses amounting to over \$32,000,000. The losses in the same year in Ohio and Illinois, through the failure of state, savings and private banks, aggregated over \$8,000,000; number of banks in existence in the last year was 12,666; the number of failures was seventy-nine, and the percentage of failures 0.62, with assets amounting to \$6,125,189 and liabilities to \$11,024,628.

Hon. James N. Eckels, Comptroller of the Currency, in his annual report for 1894 says:

"No one can deny that banking has over-reached itself in many communities. Profits are sought by several institutions when one strong bank only could be able to make them." *

In advocating a system of postal savings banks it is in no antagonism to private banks existing at the present time. The private institutions will be needed as heretofore. In England the number of private savings banks did not decrease when the postal savings system was adopted. The government pays only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, while the banks pay 3 and 4 per cent. The Hungarian post office reported in 1892:

"The private savings banks can never see a competitor in the postal savings banks, because their organization is different and because they serve a different class of people. The postal savings banks have not exercised any injurious influence on the development of private savings banks, which is shown by the circumstance that since the establishment of postal savings banks the depositors in the private banks have not decreased, but increased very materially."

The many failures of late years, however, prove the necessity for the government to interpose its restraint and exercise its powers for the protection of the people against fraud and mismanagement of private funds. Savings banks, when originally started, were for protection only, and it was not intended that money should be loaned out at a higher rate of interest, but it was to be invested in government bonds which could be converted into cash on short notice. The banks, however, loaned out money indiscriminately, taking uncertain security. Depositors who were entitled to get their money on demand were compelled to give sixty days' notice before they could obtain the same. Over one-half of the entire deposits in many of these banks were invested in mortgages, in real estate with a fictitious value, in loans of very doubtful security, and in stocks and bonds of railroads and other corporations, which had been copiously watered. Postal banks would not encroach on national banks, because

* Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1894, p. 10.

they are totally different in scope and character. National banks were established to lend money on personal security, to deal in exchanges, receive deposits and issue notes. They have no right to do business on borrowed capital, because they are then operating on a fictitious credit.

Postal savings banks would be a great convenience in many towns and small villages where private savings banks do not exist. In France, where there are no post offices, letter carriers serve as intermediaries for making deposits. It was ascertained by the visits of county-seat postmasters that in the New England States the average distance from the post office to the nearest saving bank was 10 miles; in the Middle States, 25 miles; in the Southern States, 33 miles, and in the Pacific Slope States, 52 miles.

Provisions for deposits and withdrawals in post offices would be a great convenience for travelers when away from home. Private banks have their doors open for depositors only a comparatively few hours, closing at 3 or 4 o'clock, while the post offices are always open until 6 o'clock.

Some have objected to the establishment of postal savings banks by the United States on the old cry of paternalism and centralization. This is the ancient and often-repeated slogan of the followers of the Manchester School, who believe in the non-interference of the state regardless of the rights and welfare of the masses. It is certainly more paternal to carry the mails than to preserve the savings of the people.

Other advantages would follow if postal savings banks were established. At the time when the new system was first discussed in England Mr. E. Chadwick, a member of the Constabulary and Police Commission of London, in a notable article published in the *Journal of Social Science*, showed that postal savings banks would be a preventive of crime. He cited a number of cases where murders had been committed on old people who had been known to hoard sums of money.

The following appeal of Ex-Postmaster-General John Wanamaker is a true expression of the conclusion of the author:

"With the undoubted evidence from every nation of the world save two, that, like the United States, have not established depositories, of the excellent results of this branch of postal service; with the agitation of this subject in this country for a quarter of a century; with the almost universal cry for it from the plain people, evidenced by letters and petitions to the department and by the newspapers throughout the country, I urgently ask that some one in each branch of the coming Congress will study the subject and endeavor to secure favorable action upon one of the many bills presented at every session to establish postal savings depositories for the people."

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A NEGLECTED CHAPTER IN THE LIFE OF COMTE.

The writings of Comte, even since their appearance, have tended to become separated into two distinct groups, upheld by two equally distinct classes of followers. Those who were impressed by the magnitude of the "*Cours de philosophie positive*," and who were not in accord with the thought of the time, hailed its author as a new star of the first magnitude, surpassing in brilliancy such lesser lights as Descartes and Leibnitz and Bacon. For a dozen years this new star kept its place with them, and then it began to grow dim. The publication of the "*Système de politique positive*" lost Comte the greater part of his former followers; and those among them who did not forget his previous work, have quietly ignored the whole body of his later writings, or, if mentioning them at all, have dismissed them as the product of a great mind gone wrong. Another class of followers have stood steadfast. They have discovered in the author of the "*Système de politique positive*" a new apostle, the teacher of a new rule of life, and the founder of a new religion. In their interpretation of Comte they have dwelt almost wholly upon his later work. A few hardy disciples have tried to harmonize this with the "*Cours de philosophie positive*." Their success has not been flattering. The Comtist philosophy and the Comtist religion have remained, and must remain, contradictory in nature and purpose.

In all the discussion, one important period of Comte's life has been neglected and apparently almost forgotten. The immediate success of his "*Cours de philosophie positive*," published in sections from 1830 to 1842, made him a man of note, and from that time his career is well known. Before then he was an obscure tutor in mathematics, and author of a few essays, which were known to a comparatively limited circle.

After the publication of the first volume of the "*Système de politique positive*," in 1851, so much was said about the contradiction between this and the *Cours*, that in the subsequent volumes Comte reprinted these early essays, for the purpose of showing that his ideas were formed at a date earlier than the publication of the *Cours*. Littré, in his biography of Comte, gathered much material relating to this early period, and Bridges, in his "Unity of Comte's Life and Doctrine," attempted to bring the *Cours* and *Système* into a harmonious whole. Comte himself asserted that these essays proved the unity of his system. He went further than this. He said that the *Système* was the most important work of his life, and that his whole thought, from the very beginning, had been directed toward it. In the preface to the appendix to the *Système*, containing these early essays, he wrote:

"The complete continuity of my thought is disguised by the exceptional magnitude of my task, and obscured by the analytical habits of our day, so unfavorable to any comprehensive judgment. All but those who grasp the necessary connection between the philosophic basis and the religious superstructure must regard the two portions of my career as divergent. The fact, therefore, that my second life simply realized the aim which I proposed to myself in early life requires to be made clear. This the present appendix is calculated to do. . . . It will demonstrate the inconsistency of all who, adopting the positive philosophy, reject those social applications which I announced from the outset. . . . The political system, far from being opposed to my philosophy, is so completely its outcome, that the latter was created as the basis of the former, and of this the proof is supplied by the present appendix."

After such statements as these on the part of Comte himself, it is surprising to see how little attention has been paid to this part of his work. Ward, in his "Dynamic Sociology," devoted a chapter to Comte, as being the founder of the science; yet in that chapter there is not a reference to any of Comte's writings except the *Cours*, nor even a mention of any of his social schemes. So at the present time, in

Waentig's book on "*Comte und seine Bedeutung für die Sozialwissenschaft*," the *Système* comes in for a few words of disapproval, and is then dismissed as entirely at variance with the positive philosophy,—something that should be forgotten as soon as possible. The early essays are included in the bibliography, and receive a passing mention in the text; but there is nothing to show that they entered at all into the author's appreciation of Comte.

If, as he himself stated, this part of his work is so fundamental, it would seem to be a serious omission to neglect it in considering his place in sociology. It is perhaps just, to say that any attempt to show a unity of his doctrine by pointing out similarities between early essays and the *Système* must be futile, because it does not thereby reconcile them with the *Cours*. But it is not just to take the *Cours* as the basis of interpretation, neglecting all else as inconsistent. If it is worth the while to try to explain Comte at all, a more serious study must be made of the first period of his life.

Comte was born in 1798. His childhood was spent under the careful direction of a devout Roman Catholic mother. At the school in his native town of Montpellier, he showed marked ability; and at the age of fifteen, on completing his studies there, he was given a year's appointment as tutor in mathematics. In 1814 he entered the *École Polytechnique* at Paris, and from the very first he distinguished himself as a student of great intellectual power. It is important to remember what kind of instruction was given at the *École Polytechnique* at that time. Mathematics and physics were the dominant sciences. The greater part of the scientific development of the eighteenth century had proceeded along these lines. Back of the rigid conceptions of systematized natural laws which these sciences set forth, there was the empirical philosophy of the time. The philosophy taught at the *École Polytechnique* was that of the *Encyclopédie*. It was in the thought of Diderot and Voltaire, Condorcet and

Hume, that Comte was trained, and the influence of this early training made itself apparent throughout his career.

A year of this influence left him a revolutionary in politics, a skeptic in religion, an empiricist in philosophy. He hated the old régime in France, and all that was connected with it. The Revolution was for him, as for so many others, the beginning of an epoch when the old systems of temporal and spiritual power should be discarded and replaced by a new system based on reason and science. This state of mind was evident soon after the Restoration. With the change in government, a new allegiance was required at the *École Polytechnique*. Several of the students, who were not disposed to yield to the reaction, joined in a protest, and among the most outspoken was Comte. He succeeded in making himself so obnoxious to the authorities that in 1816 he was dismissed.

The next few years added little to his position. A scheme to found a polytechnic school in the United States occupied his thoughts for a time. General Bernard submitted the plan before the American Congress, but could not make it attractive enough to secure an appropriation, and was forced to return to France unsuccessful. Comte then became private secretary to Casimir-Périer, a conservative banker, subsequently the head of the French ministry. Here he found little encouragement in his revolutionary ideas. Judging from his later life, he probably was not therefore backward in expressing them, with the natural result; he sought employment elsewhere. After this he made a modest living by giving private lessons in mathematics.

In 1818 Comte became acquainted with Saint-Simon. Friendship for the man soon grew into sympathy with his thought, and for six years Comte lived on terms of the greatest intimacy with him, and was proud to sign himself "pupil of Saint-Simon." In appreciating this new influence, it is important to remember what sort of man

Saint-Simon was. A considerable originality of conception, a good general knowledge of science, and a fertile imagination were offset by a total lack of constructive power. He made no lasting contribution to science or philosophy; the only part of his thought which he ever attempted to systematize was his scheme of social and religious reorganization. He was a man who suggested much, but completed little. Comte, on the other hand, was nothing if not constructive. His powers of combination greatly outweighed any originality of thought that he may have possessed. In fact, there is little evidence to show that Comte had much originality. He absorbed too readily the ideas of men under whose influence he came. But he had the faculty of co-ordinating fugitive ideas into systematic order.

When Comte became acquainted with Saint-Simon, there is every reason to believe that his opinions on philosophy were pretty well formed. He had accepted the system under which he was trained,—the eighteenth century empiricism. There had been no definite philosophic reaction in France; if there had been, he might have fallen in with it. And Saint-Simon was not the man to change his philosophic thought. But Saint-Simon did represent in a fairly typical way the social and religious reaction which was going on. He was, moreover, just the kind of man to appeal to Comte at this time. A mere return to the old system, such as that voiced by De Bonald and De Maistre, would probably have made no impression on Comte. But Saint-Simon saw that there were good points in the old system, which the Revolution had swept away without putting anything in their place. He was attracted by the admirable order of what he chose to term the “theologic” epoch, and while denying its basis, he attempted to rebuild its superstructure. Comte seems to have entered heartily into the work; and here, at the very outset of his career, is found the contradiction which continued throughout his life. His philosophy was that of the empirical school. His political and social thought was, at

the root, that of Saint-Simon. He attempted to combine the two,—to furnish a basis for reaction out of the system which preceded it. But the two were from the first irreconcilable. Hence the positive philosophy and the positive religion have meant entirely different movements. The philosophy appealed most strongly to the English empiricists,—the *laissez faire* school whose political doctrines were so distasteful to Comte. The religion, or at any rate the polity, found its adherents at the antipodes of the former, among the extreme socialists. Had he lived twenty years earlier, he would have been another Condorcet; twenty years later, another Lassalle.

Littre and others have attempted to show that Comte owed little to Saint-Simon. In fact, they assert that Saint-Simon borrowed from Comte; but everything points the other way. Saint-Simon was nearly sixty years old; Comte was but twenty. Saint-Simon had published, in 1807, the "*Introduction aux travaux scientifiques du XIX^e siècle*," and in 1813 the "*Mémoires sur la science de l'homme*." In these two works it is easy to trace all the essential points on which he based his later work. He looked on the Revolution and saw that it had produced no great changes in the form of government. This led him to an examination of the men and ideas of the time, and he found no definite plan of progress. The eighteenth century philosophy and politics were negative. They existed only to destroy the feudal and ecclesiastical systems which had fastened themselves on society for so many centuries. The Revolution had swept them away, and yet for lack of anything to put in their place, France seemed in a fair way to recall them. Saint-Simon argued from this that there must have been some good in the mediæval system, and this good he attributed to its thorough organization of society. But its basis was wrong. The mediæval state represented the "theologic" epoch in the human mind. Man naturally passed through two stages. In the "epoch of theologism" he was content to explain all

natural phenomena in terms of theology, and to submit to a military form of government. But this epoch was forever past, and society was entering upon a new one, which Saint-Simon called the "epoch of physicism." Here man demanded natural explanations of natural phenomena, and a reorganization of society on an industrial basis. What was first necessary was a new system of positive philosophy, which should include all human knowledge. When from such a system the laws could be deduced for the new epoch of society, a proper start could be made toward the organization of the industrial classes. He thought that the social laws, and in fact the whole system of philosophy, could be deduced from the law of gravitation.

Saint-Simon never carried out this idea. The rest of his life was devoted to industrial propaganda, and to the development of a new Christianity, which was to avoid the defects of the old system and serve as a bond of union for the citizens of the industrial state. He was busied about this when he became acquainted with Comte; and it required but little association to show him that his pupil was better qualified than himself to supply a rational basis for his schemes. In two essays, written in 1819 and 1820, Comte stated Saint-Simon's political thought so clearly and cogently that in 1822 the master entrusted to his pupil the task of preparing a philosophic introduction to his "*Contrat social*."

These first two essays of Comte show clearly enough his complete acceptance of Saint-Simon's thought. The first, "*Séparation générale entre les opinions et les désires*,"* is a short appeal for a positive political science. Neither the people nor their rulers are capable of any general conception of political methods. They can signify their wishes; but the means of attaining them should be shown by the adepts in the new science.

*"System of Positive Polity," Vol. iv, p. 497.

"The public alone should indicate the end. . . . The consideration of the measures affecting it belongs to scientific politicians. It would be absurd for the masses to reason about them. . . . When politics shall have taken the rank of a positive science, the public should and must accord to publicists the same confidence in their department, which it now concedes to astronomers in astronomy."

In the "*Sommaire appréciation de l'ensemble du passé moderne*"* the historic basis of this science is set forth. The reason for such a political reorganization is, that society has passed into a higher stage, and is no longer in harmony with the institutions of the past. The old mediæval system, for centuries passed into decadence, is on the eve of making way for a modern social system. The mediæval epoch was dominated by two powers, the feudal and spiritual. These must be replaced by two others, the industrial and scientific or positive. Science and industry are to replace theology and war; the epoch of theologism is to end in an epoch of positivism. In the eleventh century the mediæval system culminated; at the same time the positive system was born.

"Since that period the two systems have always co-existed in a state of mutual antagonism, at one time secret, at another open; the first, however, always losing ground while the second continually advanced."

Comte then reviews the general course of European history to show how this coincident decay and growth have proceeded. Reaching his own time, he finds that,

"the new system after having obtained the exclusive direction of all the details of society, has, step by step, gained in the ordering of the *ensemble* all that the ancient system has lost. Under temporal aspects the right of the Commons to modify at their pleasure the general political plan has been recognized; and the legal exercise of this right has been regularly constituted, the means of effecting the transition being thus also provided. Under spiritual aspects the scientific capacity has obtained all the influence it can possess over national education until the teaching of morals has passed into its hands. . . . The new system then needs to mount but one step more in order to reach a complete organization and entirely to replace the ancient

* *Ibid*, p. 499.

system. It only remains for it to complete its temporal and spiritual achievements; in temporal matters by gaining possession of the House of Commons, in spiritual, by establishing morals on principles solely deduced from observation. In truth, all is ready for this step; the means exist, we only require to use them."

In these few extracts are contained the fundamental ideas on which Comte proceeded. In their essence they are the same as those of his friend and master, Saint-Simon. Organization of society on an industrial basis; guidance of the people by a body of savants, whose teaching should be in accordance with a positive science, social, moral and political,—but more important than these, an interpretation of history not such as Comte developed later, but strictly following Saint-Simon's "law of two states." The insertion of a metaphysical state and a consequent "law of three states" came later, probably after a study of Turgot.

This is one of the most interesting of Comte's essays. The style is more concise and effective than in his later works. One passage in particular contains a better statement than is to be found elsewhere of his idea of the organic course of society.*

"The law of human progress dominates all; men are only its instruments. Although this force springs from ourselves, it is no more possible for us to withdraw from its influence or control its action than to change at our pleasure the original impulse which causes our planet to revolve about the sun. . . . All that we can do is consciously to obey this law, which constitutes our true providence, ascertaining the course it marks out for us, instead of being blindly impelled by it. . . . In doing so we should merely employ, with still less departure from the reality, the method adopted in the physical sciences, where intention and design are attributed even to inorganic matter in order to afford a clearer view of the phenomena."

In 1822 Saint-Simon published, for private circulation, his "*Contrat social*," together with a third essay by Comte, the "*Plan des travaux scientifiques nécessaires pour réorganiser la société*." In 1824 he republished his pupil's essay

* *Ibid.*, p. 511.

in his "*Catéchisme des industriels*," this time with a patronizing notice of its shortcomings, and with a new title, "*Système de politique positive*." Comte objected to this title; for although he intended to use it in a work as yet only under contemplation, the present essay was little more than an outline, with a discussion as to the method to be used. This act of Saint-Simon, together with a personal dislike for his followers, led to a quarrel, and Comte separated from his master soon after the publication of his essay.

This "*Plan des travaux*" states plainly what were Comte's aims, and outlines the works necessary for their attainment.

"My aim," he says, "is to show that politics should be made a positive science, and to apply this fundamental principle to the spiritual reorganization of society. . . . Two lines of spiritual work are necessary, of opposite kinds but equally important. The first, which calls into service the scientific capacity, is to reconstruct doctrines in general. The second, which makes use of the literary and artistic capacity, is to renew the social feeling."

Reviewing once more the conditions of his time, he finds society oscillating aimlessly between two equally harmful tendencies. The adoption of a new organic doctrine is all that is needed to bring about the "great work of social reorganization." Politically, this is to take place through the division of labor and the combination of effort, under the direction of the industrial chiefs. And the spiritual power is to be reconstituted by the savants, who are to systematize and teach the new science of politics. They alone possess the two fundamental elements of the spiritual government, capacity and authority in matters of theory. And to show that the time has come for this, Comte makes his first statement of the "law of three states" and the "law of the classification of the sciences." * The human intellect passes through three states: the theological, the metaphysical, and the scientific or positive. The sciences have

* *Ibid*, pp. 547, 549.

passed through these stages in the order of their simplicity. Mathematics, physics, chemistry, and recently physiology, have become positive theories. A scientific polity must therefore arise. To make this possible, three series of works are necessary, which Comte sums up in a prospectus.*

"The first series aims at forming a system of historical observations upon the general progress of the human intellect destined to become the basis of a positive polity. The second series seeks to establish a complete system of positive education adapted to a regenerated society constituted with a view to action upon nature. The third series embraces a general exposition of the collective action which civilized men, in the present state of their knowledge, can exercise over nature so as to modify it for their own advantage, directing their entire forces to this end and regarding social combinations only as the means of attaining it."

The remainder of the essay is occupied mainly with a discussion of the basis of the "law of three states," and the method to be followed by the new social science, together with some interesting criticisms on earlier writers like Montesquieu and Condorcet. The science, Comte says, demands that observation should preponderate over imagination. Its fundamental datum consists in a determination of the real tendency of civilization. It should not attempt to alter this tendency. But it can harmonize political action. By prevision it can avert or mitigate violent crises. It must be based on observation; yet, as its purpose is social reorganization it must be propagated by the aid of imagination. In order to establish a new social system, just conceptions will not suffice. The mass of society must feel attracted by it. The only way to effect this is to present a vivid picture of the ameliorations which the new system should bring about in the condition of mankind, apart from its necessity and opportunity. This alone can impress on society that active devotedness which is demanded by a social state

* *Ibid.*, p. 550.

destined to maintain all the human faculties in constant action.

Concerning the share to be taken by the savants in developing this new science of "social physics," Comte wrote two essays which were published in the *Producteur* in 1825 and 1826, "*Considérations philosophiques sur les sciences et les savants*," and "*Considérations sur le pouvoir spirituel*."* In these he repeats much that has gone before. He begins emphatically:

"In order to terminate disorder it is necessary to destroy its source, by bringing society back to a state of unity. This can be accomplished either by restoring to theological philosophy all the influence it has lost, or by completing positive philosophy so as to make it capable of definitely replacing theology. To these simple terms we can now reduce the great social problem."

Comte then brings in his science of social physics and supports it by his "primary laws of the three states and of the hierarchy of the sciences." He shows how it is destined to replace theology. But to reach the efficiency of the old system it must be taught by a spiritual power as absolute as that of Rome. Dogmatic belief is the normal condition of the human intellect. This is especially important when social ideas are to be considered. The mass of mankind is called to action; but scientific faith is the true basis of action, and spiritual guidance is needed for personal and social morality. Hence the chief function of the new spiritual power is education. And education means not merely the preparation of youth, but the regulation of the life of adults. The principles imbibed in youth must be enforced thereafter, when neglected or violated, so far as moral means will bring this about.

Further than this, the spiritual power must fuse all European nations into one moral communion. It must regulate modern industry, as based on the division of labor. And in order to do this, it must influence all international relations.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 590, 618.

"The social state toward which modern nations tend, no less than that of the middle ages, demands a spiritual (that is to say, intellectual and moral) organization, at once European and national."*

These essays show that, at the age of twenty-four, Comte had already made the plans for his life's work. His ideas were fully formed. He had even gone so far as to write a prospectus of the work he intended to accomplish. And the only way of reaching a proper understanding of his later work is to compare it with these early plans, and to decide how nearly it fulfills them.

The starting-point and the goal of Comte's thought were not philosophical, but practical. From the beginning of his career to the end he was a practical social and religious reformer. The whole problem as stated in the early essays, is one of reorganization. It is true that Comte declared a positive synthesis to be necessary before this took place, and heroically attempted to present one; but all the time the practical end was kept in view. It was with no interest in philosophic discussion that Comte gave his free lectures in Paris. He was not trying to inculcate a new theory; he was carrying out a plan of social reorganization which had been constantly in his mind for thirty-five years. He was perfectly right in saying that his "*Système de politique positive*" was the fulfillment of his earliest plans, and in declaring the *Cours* to be only its forerunner. Both these works were certainly promised in his prospectus of 1822. And yet, when written, they were fundamentally contradictory. It remains, then, to decide how nearly either one actually represents what Comte intended, and whether both may not have missed their mark through their author's inability to carry out his ideas.

Comte's intention was to effect a reorganization of the spiritual power in the hands of the savants. They were to prepare a new synthesis of knowledge, which should supplant the old dogmatic theology. But in spreading their

* *Ibid.*, p. 144.

doctrines in order to lay the foundation for a reorganization of society on an industrial basis, they were to remember that the social instinct, not the social intellect, was to be attracted, and that this could only be done in an imaginative way. The spiritual guides of society were to be entrusted with the task of reasoning; it remained for the people to believe and obey. The importance of this idea of the power of social instinct in Comte's thought has not been recognized. In the *Cours* he was not concerned with it, and in the *Système* he utilized it only through his religious machinery. The lack of a proper treatment of this idea is one of the best indications that none of his later work was what he intended it to be.

In 1826 Comte became insane, and it was two years before he recovered his health. An examination of his best-known works, in comparison with his plans before his insanity, gives many reasons for the suspicion that he never quite recovered his mental balance. Who does not remember the contempt displayed in the *Cours* for physicians and medicine? They are repeatedly impugned as unworthy of the confidence of reasoning men. Yet all this prejudice is the result of the medical treatment Comte underwent during his insanity. It was undoubtedly harsh and ill-advised, as Comte's letters to his wife at the time declared; and he made no improvement until his wife took him out of the physician's care. And from this one instance of incompetence the self-declared successor of St. Paul and Aristotle reached the conclusion that all the rest were the same.

In his prospectus of 1822, it will be remembered that Comte promised three series of works: first, an historical basis for a positive science of politics; second, a system of positive education based on this science, but presenting it in an imaginative way; third, an exposition of the principles of collective action by men over nature. The attempted fulfillment of the first promise is found in the *Cours*; of the second, in the *Système*; of the third, nowhere. Yet it is

this third series which would be most necessary to constitute a science of social physics or sociology. And it is certainly not to be found in the *Cours*. The section on social statics does not supply the lack. That on social dynamics is devoted to establishing the historical foundation which Comte promised. He never attempted to study the environment or the human mind, and to deduce therefrom any theory of social progress. He drew a picture of society as he thought it should be, and then twisted out of history an argument that past and present tendencies were toward his ideal. But this was out of place in a work which was intended to supply the basis for the new spiritual power. It would rather have been appropriate in his system of popular education. A science of collective action was imperatively demanded in a work of such pretensions as the *Cours*; but Comte was utterly incapable of founding such a science. The *Cours* must be considered as a remarkably clever synthesis of knowledge which was five or ten years behind the times at the date of publication; added to this is an elaboration of ideas on social reconstruction, gathered from the most widely differing sources, and not so well presented as in the early essays. But as a consistent social science such as Comte planned, it is a total failure. Comte had great power in co-ordinating other men's ideas; but no man was worse fitted than he to give them a philosophic basis. So we are given an instance of a philosophy, which was intended to be a guide to the direction of the social instinct, but was actually developed in such a way as to deny or ignore the social instinct altogether. As a recent writer has well said; "the father of positivism was the least positive of men."*

One might think that a man of such keen perception as John Stuart Mill would have discovered how flimsy was the philosophic veil which Comte drew over his ideas. Yet when Comte announced that Descartes and Leibnitz and Bacon were great, but a greater than they had come, Mill

*Thamin, "*Education et positivisme*," Paris, 1895.

admitted the parallel.* He would probably have done so less readily, had he known that Comte had already signed himself Brutus Bonaparte,† and, even at the time that Mill wrote, was comparing his services to society with those of St. Paul and Aristotle. Mill's whole estimate of Comte was mistaken. He proclaimed him as a great philosopher, and then deplored the decadence of his ability. And to this estimate of Mill's was largely due the spread of Comte's doctrines where they were most influential. What he should have deplored was the attempt to twist out of the empirical philosophy a sanction for social and religious utopias which were foreign to its nature.‡

While Mill did not appreciate the importance of the "*Système de politique positive*," it is not to be supposed that this work is any more in harmony than the *Cours* with Comte's prospectus of 1822. Comte was right in saying that a book covering this ground was what he had promised, but he had in mind no such performance as the *Système*. Twenty years of such "cerebral hygiene" as Comte prescribed for himself would have upset a more firmly balanced mind than his. Total abstinence from all reading, except in the works of such men as Dante, Thomas à Kempis and St. Augustine, was not calculated to help in building up such a system of positive education as Comte intended. A mind so receptive as his would be more likely to try to incorporate these mediæval ideas with its own system of thought. This is exactly what Comte did. His passion for Madame de Vaux, a devoted mystic, carried him still further from his original design. So instead of a practical appeal for social reorganization, imaginatively based on scientific faith, the *Système* is a shadow of mediæval mysticism without its substance. It is the product of conscious self-illusion.

* Mill, "Auguste Comte and Positivism."

† In his marriage contract. See Littré.

‡ See in this connection, Watson, "Comte, Mill and Spencer," New York, 1894; Roberty, "*Auguste Comte et Herbert Spencer*," Paris, 1895.

Comte had promised a system of education which was to be imaginative, but was never to depart from scientific truth. By free universal education of this kind he meant to widen social sympathy and foster altruism. Whether he realized that his philosophic basis had proved insufficient, or that altruism was unattainable through scientific means, it is impossible to discover. In the general wreck he clung to enough of his past thought to prevent him from becoming a believer in theology; so all that was left him was to return to the miserable foolery of the Saint-Simonian school, from which he had separated in 1824. Yet in 1829 he had written to his friend, Eichthal (who was about to take the same step), that, rather than become a Saint-Simonian, it would be far better to return to the Catholic Church. *

Comte did not accomplish what he promised. Even had he retained all his faculties it is not probable that he could have built on his plans a system that would show any consistency. The same fundamental contradiction stood in his way from the beginning to the end. But if he ever had the ability it was destroyed by his insanity; for his later works fail so deplorably, and are filled with so many contradictions of his original design, that one is sometimes tempted to apply to him his own contemptuous description of Saint-Simon.

"He was a mere writer, and that a vague and superficial one. He only differed from other literary men in being less lettered than they, though in want of scientific instruction he was quite on a level with them. Of original creation he was always incapable. Even his mistakes he stole from other people's brains."†

The law of three states combined a psychological fallacy with a historical fallacy, and threatened to build on them an intellectual despotism. The classification of the sciences was a Procrustean bed which would have been fatal to scientific development. From such a starting-point it would

* "*Lettres à M. d'Eichthal*," in Littré, "*Auguste Comte et la philosophie positive*,"

† "*System of Positive Polity*," Vol. iii. Preface.

have been impossible for any one to create a science of sociology.

Comte is not to be compared with Aristotle or Bacon. His nearest parallel in history is Paracelsus. Each foresaw the birth of a new science, and attempted to stand sponsor for it in its infancy. And each was soon left far behind by the progress of the science; so that to-day little remains to either, except some historical importance and a name.

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BRIEFER COMMUNICATIONS.

THE ETHICS OF STOCK WATERING.

There seems to be a tendency in present day discussions of economic problems to emphasize the ethical bearings of those problems and to appeal to conceptions of justice, as well as to those of utility.

The proposals for various forms of municipal and state socialism, the Utopian visions of all sorts, and the ill-defined but oft expressed yearning for change, in which the dissatisfaction with present industrial conditions is expressed, all have their ultimate basis in ideas of justice.

That great injustice is done not only by individuals, but also by associations of individuals, and the government, is a common belief and rightly so; but some reforms proposed in the name of justice "o'er shoot the mark" and would instead of eliminating injustice only shift its incidence.

In this discussion it is assumed that justice as well as utility demands that each man's share in the fruits of production should correspond to the relative value of his contribution to the welfare of society.

Let us now candidly examine as to the just basis of reward for several kinds of contributions to production, which partly through inadequate regulation, partly through unjustly stringent regulation, often receive at the present time shares out of all proportion to their value.

It may be said with some truth that the promoters and capitalists, who in the main furnish the contributions to be considered, are better able to take care of themselves than some other classes. Our object is not to champion any class, least of all one that little needs it, but to arrive at a better understanding of the just proportion of the fruits of industry due to the promoters, organizers and capitalists of transportation and other business enterprises; remembering that weakness does not make right any more truly than might does; and that a general recognition of the just division of the fruits of production is essential to both the existence of equitable legislation and its enforcement.

In the fields of invention, of letters, and of art, genius is not left to be its own sole reward: the patent office vouchsafes to the inventor, so far as it can, control of the gains to the world through his invention; the man of letters, the musical composer and the artist are protected in the enjoyment of property rights in their creations; and

this is recognized to be just and right. The man who conceives and plans a great business undertaking is no less a creator, a genius; but his rewards, though usually ample, must be secured in a more or less illegitimate way, even under existing statutes; while his success in selling his capitalized creation incites a cry for more strenuous if not prohibitive legislation.

The conception, the originating, the organizing of an enterprise is the fundamental element of value in it. Without that element energy is misdirected or lies dormant; capital is non-productive; and the people are without some means of employment, of economy, of development, of comfort, or of enjoyment, which otherwise they might possess.

To urge that many enterprises are conceived which bring no profit to those concerned in them nor benefit to the people, serves only to enhance the value of that creative element in any successful enterprise. If a man is so fortunate as to combine in himself all the necessary elements for a business undertaking, this paper would have only a theoretical interest, as to what proportions of his profits should be credited to ingenuity, to push, to capital, etc. In a partnership the problem is comparatively simple, for the valuation of each man's contribution to the firm is purely a matter of mutual agreement; but when, on account of the nature or of the magnitude of the operations contemplated, or for any other reason, the corporate form is adopted, the state steps in and attempts to define the kind of property which may be valued in determining the capitalization of the enterprise. The corporation is a creature of the state and the state has an unquestioned legal right to place upon corporations any limitation whatever. But such legislation on the subject as now prevails in many states breeds corruption and perjury, and would, if enforced, stifle many of the most widely beneficial undertakings. But existing legislation and the more stringent measures advocated in some quarters, are to be opposed not so much for these reasons as for their injustice, in that such legislation attempts to deprive those contributions to an enterprise which are in any other form than material wealth of all interest in it.

Next to the fundamental creative element in any business undertaking is that element which *compels* the issue conceived; energy, persistence, "push." The most brilliant and the most workable plan may amount to no more than a dream, without push; capital may rot, and men may starve. The energy that executes the brilliant and far-reaching conception is not justly repaid in day wages any more than the genius which created it. He who takes the ideas of a genius, worthless as ideas, clothes them with outward form and makes them effective; he who takes the gold of the capitalist and gives to it a

productive power; he who takes the strong and willing laborer and directs his work in more healthful and profitable channels, is entitled to no mean share in the benefits brought about through his efforts.

The industrial history of the past fifty years records many cases of large risks taken through which the world has greatly benefited, even though the risk takers may have fared but ill. It is safe to say that, if that quality of mind which is willing to take risks were entirely eliminated from society, and all the other qualities which give value to an undertaking, such as genius, push, labor, capital, were retained, the increase of productiveness would be immeasurably retarded, and ere long we might find ourselves in an era of industrial retrogression instead of progress.

It is perhaps harder to arrive at a proper valuation of this element than of the others entering into a business; risk taking may be rashness, and its value then better represented by a minus quantity; and even when coupled with the greatest shrewdness loss may result. The first difficulty is eliminated by the consideration that the difference in value between a good risk and a bad risk is quantitative, in the same way that judgment is a quantitative factor in the value of genius or of push. As to the second difficulty, the possibility of a losing issue from a good risk is the very thing which enhances the value of the risk taking; the value of this quality varies directly with the chance of loss.

This consideration suggests the justice of safeguarding the interests of investors by affording them information as to the exact nature of the risk proposed, so that the possibility of loss may not be shifted from the shoulders of risk-takers to innocent investors, intending a less risk.

The discussion of other elements or qualities of value in a business undertaking, such as experience, acquaintance, and many personal qualities, offers an inviting field; but its bearing would be on the just valuation of a person's services to any one of several businesses rather than on the proper valuation of one's contribution to a special new enterprise.

From the foregoing considerations it is seen that a portion of the profits of an undertaking, if it proves successful, is due to the person or persons who conceive it; another portion to those who by their energy, persistence and executive ability organize and carry out that conception; and another portion, over and above a legitimate rate of interest on investments, to the men who take a risk by furnishing the money necessary for the establishment of the business. These portions of earnings are entirely apart from any salaries or wages for services in the prosecution of the business.

Let A, B and C represent respectively the interests above named, D the money investment in the enterprise, and E the managing services; whether contributed each by different individuals or two or more of them by the same person. In the case of a co-partnership, A, B, C, D and E will each have an interest in the profits of the firm, the proportion to be determined by mutual agreement of the parties, without the interference of the state and without calling forth any critical interest from the public. We will therefore confine our discussion to the application of these principles to a corporation, which is not only to a greater extent under the eye of the public and under control of the state, but also a more perfect instrument for rendering justice to all the interests concerned.

It is evident that E, like wages, supplies, etc., is a first charge upon the gross earnings, independent of any net profit or loss, and is therefore entitled to salary, but to no contingent interest in profits, except under some plan of profit sharing, so called, applicable to all employes alike.

D is entitled to the first claim upon both property and net earnings, limited, however, in the first case to the amount of money invested, and in the second case to a fair rate of interest thereon, as an investment: D is fairly represented, therefore, by bonds or preferred stock of the corporation. Practically the element of risk taking cannot be entirely eliminated from the bond and preferred stock issues of a corporation, and in so far as it is not eliminated the remarks as to C, which follow, are applicable.

A, B and C are all alike entitled to a junior interest in the property and to a share in the net earnings; for, as we have seen, the value of the property and its earning capacity are largely due to the genius, A; the push, B; and the risk taking, C. What is termed the "unearned increment" is often most truly earned; earned by the very factors, A, B and C, and not belonging to the public any more than interest earned by private capital. The very fact that an enterprise is successful demonstrates the value of those factors in its inception; and if it is not successful the rewards of A, B and C should be valueless. Those rewards may fairly be taken, therefore, in common stock of the corporation.

What is the present practice, what are the facts in regard to these matters? On the one hand there is over-capitalization to an enormous extent, so that in many cases the entire capital stock does not represent any investment of tangible property, nor any fair valuation of other contributions to the enterprise; on the other hand, there is legislation aiming to do away entirely with the issue of stock or bonds for any other than a cash or absolutely equivalent property

consideration. This legislation, especially in Massachusetts and New York, together with other measures for the regulation and taxation of corporations, has had considerable effect in correcting the more open and flagrant abuses of over-capitalization; but the theory upon which this and other proposed legislation is based is that nothing but money or its equivalent in tangible property can properly form a basis for capitalization. This theory we believe is shown to be unjust. And experience shows it to be unworkable; the cases are few and isolated where the spirit of such legislation is obeyed. The promoter will not work for nothing; the rare business genius who can plan and execute great enterprises and bring them to a successful issue, circumvents the law, if necessary, in order to get his by no means small reward; the capitalist who embarks in an undertaking involving great risk must see a correspondingly great reward if the venture prove successful.

The value of contributions to an undertaking not in tangible property or cash should be generally recognized by capitalists, by the public, and in legislation. The proper apportioning of the securities of a new corporation to the different interests represented by A, B, C and D might well be the subject of mutual agreement between the parties, to be reviewed and passed upon by a State Board of Corporation Commissioners, one of whom should be a competent engineer. In case mutual agreement was not possible, such a board of commissioners should be empowered to make the apportionment after a hearing of the parties. In any event the consideration for which securities are issued should be a matter of public record. Legislation, and the rulings of such a commission, should permit the issue of securities for cash at less than their par value, the price to be determined, or approved, by the commission, in inverse proportion to the risk involved in the purchase of the securities. The securities allotted to the interests represented by A, B and C, if more than one class of securities is issued, should be of the junior classes, corresponding to the English "vendors' shares" issued for good-will, etc., in the case of the capitalization of a going business.

Such a board of corporation commissioners might at first include one or more members of existing boards of railroad, gas and electric light commissioners, etc. The duties of the new board are already performed in part by existing boards in some states, notably Massachusetts.

But it is beyond the scope of this paper to do more than call attention to the value of contributions to the legitimate capital of a corporation other than those in cash or tangible property, and to suggest the lines along which legislation should be modified for the purposes

of properly and justly regulating the capitalization of corporations and providing for the fair remuneration of those interests now wholly or partially ignored. Legislation on the lines indicated, with a commission as competent as our best railroad and other state commissions, would encourage the inception and incorporation of sound undertakings by offering commensurate rewards to all the participants in them; and would also enhance the value of properly issued securities by making public the kind and amount of consideration for which stocks and bonds are issued. It would likewise discourage, if not altogether prevent, the launching of unsound enterprises, by which the promoters are too often enabled to foist upon a deceived public "securities" of vanishing value, and thus unjustly procure a cash reward for their genius and push instead of a reward in common stock, which, if the business fail, is properly valueless.

What is urged, then, is a fair and open recognition of the just dues of the different participants in a business undertaking; a more just and intelligent state regulation of corporations; a public record of the true consideration for every issue of securities.

T. C. FRENYEAR.

Buffalo, N. Y.

PERSONAL NOTES.

AMERICA.

Columbian University.—Mr. Harry Turner Newcomb has been appointed Instructor in Statistics in the Columbian University, Washington, D. C. Mr. Newcomb was born January 4, 1867, at Owosso, Mich. Soon after graduation from the high school at Ludington, Mich., in 1881, he entered the service of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway in its general offices at Milwaukee. From 1888 to 1895 he held a position under the Interstate Commerce Commission, in the Bureau of Rates and Transportation. During a part of this time he also attended evening lectures on law at the Columbian University, from which he received the degrees of LL. B (1881) and LL. M. (1892). In March, 1895, as the result of a competitive civil service examination, he received an appointment in the United States Department of Agriculture, as chief of the section of freight rates in the Division of Statistics; and this position he still holds.

Mr. Newcomb is a member of the American Economic Association, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, the American Statistical Association, and the National Statistical Association. He is also a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. His positions in the civil service have given him exceptional opportunities both for practical work in statistics and for studying railway problems and the actual workings of the Interstate Commerce Act, and they have borne fruit in the following articles:

"*Railway Freight Rates.*" *Cassier's Magazine*, June, 1894.

"*Reasonable Railway Rates.*" *Independent*, June 7, 1894.

"*Can Railway Rates Be Cheapened?*" *Forum*, October, 1894.

"*Railway Nationalization.*" *Public Opinion*, November 15, 1894.

"*Reasonable Railway Rates.*" *ANNALS*, November, 1894.

"*The Decline in Railway Charges.*" *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1895.

"*Reductions in Railway Rates.*" *Independent*, June 6, 1895.

"*The Civil Service as a Career.*" *Forum*, September, 1895.

"*Are American Railway Rates too High?*" *Engineering Magazine*, January, 1896.

"*Efficiency of the Civil Service Under the Merit System.*" *Independent*, May 21, 1896.

"*The Progress of Federal Railway Regulation.*" *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1896.

"*The Necessity of Limiting Railway Competition.*" North American Review, July, 1896.

"*The Problem of Railway Labor.*" Public Opinion, July 2, 1896.

"*Railway Pooling and the Reduction of Freight Rates.*" Engineering Magazine, September, 1896.

"*Railway Competition. A Problem in Statistics.*" Publications of the American Statistical Association. (In press.)

Dickinson College.—Mr. Morris Watson Prince has been appointed Professor of History and Economics at Dickinson College. Professor Prince was born on July 25, 1845, at East Boothbay, Me. His early education was obtained in the Seminary at Bucksport, Me. In 1864 he entered Wesleyan University, from which institution he received the degree of S. T. D. in 1890. He has been Principal of the Warren (Maine) Academy; the Thomaston (Maine) High School; and the Nashua (N. H.) High School, and President of the Seminary at Bucksport, Me.; but most of his time since leaving college has been spent in the pastorate of churches.

University of Iowa.—Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh was promoted in June, 1896, from the position of Instructor to the position of Assistant Professor of Political Science. Dr. Shambaugh was born in 1870 near Clinton, Iowa. He received his baccalaureate degree from the State University of Iowa in 1892, and his master's degree in 1893. During 1893-94, and the greater part of 1894-95, he pursued a graduate course in the University of Pennsylvania, receiving the doctor's degree of Ph. D. in 1895. The following summer and fall he spent in Germany, dividing his time between Halle and Berlin. He began his work in the University of Iowa, in January, 1896.

Dr. Shambaugh has published:

"*Iowa City, a Contribution to the Early History of Iowa.*" State Historical Society of Iowa, 1893.

"*Constitution and Record of the Claim Association of Johnson County, Iowa, with Introduction and Notes.*" State Historical Society of Iowa, 1894.

"*Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa.*" State Historical Society of Iowa, 1895. (A serial publication, of which seven numbers have appeared.)

Rockford College.—Mrs. Helen Page Bates has been appointed Professor of Economics at Rockford College, Rockford, Ills. Born at that place, September 19, 1860, she was educated in the public schools and received her college education at Wellesley, where in 1883 she received the degree of A. B. After graduating from Wellesley she pursued economic studies for two years at Columbia University. In

1887 she married, and in 1893, on the death of her husband, she took up economic studies at the University of Wisconsin, where she had received a university fellowship in economics. In 1896 she received the degree of Ph. D.* Mrs. Bates has written "*State Irrigation in the Australian Colonies.*" (In press.)

FRANCE.

Paris Faculté de Droit. Dr. René Worms has recently been appointed Chargé des Conférences in Political Economy and Finance at the Law Faculty of Paris. He was born December 8, 1869, at Rennes, where he received his early education. He pursued university studies at Paris in the faculties of law, science and letters. He received the grades of *licencié es lettres*, 1887; *licencié en droit*, 1889; *licencié es sciences naturelles*, 1889; *agregé de philosophie*, 1890; *docteur en droit*, 1891; *docteur es lettres*, 1896. Besides engaging in the practice of law, Dr. Worms has occupied several important posts in the administrative service. His teaching has been in philosophy in the *École Monge*, and in legislation and sociology in the popular courses established by the *Union Française de la Jeunesse*. He was active in the foundation of the International Institute of Sociology and the Société de Sociologie of Paris. In both organizations he holds the post of general secretary. Dr. Worms has been editor of the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* since January, 1893, the *Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale* since 1896, and *Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie* since 1895. He has written many articles on sociological topics in these publications, and has also published several pamphlets.

His books are:

"*De la volonté unilatérale considérée comme source de l'obligation.*" Pp. 210. Paris, 1891.

"*Précis de philosophie.*" Pp. 410. Paris, 1891.

"*Eléments de philosophie scientifique et de philosophie morale.*" Paris, 1891.

"*Le morale de Spinoza.*" Pp. 336. Paris, 1892.

"*Organisme et société.*" Pp. 410. Paris, 1896.

"*De natura et methodo sociologiae.*" Pp. 104. Paris, 1896.

GERMANY.

Freiburg.—At the University of Freiburg, Professor G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz† has recently been elevated to the rank of ordinary professor. His recent publications are:

* See ANNALS, Vol. viii, p. 366, September, 1896.

† See ANNALS, Vol. iv, p. 311, September, 1893.

"*Der Grossbetrieb, ein wirthschaftlicher und socialer Fortschritt, Eine Studie auf dem Gebiet der Baumwollindustrie.*" Leipzig, 1892. (Translated into French, Russian, Italian and English. Published in English, under the title "*The Cotton Trade in England and on the Continent.*" Manchester, 1895.)

"*Der Nationalismus in Russland und seine wirthschaftlichen Träger.*" Preussische Jahrbücher, 1893.

"*Eine Studie zum osteuropäischen Merkantilismus.*" Archiv für sociale Gesetzgebung, 1895.

"*Agrarpolitische Reisebriefe aus Russland.*" Sociale Praxis, 1895.

"*Die Moskau-Wladimirsche Baumwollindustrie.*" Schmoller's Jahrbuch, 1896.

HOLLAND.

Amsterdam.—Dr. Marie Willem Frederik Treub has recently been appointed Professor of Political Economy and Statistics at the University of Amsterdam. He was born at Voorschooten, near Leyden, November 30, 1858, and attended the Universities of Leyden 1881-83, Paris 1883-84 and Amsterdam 1884-85. In 1885 he obtained the degree of *Doctor juris* at the University of Amsterdam. He became at once privat-docent at the University and in 1888 began the practice of law. A member of the Municipal Council from 1889 to 1893, he became in the latter year an alderman, and has been engaged successively in the administration of the finances and the public works of the city. His labors as alderman ceased upon assuming the professorship. In connection with Professor Pekelharing he has published since 1892 the *Sociaal Werkblad*, in which he has written much on social questions. He has also written:

"*Ontwikkeling en Verband van de Ryks-Provinciale end Gemeentebelastingen in Nederland.*" Pp. 563, 1885.

"*Over intrèkking der muntbiljetten, gepaard met uitbreiding van de werkkriëng der Nederlandsche Bank.*" Vragen des Tyds, 1888.

"*Belstingsvoorstellen van leden der Tweede Kamer.*" Ibid., 1890.

"*Staatserfrecht en successiebelasting.*" Ibid., 1891.

"*Over registratie en registratierecht.*" Ibid., 1892.

"*Over bepalingen omtrent minimum loon en maximum arbeidsduur in bestekken voor werken van openbaren besturen.*" Vereeniging voor de Staatshuishoudkunde en de Statistiek, 1895.

"*De staaten het eigendomsrecht.*" Vragen des Tyds, 1896.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

"LECTURES ON JUSTICE, POLICE, REVENUE AND ARMS, Delivered in the University of Glasgow by Adam Smith, Reported by a Student in 1763,"* is the title given to an important "find" which Mr. Edwin Cannan has just edited, with an introduction and bibliographical notes, for the Clarendon Press. Who the student was, who took down Adam Smith's lectures so carefully, just before the latter's departure on his famous continental tour, is unknown, but the "Lectures" bear conclusive internal evidence of their authenticity and accuracy.

Here we have, at last, just what economists have wished for, a substantially complete account of Adam Smith's economic and social philosophy, before he came in contact with the Physiocrats. It would but take the edge off the pleasure students of Adam Smith will experience from reading these notes at first hand to attempt to explain at length how much light they throw upon the origin of the ideas contained in the "Wealth of Nations."

Suffice it to say that they finally dispose of the myth that Adam Smith borrowed freely from Turgot's "*Réflexions*" and on the other hand show how much he owed to his predecessor at Glasgow, Francis Hutcheson. So closely do these notes resemble the "Wealth of Nations" that the latter may fairly be described as Adam Smith's Glasgow lectures expanded and polished into a book. The last four chapters of Book I., containing the theory of distribution, and Book II., treating of capital, are the most important omissions and are evidently those parts of the "Wealth of Nations" which really owed much to Physiocratic influence.

The work of editing these notes has been performed with the scholarly accuracy and critical ingenuity that was to be expected of Mr. Cannan. His notes, table of parallel passages from the "Lectures" and the "Wealth of Nations" and Introduction, not only add greatly to the value of the Report, but break the ground for a satisfactory edition of the "Wealth of Nations" itself, which it is to be hoped that the same editor may be induced to undertake at a later date.

FRENCH STUDENTS of the history of commerce are to be congratulated upon having so excellent a text-book as the "*Précis d'histoire*

*Pp. I., 300. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1896.

du commerce,"* by Henri Cons. This work, which pretends to be merely a sketch and not a history of commerce, is so well prepared that it cannot fail to be of much service to every student of commerce who can read the French language. In the two moderate-sized volumes, the author presents the main facts of the history of commerce, and his use of his space has been judicious from beginning to end. There is at the close of his book a good bibliography, in which the works are named from which material may be obtained concerning the subject of each topic of the book. A good alphabetical index closes the work. The translation of this book into the English language would greatly assist instruction in the history of commerce in our own country.

THE FORMER PRESIDENT of the Swiss Confederation has issued a companion volume to his political essays under the title "*Essais économiques*."† As in the previous volume we find collected here essays covering a literary activity of fifteen years. The essays are practical and business like. The author is more publicist than economist. Indocctrinated with the theories of the extreme liberal school, whose individualistic precepts he never tires of proclaiming, M. Droz was none the less a leader of public affairs. He often brushes aside his theoretical preferences in the face of questions of expediency. Concession after concession to what is "expedient" is found in the work; which demonstrates once more how the exigencies of practical legislation, modify the stringencies of the doctrinaire standpoint. The contents of the book will attract the attention of foreign readers, not only through the treatment of some Swiss questions of general interest, but also the Swiss outlook upon problems of wider concern. In the group of essays on commercial and tariff topics, the course of recent Swiss policy, and notably the conflict with France, is clearly summarized. The final accord between the two nations was a victory for the persistent Swiss, making a breach in the French tariff system, which is a sore point with the ultra-protectionists of France. Obligatory insurance forced its way into Switzerland from Germany and Austria. It encountered an unusually strong opposition from the Swiss liberals, a part of which is here recorded in the group of keen essays on labor questions, but the ideas have made progress notwithstanding. In essays on the international conventions relative

* *Précis d'Histoire du Commerce*. By HENRI CONS. Bibliothèque d'Enseignement commercial, Publiée sous la direction de M. Georges Pualet. 2 vols. Pp. xi, 328 and 398. Price, 8 fr. Paris: Berger-Levrault et Cie. 1896.

† *Essais économiques*. By NUMA DROZ. Pp. 393. Price, 7.50 fr. Geneva: Eggi-man et Cie. 1896.

to patents, copyrights, and railroad law, we find a careful record of the progress here made, and an interesting illustration of the international rôle of Switzerland in the family of European nations. A concluding chapter contains a destructive criticism of the Swiss alcohol monopoly, which merits the attention of those who are interested in that curious experiment.

THE ADVANCE COPY, without Appendix C and the six statistical tables, of the eighth annual report on "Statistics of Railways in the United States,"* for the year ending June 30, 1895, has made its appearance. It is still impossible for the statistician to submit his report at the time when its appearance would subserve the greatest use. It is hoped that Congress will so amend the laws providing for the collection of railway statistics that the statistician may carry out the wish he has often expressed of being able to get out his report at an earlier date. This eighth annual report contains some valuable features which have not been contained in former volumes. Figures are given not only for the year 1895, but comparative statistics, so far as possible, are given for the years from 1890 to 1894, inclusive. This adds much to the value of the report. The second peculiar feature of the report is that a new classification of operating expenses has been adopted, differing from that upon which the compilations from 1887 to 1894 were based. The census and comparisons for the years 1880 and 1890, however, are based upon a classification differing very little from that adopted in this report, and thus comparisons may safely be made between the figures of this report, regarding operating expenses, and those contained in the census of 1890. The present report contains a table showing the revenue and density of traffic for all railroads having a gross annual revenue exceeding \$3,000,000. Such a table was given in the report for 1890 and in that for 1891, with which the table given in 1895 may profitably be compared.

The recommendations of the statistician are the same that he has made on previous occasions. They have lost none of their importance. The statistician is right in saying that reports should be obtained from express companies engaged in interstate traffic; also, that other corporations than railroads, owning rolling stock used in interstate commerce, and corporations owning depot property, stock yards, elevators, etc., as well as railway companies, should be obliged by law to report to the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is also recommended that all carriers by water should report the statistics of

* *Eighth Annual Report on the Statistics of Railways in the United States for the year ending June 30, 1895.* Prepared by the Statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Pp. 123. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896.

their business to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The most important suggestion made by the statistician is that the government should establish a bureau of statistics and accounts, "which shall have the right of inspection and control of the accounting departments of the common carriers." The arguments advanced by the statistician in favor of this are presented in the form of a quotation, several pages in length, taken from the ninth annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The reasons advanced seem to be entirely conclusive.

A BIT OF NATIONAL history is reflected in the excellent work of Italian economists on subjects of taxation and finance. The plight of the Italian treasury has directed the attention of economists to this line of investigation, and has borne fruit in a series of acute and scholarly essays on financial subjects. Among these is to be reckoned Professor Garelli's recent monograph on Inheritance Taxes.* His successive chapters treat of the basis, the advantages and the application of inheritance taxes and their place in the financial economy. To Professor Garelli the inheritance tax in distinction to taxes on successions which are properly speaking only fees in the German sense, is a direct tax levied upon property once for all, instead of in annual charges. From this point of view it is distinctly applicable to all inheritances and not merely to collateral ones. Yet the general principles of taxation and to the law of inheritance unquestionably justify a higher initial rate for distant or unrelated heirs, and also progressively higher rates for larger inheritances. It is noteworthy that the author comes to these conclusions without any leaning towards the view that the inheritance tax is a weapon for combatting social inequalities. Armed with the conclusions above set forth the author makes an exhaustive analysis and criticism of existing laws, in which he evidences a wide acquaintance with the legislation and experience of modern nations in regard to this form of taxation.

IT WOULD BE difficult to find a more satisfactory discussion of the economic and political conditions of a foreign country among the books of recent issue, than is to be found in "Persia Revisited."† The author, General Sir Thomas Edward Gordon, was well equipped for writing his book by a long residence in Persia as Military Attaché

* *L'Imposta successoria*. By ALESSANDRO GARELLI. Pp. 175. Price, 3 l. Turin: Bocca, 1895.

† *Persia Revisited* (1895) with *Remarks on H. I. M. Mozuffer-ed-Din, and the Present Situation in Persia* (1896). By General Sir THOMAS EDWARD GORDON. Pp. ix, 208. Price, \$3.00. London and New York: Edward Arnold, 1896.

and Oriental Secretary to the British Legation at Teheran, and also by a thorough knowledge of the Persian language. His knowledge of the language enabled him to study social and political and economic conditions in a most advantageous manner. What the author says in regard to the failure in the attempt at tobacco monopoly shows how closely the execution of tax laws is dependent upon public sentiment, and also illustrates the power of the church in political affairs in Persia. It is interesting to note that General Gordon believes that, "On the whole, it may be said that the peasantry and laboring classes in Persia are fairly well off," and that he thinks "their condition can bear a favorable comparison with that of the same classes in other countries." Another fact by which the reader will be impressed, is that the telegraph has become absolutely essential to the successful government of Persia. The elements of disintegration are so many and so strong, that it would be impossible for the Shah to keep the government together and maintain order, were the different parts of the country not closely connected with the telegraph net. The various industries of the country and the religious and military institutions are described and intelligently criticised. The last two chapters of the book (VII and VIII) discuss the present situation (1896) in Persia. Mozuffer-ed-Din succeeded to the throne last May without the occurrence of the riots and attempted revolutions which usually take place in Persia upon the change in the ruler. "Thus the electric telegraph," says General Gordon, "has been the means of helping most materially to save the country from the uncertainty which has hitherto always produced revolution and civil war in the interval between the death of one Shah and the accession of his successor."

THE PRESENT TIME has given rise to such a flood of literature on money that it is difficult to select what is worthy of attention. Students cannot fail to profit by a recent syllabus by Professor J. F. Johnson, on "Principles of Money Applied to Current Problems."* It is a clear statement of the theory of money, extremely compact and judicious. The pamphlet treats of the theory of money, metallic standards, credit and fiat money, prices and the present problem. It is accompanied by very definite references, and a short bibliography in which the principal works on money are briefly and acutely characterized.

* *Principles of Money Applied to Current Problems.* By Professor JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON. Pp. 39. Price, 20 cents. Philadelphia: University Extension Society, 1896.

THE STUDENT of such economic institutions as the steam railroad, the electric railway, the telegraph and telephone, frequently desires to know what powers and responsibilities these agencies have under common law and existing statutes, and such a book as Lawson's "Law of Bailments" * is one in which this information is to be found clearly, concisely and systematically presented. After giving a brief history of bailment law, Professor Lawson classifies bailments as "ordinary" and "extraordinary," and sets forth the principles underlying bailment law. Common carriers come in the class whose bailments are extraordinary and the discussion of their powers and duties comprise three-fourths of the volume. The author is Professor of Common Law in the University of the State of Missouri.

MISS CAROLINE H. PEMBERTON, who has for many years been closely identified with relief-work among children, has just published a very readable little book entitled "Your Little Brother James." † In the form of a touching and well-written story, she tells of the life of a street urchin of nine, whom the reformatories had classified as "incorrigible." The factors in his environment are analyzed with care, and the book as a whole is an argument for the "placing-out" method so generally followed by children's aid societies as opposed to the institutional method of caring for children. A thorough appreciation of the peculiarities of child thought and life adds to the charm of the book. It will be warmly welcomed by those who hold the author's view of child-saving work, and ought to help to create a better public sentiment in favor of the placing-out system.

IN HIS RECENT work on jurisprudence, ‡ Professor Pollock has given to students of law a book of which they have long felt the want. Without entering deeply into the philosophy of law, the author has brought together here clear and scholarly discussions of such questions as the nature of law, the nature of justice, the sources of law and custom, etc. The combination of scientific exactness and happy illustrations which characterizes these pages will commend the work to the general reader as well as to the specialist.

* *The Principles of the American Law of Bailments.* By JOHN D. LAWSON, LL. D. Pp. 667. St. Louis: F. H. Thomas Law Book Co., 1895.

† *Your Little Brother James.* By CAROLINE H. PEMBERTON. Reprinted from the *Philadelphia Bulletin*. Pp. 93. Stamford, N. Y.: Recorder Book Press, 1896.

‡ *A First Book of Jurisprudence. For Students of the Common Law.* By SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bart. London and New York: Macmillan Co., 1896.

IN THE BOOK on "Lakes of North America," * students of the economic condition of the United States will find a volume that is helpful, scientific and non-technical. The book is a good illustration of the value of giving the results of the excellent work that is being done by the United States Survey, a form which will insure it a more general use. Professor Russell gleaned the material for his book on "Lakes of North America" during thirteen years of geological work for the national government. The present work presents in a readable and attractive form some of the more valuable results of his own work and that of his fellow geologists in the employment of the United States Government. The chapters of the book discuss: "Origin of Lake Basins," "Movements of Lake Waters and the Geological Functions of Lakes," "Topography of Lake Shores," "Relation of Lakes to Climatic Conditions," "The Life Histories of Lakes," and "Studies of Special Lacustral Histories." The book is to be recommended to every student of economic geography and of the economic conditions of the United States.

REVIEWS.

Modern Civilization in Some of its Economic Aspects. By W. CUNNINGHAM, D. D. Social Questions of To-day. Pp. 243. Price, \$1.25. London: Methuen & Co., 1896.

The relation between this work and the author's well-known "Outlines of English Industrial History" is indicated by saying that while the latter showed how England's industrial system came into being the former describes how that system works. It thus appears as a treatise on economics, dealing in a popular way with the elements of the subject. To the students of Dr. Cunningham's economic histories this statement of the author's economic views will undoubtedly be interesting and helpful. The book has two main parts, one dealing with economic subjects proper, the other with the manner in which "fashions, morality, religion and law may be most effectively brought to bear by those who are endeavoring to produce some permanent improvements in our present social conditions." In the theoretical part the author does not claim to have ventured off the beaten track except in the statement of the doctrine of rent, the relation of cost of production to price, and the proper attitude toward monopoly. But even in these specified cases the deviations seem to be rather in the manner of presentation than in the substance of doctrine.

* *Lakes of North America.* By Professor ISRAEL C. RUSSELL. Pp. x, 125. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1895.

The reader will find interesting matter in the second division on the trend of material progress, the office of family, state, and the institution of religion in promoting the self-discipline of the individual, the power of socialism to cure our social ills, and the limits of state intervention. For a more approved economic régime he looks to the individual whose self-interest is enlightened by family ties, broadened by citizenship, and chastened by religion.

For the public to which it is specially addressed the book is well adapted. It is a clear and balanced discussion in untechnical language of the social machinery and social forces which are in operation to supply the economic wants of modern communities.

JAMES W. CROOK.

Amherst College.

Taxation and Taxes in the United States under the Internal Revenue System 1791-1895. An Historical Sketch of the Organization, Development and Later Modification of Direct and Excise Taxation under the Constitution. By FREDERIC C. HOWE, A. M., Ph. D. Pp. xiii and 293. Price, \$1.75. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1896.

The present publication is the eleventh number of the "Library of Economics and Politics," edited by Professor Ely. As its title indicates, the whole field of the national internal revenue is covered, including direct taxes as well as excise duties. The internal revenue system of the Civil War which once confronted the individual in every walk of life and in innumerable transactions of business and pleasure is now a thing of the past and almost forgotten. The receipts from customs duties have been so enormous that for several years the great financial problem was what to do with the surplus. Lately, indeed, with the reduction of the tariff, an extension of the internal revenue system was attempted. This attempt, however, met with a disastrous failure in its chief feature—the income tax. It was said on every side that the traditional and accepted policy of the United States was to obtain revenue for state and local purposes by direct taxation, and for national purposes by duties on imports and internal excises upon liquor and tobacco. The question as to what is the proper system for national taxation in a country where expenditures reach such prodigious figures as in the United States is a very important one, and the present work is a timely contribution to the study of the subject. A system of taxation should be not only theoretically defensible, but it should also be constructed with regard to the special conditions of national history and popular prejudice. To determine the proper system for

this country we must study these conditions. Dr. Howe's treatise gives a very clear and complete account of them.

The history of the internal revenue system "naturally divides itself into three periods, quite distinct and characterized by political ideas more or less diverse." The first period began with the organization of the government under the Constitution and lasted until the end of the Federalist régime. This was an experimental period. The power of internal taxation was naturally used by such an ardent nationalist as Hamilton, with the conscious purpose of strengthening the federal authority and pre-empting this resource of taxation for the national treasury. The second period came as a reaction from the first. The Jeffersonian Democracy held that internal taxation was only justified by necessity, and that its essential character was "oppressive" and "hostile to the genius of a free people." Consistently with this policy the long period of Democratic supremacy—from the beginning of the century to the Civil War—was marked by an almost exclusive reliance on customs duties. During the War of 1812 necessity compelled a resort to internal taxes, both direct and indirect, but after the close of the war Congress was in such haste to abolish them that the treasury encountered a deficit for several years. The third period commences during the Civil War. It is characterized by national as opposed to particularistic ideals. This radical revolution in the theory of our national existence, combined with the necessities created by the war led to the establishment of a permanent system of internal revenue.

Dr. Howe gives a general history of the internal revenue system in the first three chapters of the book. The period of the Civil War is then more particularly examined in several chapters and each of the chief forms of taxation is described in detail,—the direct tax, income tax, taxes on corporations, assessed taxes, inheritance taxes, stamp taxes, duties on sales, license taxes, and the excises on liquors, tobacco and manufactures. The effects of these taxes are discussed, and also the character of the administration. Finally there is a chapter on recent developments and modifications.

The detailed consideration of the system established during the Civil War occupies the greater part of the book. However improvident Congress may have been in not more quickly drawing upon the internal resources of the country, when it once set to work it did it most thoroughly if not most judiciously and effectively. There is no question that without internal taxation the expenses of the war could not have been met. We have twice proved in our own short financial history that for a protracted war a loan policy spells failure. Dr. Howe emphatically declares, "had there existed in 1861 some form of internal taxes with which the people were familiar, and which was

sufficiently elastic to permit of immediate extension, the Treasury would not have suffered from the straits to which it was reduced, the necessity of resort to treasury notes might have been averted and the war been more vigorously prosecuted." Customs duties are unreliable; they have the fatal defect of inelasticity. Internal taxation on the other hand may be increased almost without limit. How far it may be carried will chiefly depend upon the kind of tax. A direct tax on visible property cannot be easily evaded. But an excise duty on the production of commodities generally finds a limit where the profit accruing from evading the tax becomes sufficiently attractive. A well-known instance of this is found in the whiskey tax of the Civil War. Mr. David A. Wells, then Special Commissioner of the Revenue, showed that out of every eight gallons produced three only paid the tax. At that time the rate of the tax was \$2 per gallon, while the cost of producing whiskey was about twenty cents. He came to the conclusion "that whenever a tax equivalent to 100 per cent of the average cost of an article is imposed upon it, a limit has been attained where the *ordinary* provisions of the law are sufficient for its execution." In proportion as this is departed from the enactment of extraordinary laws to secure the tax becomes necessary; until finally a point is reached where the inducement to evade or resist the law becomes too powerful to admit of restraint. As special commissioner, Mr. Wells persistently recommended the reduction of this excessively high rate, and at last in 1868 Congress reduced it to fifty cents. The revenue immediately rose from thirteen to forty-five millions. Illicit distillation became unprofitable at that rate.

Dr. Howe believes that the heavy taxation during the war increased the productive power of the country. This was the opinion of McCulloch respecting the English experience during the Napoleonic wars. The rapid increase of the number of patents issued, especially in connection with labor saving agricultural machinery, does not seem to be conclusive evidence. The historical coincidence might be otherwise explained. With some kinds of taxes of course there is a strong stimulus to increase production. This was conspicuously the case under the English liquor excise law when empirical data were employed to measure the amount of production—such as the cubic capacity of mash tubs, stills, etc. Great inducements were then presented to manufacturers to develop secretly a more rapid process. The extra amount so produced was virtually free from taxation. Dr. Howe calls attention to the fact that the war taxation tended to concentrate production in large concerns. He also says that the "marginal producers, the no-rent '*Entrepreneurs*'" were sometimes crowded out, which he thinks tended to stimulate the remaining producers.

Very likely this is true. There seems to be a progressive tendency that way which heavy taxation would accelerate. But if he accepts the "rent" theory of profits we do not understand the following: "Every increment of cost due to taxation was at once shifted to the price of the commodity often with an additional profit upon the capital advanced by the payer of the tax."

Among the most successful and popular of the internal taxes of the war period were the stamp duties on legal instruments, transactions and commodities, and the license taxes on business corporations, occupations and gainful pursuits. The stamp taxes were productive and elastic but they had two defects; they hampered business, and through the purchase of stamps wholesale at reduced rates, small producers were injured. The license taxes were popular also though they were most unequal. Specific sums were levied on various occupations, *e. g.*, apothecaries, auctioneers, butchers, brokers, manufacturers, etc. Here again of course the large producer was favored. The great merit of these taxes consisted in the fact that it was impossible to evade them. It may seem surprising that such an unequal tax was borne without complaint, while the income tax was violently condemned. The explanation is probably twofold. The license taxes were not great enough to be very oppressive—\$10 to \$20 being the most prevalent rates, while the income tax was a heavy one, the rates after 1864 ranging from five to ten per cent. Further, the license taxes required no investigation into the financial standing of the individual, while the income tax did. The income tax was denounced as inquisitorial and it was asserted that it was honey-combed with frauds and evasions, but it has often been said that there was "a nigger in the fence"—that the tax was in fact too successfully assessed. At any rate the income tax was very productive and in 1865 returned as much as the combined taxes on fermented and distilled liquors and tobacco. As to the cost of collection Dr. Howe states that it was "one of the most economical of taxes which has ever been imposed."

Dr. Howe in the last chapter discusses at considerable length the recent income tax law. The income tax has generally been regarded with favor by all students of finance. Theoretically the income tax is commended on the ground that it most nearly approaches the ideal measure of faculty. Practically the income tax is advocated as a compensatory tax; as Leroy Beaulieu says: "An extra charge which naturally devolves upon them "(the well-to-do)" in place of the semi-immunity which they enjoy in respect to indirect taxes."

Dr. Howe takes this position quite vigorously and looks upon an income tax as an essential feature of a good financial system. The question in this country, however, is rather one of law than of finance,

and the constitutional authority of the United States has declared that the income tax law is unconstitutional. This decision is not surprising if one considers the naked provision of the Constitution that direct taxes shall be apportioned according to population. But when the historical ambiguity of the term "direct tax" is considered and more important still the decisions of the Supreme Court in cases like *Hylton vs. United States*, the *Pacific Insurance Case*, and particularly *Springer vs. United States*, the layman cannot be blamed if he is somewhat puzzled. The decision of *Springer vs. United States* was given by a unanimous court. The recent decision in *Pollock vs. Farmers' Loan and Trust Company* was given by a court in which there were five concurring and four dissenting opinions. If the *Springer Case* was reversed it does not seem inconceivable that the recent decision may some day meet a like fate, especially if we recollect the history of the legal tender decisions. However unwise, inequitable and clumsy the recent law may have been and however content we may be to do without it, yet looking at the matter in the broadest light it seems unfortunate that the national government should be denied this important financial resource. Dr. Howe says, "The fiscal consequences of the decision may be quite as portentous as the legal and political ones. While the revenues are redundant and the customs and excise adequate to supply all possible current needs of the government the question is one of but little moment. In cases of emergency, however, the income tax is most essential to an adequate fiscal policy. . . . No tax is so fitted for emergency purposes as the income tax; for its yield is immediate, the receipts capable of expansion to meet unforeseen exigencies while its operations are in no sense obstructive to the freedom of industry and trade." Useful statistical appendices are provided and an analytical table of contents, but the book lacks a general index. It will undoubtedly be welcomed as a valuable account of this important subject.

FRANCIS WALKER.

Colorado College.

Money and Its Relation to Prices. Being an Inquiry into the Causes, Measurement and Effect of Changes in General Prices. By L. L. PRICE. Pp. 200. Price, \$1.00. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896.

The sub-title of this book is misleading. It is an inquiry not into the causes of changes in prices, but rather into the effect which an increasing or diminishing supply of the precious metals has upon prices. The effect of credit upon prices, which could not be ignored

in a general discussion of the subject, the author does not attempt to consider thoroughly, although he endeavors to make proper allowance for it when looking for the effects of variations in the supplies of gold and silver. He acknowledges heavy indebtedness to Soetbeer and Jevons, and a student who is not familiar with the former's "*Materialen*" and the latter's "Investigations" will not read Mr. Price's book to the best advantage.

Mr. Price begins with an explanation of the various methods that have been used in the measurement of prices. He reviews the economic effects of such changes and then takes up as special subjects of study the rise of prices in the sixteenth century, the fall after 1810, the rise after 1850, and finally the fall of prices since 1873. In the first chapter he explains the "index number" and its value as a detector of changes in the purchasing power of money. He considers the claims of the arithmetic mean, of the geometric mean, of Professor Edgeworth's median, and of "weighted" averages, but is so brief and chary of illustration that most readers will have to consult his references before they understand him. As his subject is of the greatest popular interest at the present time, especially in the United States, it is to be regretted that he did not incorporate in his book the gist of some of the more important references. For all practical purposes Mr. Price concludes that the several methods for reaching the index number are equally good, for "errors tend to cancel one another," and the results got from the simple arithmetic mean "are generally similar to those obtained by the more elaborate processes."

The much-debated question of the effect of rising and falling prices upon economic prosperity Mr. Price handles in the second chapter intelligently and impartially. He reaches the general conclusion that "a period of rising prices seems to be more calculated than a period of falling prices to advance the general prosperity of the whole community." He has apparently not heard of the authoritative declaration made on this side of the water by over-zealous friends of the gold standard, that there is no such class as a "debtor" class in existence, for he falls in line with Jevons and considers the effects of changing price upon both creditor and debtor classes. Sudden alterations in the purchasing power of money are universally admitted to be injurious, but Mr. Price points out that alterations due to reduced or increased supplies of the precious metals are never immediate, nor even uniform and universal. As the average man seems incapable of recognizing a change in the value of money, his imagination during a period of rising or falling prices, due to changes in the supply of precious metals, has time to exaggerate both causes and effects, and he in consequence is correspondingly stimulated or depressed. "Nor is it

really opportune," as Mr. Price observes, "to suggest that if one party to a bargain gains another loses, or that the real wealth is not altered because of an increase in the number of the counters in which it finds its nominal expression." If the business community, employers and workmen understood the real cause of the change of prices, they might, as some writers claim they really do, discount the effect and so avoid mischievous miscalculations, but men do not understand the cause and lend a quick ear to the suggestions of an unreasoning imagination. This is certainly not strange when writers of standing like Horace White and H. D. Macleod, in the face of convincing evidence furnished by index numbers, deny that gold has increased in value during the last twenty-five years. Mr. Price thinks that credit furnishes wings to imagination, hastening and intensifying the effect upon prices of an increase or diminution in the supplies of precious metals. Thus, as predicted by Cairnes, an influx of the precious metals had a more immediate and greater effect in England, with its highly developed credit system, than in the eastern countries. The man most hurt by falling prices and most benefited by rising prices, according to Mr. Price, is the employer.

The wage-earner, while hurt for an interval by a rise of prices, since wages rise less rapidly than prices, is in the long run likely to get an equitable share of the new wealth, for production will be stimulated and the readjustment of relations between employer and wage-earner will be accomplished with less friction, not to mention the fact that recent economic tendencies are admitted to favor the workman rather than the employer. There is room for much debate here and Mr. Price is not at all dogmatic.

The chapter on "The Rise of Prices in the Sixteenth Century," contains an interesting analysis of the investigations and conclusions of Adam Smith, Soetbeer and Jacobs. With respect to the fall in the value of the precious metals after the discovery of America, because of the abundant output, he quotes with approval this sentence from Adam Smith: "It is accounted for accordingly in the same manner by everybody; and there never has been any dispute either about the fact or about the cause of it." Jacobs estimated the total production of the precious metals in the sixteenth century at £138,000,000, in the seventeenth century at £337,000,000, and in the eighteenth century at £880,000,000. Making allowance for consumption in the arts and loss by wear, Jacobs estimated that the coin of the world increased 300 per cent in the sixteenth century, 130 per cent in the seventeenth century, and 30 per cent in the eighteenth century. Soetbeer's estimates are considerably in excess of these figures, his totals being £380,000,000 for the sixteenth century, £498,000,000 for the

seventeenth century, and some £926,000,000 for the eighteenth century. Both these estimates, despite their wide divergence, support the inference that a large increase in the amount of coin must have taken place. Mr. Price considers reasonable Adam Smith's opinion that the increase in the sixteenth century caused a fall in the value of silver, and a corresponding rise of prices, of about 200 per cent. That the effect upon prices was not visible until 1570 Mr. Price thinks due to the great stimulus given to enterprise by the discovery of America, which must have greatly increased the commercial demand for money. Besides, the churches and the Orient absorbed a great deal of the first supplies of the new metal, and, furthermore, since credit operations were insignificant in that period, considerable time must have elapsed before the increase of coin had permeated all the channels of trade. In England paper money complications delayed the effect upon prices, and caused the advance to be precipitate, jerky and injurious when it came. Mr. Price admits that some suffering was caused among the laboring classes and in England among other classes, by the effect of the American supplies, but holds with Tooke and Newmarch that this was "compensated and repaid a hundredfold by the activity, the expansion and vigor which they impressed for more than one generation upon every enterprise, and every act which dignifies human life or increases human happiness."

From the discovery of America down to the beginning of the nineteenth century the world's stock of precious metals was augmented almost steadily at an increasing rate, and then came a sudden decline, continuing until 1850. According to Soetbeer the annual production of the precious metals in the first decade of this century was £10,400,000, in the second £6,400,000, in the third £6,000,000, in the fourth £8,100,000.

In the fifth decade, because of new supplies from California, it rose to £14,500,000, and in the sixth decade to £35,800,000. The diminution in the supplies of the precious metals between 1810 and 1850 Mr. Price estimates at some 40 per cent, while the index number of Jevons shows a fall of prices between 1809 and 1849 in the ratio of 100 to 41, and Sauerbeck's figures show a fall between 1818 and 1849 from 142 to 74, or about 47 per cent. Mr. Price does not take for granted that this fall is wholly due to the lessening supplies of precious metals. He admits the difficulty, or impossibility, of determining exactly to what degree the precious metals are responsible for the fall because of the great influence of other known causes, such as the expansion and contraction of credit operations and the increasing productivity of labor and machinery. The influence of credit he endeavors

to eliminate, as did Jevons, by a comparison of prices in the culminating years of the several periods of speculative activity, and finds a lower general level of prices before and after each crisis as the century progresses. As for the influence of increased production, he argues that this cause was in existence before 1810, the law of increasing returns applying then to manufactures as well as after 1810, yet prices rose. Hence a counteracting influence must have been present before 1810, and Mr. Price thinks it must have been the increasing supplies of gold and silver. The effect of the fall of prices in the first half of the century upon production and upon the condition of the wage-earner he thinks it impossible to determine, because of other potent influences, both political and economic, which were at work during the same period.

During the sixth decade of the century, when California and Australia added an enormous increase to the supply of gold, Mr. Price points out that economic conditions were vastly different from those of the sixteenth century. The modern industrial and financial system, with banking houses having credit connections in all parts of the world, was in existence by 1850, and *à priori* considerations alone would lead one to expect that a given cause would not act in 1850 as it had acted 300 years before. Over half a century elapsed before the new gold and silver affected prices in the sixteenth century, whereas the increase from California and Australia practically exhausted its effect upon prices within the ensuing decade. The increase in this century was larger and more rapid than that in the sixteenth century, but the permanent advance of prices after 1849, according to Jevons, was only 18 per cent, as against an advance of 200 per cent in the sixteenth century. Sauerbeck's tables show a rise of prices from 74 in 1849 to 105 in 1857, while Soetbeer's figures make the prices of 1857 30 per cent above the average for the years 1847-50. This advance is small in comparison with that of the sixteenth century, and the difference is explained in part by Mr. Price by the relative magnitude of existing stocks of precious metals, the stock at the beginning of the sixteenth century being estimated to amount to only £33,000,000. Mr. Price discusses with much acuteness the influence of credit in the absorption of the gold supplies of 1850-60, and makes a point for bimetallism by showing how the French mint had contributed a steadying influence to the value of gold by receiving that metal in exchange for silver, which was exported in large quantity to the East. The effect of the rise of prices Mr. Price holds to have been favorable, in some cases the wages of labor rising before the prices of food products.

The fall of prices during the last twenty years Mr. Price attributes to the increase in the demand for gold caused by the demonetization of silver, and to the fact that this increased demand has not been, except within the last few years, accompanied by an increased production of gold. Although he is here beating straw that has been vigorously threshed in recent years, his methods are original and rational, and he arrives at results which an advocate of monometallism, or of falling prices, should not assail with excessive confidence.

JOS. FRENCH JOHNSON.

University of Pennsylvania.

The Law of Corporate Finance. By WILLIAM A. REID. Two vols. Pp. 1387. Price, \$12. Albany, N. Y.: H. B. Parsons, 1896.

For some time past those interested in the financial systems of local governing bodies have been looking for a systematic treatise on the financial relations of these public corporations. Mr. Reid has given us a book in which these relations are fully considered. His work performs a twofold service: in giving us the more important case material on the subject, and thus paving the way for more general conclusions; and, secondly, in showing the relation between the legal rules governing private corporations and those relating to public corporations.

In his preface the author calls the work "a practical treatise on the law of corporate finance." This probably means to say that the practicing lawyer may here find ready reference to cases dealing with the fiscal operations of public and private corporate bodies. Judged from this standpoint, the work will be a most valuable aid to those who may wish to obtain a clear idea of the attitude of the courts to the important problems involved. In most cases the author assumes only the rôle of an expositor, maintaining a neutral position toward the reasoning of the courts. This method of treatment often leads to a confusion of ideas, from which it is difficult for the untrained reader to escape. The method of exposition is by general topics, public and private corporations being treated consecutively.

In view of the vast interests involved, the unsettled condition of many of the legal relations of public corporations is one fraught with much danger. New wants, new duties, new standards of public improvement, etc., have made increased demands, both as regards taxation and indebtedness upon these local divisions. The necessity of restraining the movement toward increased expenditures is shown in the recent constitutional amendments in many of the states, limiting both taxation and indebtedness, but especially the latter. The courts have not, in all cases, given full effect to the intentions of the

constitutional conventions. This is especially true of Pennsylvania, where the interpretation of the constitutional provisions has given to local divisions far greater latitude than was intended by the framers of the clause.

Another interesting tendency which is examined in detail in chapters XXII., XXIII. and XXIV., is the restriction, both constitutional and statutory, upon the debt-contracting power of local authorities when such power is to be used for the purpose of aiding quasi-public works, such as railway, canal, irrigation companies, etc. The abuses which followed from the use of this power, during the 40's and 50's have resulted in a great mass of constitutional limitations, statutory prohibitions, and a more strict judicial construction as to the powers of public corporations.

One of the most valuable features of the present work is the possibility which it offers of contrasting the law of private and public corporations. For the first time the student is given the opportunity to clearly observe the attitude of the courts when questions of public or private law are under consideration. It is true that but a small portion of the domain of law is covered, but this portion is so important and embraces so many different legal relations that it may be taken as illustrative of the whole American system. It is rather to be regretted that one so well qualified as Mr. Reid should not have traced out this contrast for the reader. The material which he presents is so voluminous that it is quite difficult to extract general principles from it. An examination of this material, however, leads to the conclusion that in the case of both public and private corporations, the courts have not permitted any one legal theory to dominate their views. In a number of extremely important cases, the courts have refused to carry the doctrine of the private into the public law. The judicial view of the legal nature of the charters of public and private corporations, is, perhaps, the best illustration of this tendency. Considerations of public policy have been applied by the courts to each particular case with but little reference to uniformity or even consistency in carrying out general principles. In considering the powers of these two classes of corporations for instance, we often find exactly the same kind of argumentation applied to both. Where, however, public policy calls for a distinction in the two classes of cases the courts do not hesitate to meet the need. An extremely instructive portion of the present work is to be found in the treatment of questions of financial management. The material presented by the author shows the great economic service performed by the courts in this respect. With much uncertainty, and even contradiction, in the law, a body of judicial doctrine has gradually been developed

which has given to the rules of financial management the definiteness, uniformity and certainty, indispensable to both private and public business.

In this work, as in so many treatises dealing with corporation law, the tendency of judicial legislation to play a more and more important part in our legal system is made strikingly apparent. In many respects this tendency has contributed to uniformity of legal standards throughout the country. No one would dispute the fact that with all the variations in interpretation, the standards of the courts have been more uniform, continuous and permanent than those of the state legislatures. While this uniformity has done much to meet the most important demands of the commercial world—especially as regards the law of corporate bonds, both public and private—it has tended to retard the movement toward uniformity of legislation. One of the important questions which political science must face is the justification for such judicial legislation. Would not real progress be better subserved if the legislature were to consciously face this problem rather than leave it to the courts to fill *lacunæ* and remedy shortcomings?

L. S. ROWE.

University of Pennsylvania.

The Growth of British Policy. An Historical Essay. By Sir J. R. SEELEY, Litt. D. Two vols. Pp. xxii, 436; and 403. Price, \$3.50. Cambridge: University Press, 1895.

This posthumous book, by Professor Seeley, is very properly described as an essay, and not a work of historical investigation. The author makes no effort to extend the bounds of historical knowledge, nor to obtain greater accuracy or fullness for our information about the facts of the period he discusses. Contenting himself with what may be described as the commonplace body of accepted knowledge of the history of Western Europe, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, his whole task is to interpret this history in such a way as to explain the international position which England had attained at the time of the accession of Queen Anne. He believes that there has been practically no divergence from this position and policy since that time, so that the work becomes an historical explanation of the modern position in Europe of the state of Great Britain and Ireland. The connecting thread for the century and a half covered by his essay, is found in the contemporaneous character of three great movements. It is the period of the greatness of the Spanish Hapsburgs; it is the period of the special

influence of the Dutch on the fortunes of Europe; it is the period of the counter-reformation. Notwithstanding its title and subject, then, the book does not find its essential unity in English history. The growth of English policy is rather the result of the reaction of these influences on the internal condition of England and its two connected kingdoms. Its history during the same period was, indeed, a series of alternations between an active, self-directed, and a passive, subordinating foreign policy, until it settled down into its final equilibrium.

To view history "in the large," to treat whole nations as units, and peoples as embodied in their governments; then to study these nations in their relations to one another, rather than in their internal development; to explain why a certain international policy was followed; and what were the results of the adoption of such a policy is the ideal of the book. Such an ideal is not a popular one among historical writers in our time; it seems to us rather like threshing over old straw. We feel that there are so many problems of internal institutions and changes remaining unsolved, that it is futile and purposeless to deal with communities as wholes when we do not understand them as complements.

But accepting this view of history, Professor Seeley has written a suggestive and a brilliant book. Some of his main conceptions are as follows: The most essential factor in modern British policy is the union of England and Scotland, and the subordinate inclusion of Ireland in the same group. "We cannot but see how instantaneously in the year 1559, the outline of modern Great Britain springs to light. Hitherto England and Scotland had confronted each other like two barbaric tribes at eternal blood-feud, and the inclinations of Scotland had been toward France. But from this time forward, they stand together on the basis, which in political union, is almost alone solid, of religion, and they are both alike opposed to France." "By abstaining from all foreign connexions and by strengthening the connexion with Scotland, Elizabeth made our state for the first time truly insular. She gave us that frontier which has hitherto proved impassable. She thus raised us to a position of self-sufficing security which few other states enjoy, so that since her time Englishmen have seldom felt their country to be really in danger."

Thus a second influence, almost as significant in its bearings on future history, was the character of the reign of Elizabeth. Not only by drawing closer to the reformed party in Scotland, but in her general policy her reign raised England into a security she had never known before, and has never lost since. And this she accomplished mainly not through her international action, but through international inaction; not through war, but through the avoidance of war. "The

maxim of her reign was to settle nothing, but to gain time." She treated in this way the question of the status and the claim of succession of Mary, Queen of Scots. For nineteen years Mary remained in durance in England, subjected continually to the seeming vacillation and indecision of Elizabeth. It was the same with the marriage question; no one of the many political courtships of the reign was actually decided adversely. They ran on till the current set some other way, and made the marriage impossible, or till the candidate died. The succession was not settled till the queen was on her death-bed. So it was in her relations with the Huguenots, with the Netherlanders. Not till 1585 did any foreign war begin, and even then it was doubtful almost till the Armada became visible from Plymouth, whether there would be actual fighting. This masterly inactivity, this avoidance of decision, whether it resulted mainly from the queen's natural proclivities or from studied policy, was of untold value to England. "Among all great rulers it is the distinction of Elizabeth to have shown how much may be achieved by simply allowing full play to the influence of time." Thus the English people were allowed time to decide whether they should be Catholic or Protestant. They lived in profound peace in the days of Alva in the Netherlands, the Guises in France, Darnley and Bothwell in Scotland. They grew rich; they began to reach out to a western world where their later empire was largely to lie. They began to explore, to trade, to colonize. They developed a national self-confidence, activity, and unity, which put them in the van of the future in many respects.

So with other leading influences, the unifying force of the counter-reformation, and the resulting power of its armed champion, Philip II., the transformation of France under the guidance of Richelieu, between 1630 and 1636, the military monarchy of Cromwell, the opposition between the national and the dynastic tendencies of the two later Stuarts, the effect of the Revolution of 1688 in introducing a period of constant war with France, the entrance of commercial questions as the ruling influence at the close of the sixteenth century.

In the discussion and proof of these theses there is abundance of brilliant reasoning and vivid characterization. New ideas and epigrammatic statements meet one on almost every page. Yet this method of writing history has its dangers. Historical events are sometimes made to fit a prearranged system. Such is the discussion of the probable advance of the Turks into the western Mediterranean, in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Expressions constantly verge on hyperbole. Such is the statement about Francis Drake: "The British trade, the British empire, the British navy, of all these colossal growths the

root is in him." And beyond any other criticism is this; such a book does not carry us any further than we were before. It is after all subjective; it will all look differently to some one else. Each part of it may be successively discredited by some fuller knowledge of the actual occurrences and their connection.

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Handbook to the Labor Law of the United States. By F. J. STIMSON.
Pp. 385. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896.

No reader can finish the perusal of Mr. Stimson's work without a feeling of admiration. It not merely fills a real want and is admirably done, but it has the rare merit of being precisely what it pretends to be and what its title would lead the reader to expect. The author has set himself a certain definite task and has not allowed himself to be seduced from it no matter how great the temptation for digressions and discussions. Mr. Stimson has given us a real handbook in which the existing laws concerning labor are stated in a direct straightforward way, and so well expressed and arranged topically that nothing is left to be desired in the way of clearness.

As a handbook, however, the work has its limitations. In many places the effort is not made to give a complete statement of the law in all the states concerning the point under discussion. One frequently encounters such general statements as "A few of the state legislatures have enacted laws concerning," "In some of the states there are laws regulating," etc. This answers every purpose to show the character of labor legislation, but does not obviate the necessity for a further search if it is desired to know the law in every state. Again there is absolutely no critical discussion of the desirability of particular legislation or of the justness of positions assumed by the courts. These points are not cited as defects as it would be ungracious to criticise a work for what it does not pretend to be. They are the necessary restrictions of a work of the character of the present one. One cannot help but wishing, however, that in some future work an author who is so well qualified for the task would give us a full discussion of the principles involved in labor legislation from the social as well as the legal standpoint.

Space does not permit of a consideration of particular features of labor legislation as brought out in the present work. The general impression given by this first attempt to treat of labor laws in their entirety is the unsettled condition of almost every question relating to labor. A code of labor laws is seen to be now in the course of evolution. The effort is being made through both legislative enactment

and judicial interpretation to modify or construe early law so as to make it applicable to modern industrial conditions. No fact more strikingly shows the great change of modern over earlier conditions than the fact that this effort is concerned so largely with the matter of constitutional construction.

Mr. Stimson's discussion of the modern use of injunction in labor disputes constitutes undoubtedly the most interesting chapter of the book to the general reader. The excellent manner in which the book is printed and bound adds materially to the pleasure and ease with which it can be consulted.

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Washington, D. C.

Wages and Capital. An Examination of the Wages-fund Doctrine.

By F. W. TAUSSIG. Pp. 329. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896.

The purpose of this book is twofold, as indicated by its title. It is a critical account of the development of the wages-fund doctrine and it also contains the essentials of the author's positive theory of the relation of wages to capital.

The book is a model for compressed and concise statement and the style is clear, terse and vigorous. Professor Taussig has robbed a dry subject of its dryness. He has brilliantly called back to life a dead controversy.

The work suggests comparison with Böhm-Bawerk's two volumes on interest. It undertakes in a measure for the theory of wages what the Austrian writer has done for the theory of interest, and it must be conceded decided superiority in several particulars. It has not the tedious fullness and unnecessary repetition of the "Positive Theory of Capital." The historical part is likewise more compressed yet in the main quite as satisfactory. True, Professor Taussig has the narrower subject, a briefer time to cover and only one aspect of the theory of wages to keep centrally in mind. But allowance made for all this, Professor Taussig reaches his points more easily and with fewer bewildering excursions into by-way discussion. Professor Taussig finds the basis of the wages-fund in Smith's treatment of capital with reference to wages. "Adam Smith had shown," he says, "that, in a society having a developed division of labor, the process of production was spread over some length of time and that for the laborers in such a society subsistence must be provided until their present labor should result in finished goods in the future . . . further he had shown that, under the unequal distribution of wealth in modern societies, the supplies from which laborers must for

the moment get their subsistence, are in the hands of others; hence laborers get them by a bargain with those others." But he had not shown "exactly what the employers have to offer in that bargain." While he set forth the fact that hired laborers "are dependent on advances from the capital of the employers," he did not clearly state "what that capital consists of."

In the period between Adam Smith and Ricardo, Professor Taussig finds that no writer "got beyond the point reached by the former in his analysis of capital at large and of the place of capital in the payment of wages."

Ricardo's chief importance in the development of the theory is in the emphasis which he placed upon the two propositions that "all capital is resolvable into advances to laborers" and "that *market* wages depend on the demand and supply of labor," the demand for labor coming from the "capital of those who hire laborers for production." He also seems to have believed in "the rigidity of the part of the capital which could go to laborers in any one season." The dependence of wages on capital and the determination of wages by the ratio of capital to population seem to have been unhesitatingly assumed by the writers of the entire period from Adam Smith to J. S. Mill. The importance of the "standard of living" and the "habits" of the people was recognized as fixing the meaning of the subsistence of labor. The effect of the Malthusian doctrine was great in giving definiteness and strength to the factor of the growth of population. Professor Taussig thinks that the "general vagueness of statement" and lack of emphasis upon the important parts of the doctrine were due to the fact that the "main interest of the writers . . . was in other subjects." "They believed that the chief means of bettering the condition of mankind was on the one hand by the maintenance of a high standard of living, on the other by improvements in the machinery of production." The too rapid increase of population was the only serious probable danger threatening progress. Hence the, to them, obvious principles of the current wages-doctrine were assumed that they might put their emphasis upon "the necessity of restraint on the advance of population. The rigidity of the wages-fund was not generally taught, indeed, most of the writers, in discussing the possibility of increasing wages through trades-unions and other means, seem to have assumed that the fund was elastic. Professor Taussig is unwilling to give M'Culloch the credit of originating the wages-fund doctrine and says "but there is an *à priori* improbability that he really originated any independent doctrine whatever and no indication that he did more . . . than to restate . . . what had been worked out by others."

He gives Senior deserved praise for attempting to "examine in detail the causes determining the real fund for the maintenance of laborers," and for achieving a restatement of the problem which showed that he appreciated the vagueness and shortcomings of the current theory. But Senior himself in pushing his inquiry fell at last into the traditional form of exposition and failed to advance the theory. In this latter view of Senior, it may be questioned whether Professor Taussig does full justice to the strength of the influence exerted by Senior. Senior, in developing his idea that the fund for the maintenance of labor depends on the general productiveness of the laborers of the community, lays considerable stress on the intelligence and skill of the laborers. It needs but a step from these propositions to reach the foundation of the modern opposition to the wages-fund doctrine. If the intelligence and skill of the laborers determine the amount of the fund which maintains them, we have in sight the doctrine that wages are paid out of product. A new point of view is presented. It does not seem unlikely that this analysis of Senior was the starting point from which General Walker led his argument against the wages-fund, especially in view of the fact that Walker by his own frank admission has been a close student of Senior.

In his excellent chapter on John Stuart Mill, Professor Taussig points out that Mill made no contribution to the wages-fund doctrine. "The wages-fund doctrine is stated briefly and boldly; its foundations in the nature of civilized production is hardly noticed; its teaching is aimed chiefly at the need of repressing numbers. Its application in other directions is cumbered and confused by references to funds and capital in terms of money, which obscure the essential truths of the doctrine, and became the source of the memorable but fruitless controversy which resulted in Mill's recantation."

The controversy over the wages-fund begun by Longe and continued by Thornton, Mill and Cairnes is sketched briefly and ably in another chapter. The attacks of Longe and Thornton are found inadequate, Mill is blamed for his recantation, and Cairnes is declared not to have met Thornton's objections squarely and not to have reached the essential controversy at all.

A chapter is devoted to the wages-fund doctrine in Germany, showing the dominance of Hermann's theory of consumer's income, not capital, as the source of wages. It is surprising that no reference is made to von Thünen, who certainly wrote ably and influentially upon the relation of capital to wages.

In the last historical chapter, entitled "Contemporary Discussion," Professor Taussig indicates the bearing upon the wages-fund theory of two main trends of modern thought—the theory that laborers'

wages are paid out of their product, urged chiefly by Henry George and Francis A. Walker and the Austrian theory of value, particularly as it is developed by Böhm-Bawerk. This will probably be judged the most interesting chapter of the historical part, because it connects itself with several of the most vital questions of our time.

The best part of Professor Taussig's constructive work is in his third chapter, entitled "The Machinery of Distribution." With rapid, graphic touches he sketches the important and distinctive features of our modern industrial organization. The independent producers, in possession by ownership or hire of the capital of the society, the intricate interweaving of capital and management in corporations, the army of laborers depending solely on their hire. Rightly he places no emphasis on land ownership as a distinctive part of the machinery, for in the large its importance belongs to the past or possibly again to the future. The machinery by which the capital of idle investors reaches the hands of active managers is described. Then the whole mechanism is exhibited in action. The production of goods, their sale through the complicated mechanism of merchants of different grades, the receipt of the money price of the output by the managers and their distribution of it in interest and wages and profits to the corresponding classes. He insists upon tracing the actual movements, upon keeping in mind always this actual machinery and the processes which it necessitates, if we would understand the laws of modern distribution. The description is brief, but its brevity is that which comes after a thorough insight into the concrete detail.

In this insistence upon the study of our actual industrial world, in the skill with which the salient features of this organization are depicted, he sets a laudable example and merits the applause of all economists. There is displayed in it all a rare sanity and intelligence. It is only by this method that progress can be achieved. As to results, the author's own words will give the best account.

"The point has now been reached where we can observe the differences, in their relation to capital, between the wages of the hired laborer and those of the independent workman. The hired laborer is undoubtedly dependent on capital and gets his wages from capital in a sense in which the independent workman does not. His money income, the first and the essential means toward getting a real income, is turned over to him by capitalists. It comes from funds in the possession of a body of which his immediate employer is a member, and which includes all the active co-operators in the management and control of industry. . . . In this sense his earnings depend on a wages-fund, on the sums which the employers judge it expedient to turn to the hire of labor; and in this sense the independent workmen

evidently do not depend on capitalists or on a wages-fund. In another sense, all workmen, whether hired or independent, get their wages from capital and are dependent on a wages-fund. This is in the sense that all real income is derived from consumable commodities; that these are the product of past labor; that the supply of them available for fresh use at any time is small, and that the supply for any considerable stretch of time exists mainly in the form of inchoate wealth (capital). The real income of all classes in the community comes from past product, and in the main from real capital. This is a very different wages-fund doctrine from the other. It will hold good under any conditions of society, so long as the arts are carried on in such manner that a long stretch of time elapses between the beginning and the end of the successive steps in production."

In the other chapters of this first part the author explains more at length what he means by this dependence of income on capital and discusses the limits which this organization of industry and the interadjustment of its parts place upon the amount of real income at any time possible for the various classes of recipients. The distinctive feature of his view is that he regards the active managers of industry as holding in their power the direction of production and therefore in the main the adjustment of the various "shares" in real income.

I must express my dissent from several of the main conclusions reached by the learned and able author of this volume.

His historical evidence does not seem convincing upon the point that the wages-fund doctrine was ever essentially anything else than an attempt to explain wages of hired labor in an industrial society of the modern type, where money funds in the hands of the employing capitalists were supposed to constitute the fund out of which laborers received their wages. He does not prove that the historical wages-fund doctrine was ever the broad philosophical truth as to the issuance of all income from capital, which he would make it.

But it was this historic doctrine not the philosophical principle which the critics of the wages-fund theory attacked. The fact that the existence of a great mass of capital is necessary in long-time production is not sufficient reason to deny that the rate of wages received by hired labor is determined by the value of the product of their labor. The advocates of the labor-product theory of wages not only accept Professor Taussig's fundamental principle that capital, the product of past labor, is the indispensable means to the continued flow of income, but they make it one of the main bases of their theory. It is only, in our highly organized society, through the agency of this capital and the industrial organization of men which corresponds to it, that labor is enabled to receive as wages, the products of labor.

Professor Taussig regards present "real" wages, as the wages of present labor, *i. e.*, that the things consumed during present labor are the return to that labor. This is a confusing definition, but let us accept it for the sake of argument. The labor-product theory of wages urges that because of the existence of this capital, the laborer in modern society is enabled to receive his product, not in things unfinished, which are of no use to him now, but in things finished. It urges further that the measure of the wages received is not the existing capital but is the value of the goods made by the labor of the wage-receiver. The theory does not rest upon a confusion between real wages and money wages as Professor Taussig seems to think. It is founded upon a clear insight into the very quality and operation of capital which Professor Taussig himself makes the basis of his opposing argument.

Again, "real" wages, or the goods consumed by laborers, says Professor Taussig, come from capital, or more specifically from the retail merchants who sell the goods, not from the employers of labor. Assuming money to be stable in value, and recognizing with Professor Taussig that the laborers first receive their money wages from their employers and then purchase the real wages, the question arises, What is the measure of the wages received? We can disregard fluctuations in prices and thus treat money wages and real wages as equivalent. What is this equivalence? Evidently an equivalence in value. (The essential function of money is to represent value in the generic. This is the reason why the wages question can be more advantageously studied in terms of money. It is ignoring one of the most vital parts of our industrial organization to say with Mill and Taussig that the money mechanism is an indifferent thing and can be eliminated from the discussion.) What determines the amount of money, *i. e.* of value, received by the laborer? Professor Taussig says, by implication, the existing amount of such forms of capital as are ready to "emerge" into the goods consumed by the laborers, in other words, by the habitual consumption of the laborers. But this does not bring us to the professor's avowed principle that it is the amount which capitalists decide to turn over to the laborers. He does not point out how in general capitalists, or in particular, how employers of labor on the one hand, and sellers of goods to laborers, on the other, come to an understanding as to the amount. The labor-product theory on the other hand does explain that the reason why the laborers receive so much money, and secondarily so much "real" wealth is that their product, which takes the shape of additional capital in possession of the employers, is an equivalent in value to their receipts.

If they take so much out of Böhm-Bawerk's general subsistence fund they put in simultaneously, or antecedently or subsequently, it matters

not for this purpose, an equal amount. This flow in and out of the reservoir, as Professor Newcomb puts it, is the important thing to study in ascertaining the rate of wages, not the absolute amount in the reservoir at any particular time. The effect of the size of the reservoir upon the rate of flow is an element of secondary or tertiary importance. The primary cause of the outflowing wages is the inflowing product.

Again, as to general income, accepting Professor Taussig's conception of the industrial process—the continuous emergence of every variety of finished goods, as income, from the accumulated capital of the whole society—his conclusion that the rate of flow of income is determined primarily by the amount of existing capital of various kinds and on the choices of its owners as to the use they shall make of it, appears radically one-sided. It leaves out of account both the inventive and organizing skill of the undertakers and the skill and energy of the laborers. While he must recognize that capital does not emerge into income without human agency, he says simply that the rate of income depends on the capital. It is evidently just as much dependent on the organization and the labor. In the fact that the rate of general social income depends on the efficiency of labor, the advocates of the labor-product theory have a solid basis for their doctrine. Both the rate of wages and the rate of return to capital can best be ascertained from a study of the forces which create new wealth. And we shall never reach a satisfactory explanation until we visualize the adjustment of human powers to long-time production as vividly as we do capital. Capital is simply matter in meaningless shapes except as it is steadily wrought upon by the complicated, accurately-adjusted, ever-working organization of human power. "Inchoate wealth" or capital, has no value except in view of its future transformation by organized humanity. Left alone, it falls to wrack in a month. The efficiency of this social industrial organization is one of the determining causes of the rate of flow of income. The value of Professor Taussig's book is rather in the skillful analysis of some parts of this human industrial mechanism than in his insistence upon capital alone as determining income. This insistence, ostensibly in the name of progress, would lead economic science backward.

There is another point of view from which it may be solidly argued that wages are the product of labor. Henry George has urged that since the workman adds to the value of the product in his employer's hands and thereupon receives wages, he thereby produces his wages. George's argument may not go far enough, but his beginning may be justified. Value is the true content of economic goods and exchange is a productive process. It is just as legitimate to regard the value-product

received by the laborer as the product of his labor as it is to regard the value-product directly due to his labor as his product. In primitive society, before division of labor, the satisfaction of the individual's wants came from the actual physical good which took shape under his single hand. In modern industry, there stands between the individual and his satisfaction the complex of the social industrial organization. The primitive man moved the lever of the physical mechanism simply, the modern man must move the levers of this social mechanism as well. In the primitive world he moved one stone above another and ground his material for bread. In the modern world he hammers in shoe-pegs, but thereby makes bread, just the same. To call this fanciful and unreal is to deny reality to our modern industrial organization. The modern man simply uses an additional machine. Or rather the primitive man is a myth, for production has always involved the co-operation of others. It is a truth in the main that the workman consumes his product. Professor Taussig, taking a fixed period and a strictly physical view of economic goods and economic processes, denies, naturally enough, that wages in the sense of the actual things consumed during this period can be paid out of his product. But the exchange of the actual physical thing made by the laborer for his money wage is a productive process in the economic sense and the further exchange of this money for goods consumed by him is another productive process.

Another labor-productivity theory of wages, unnoticed by the author, has been elaborated with great nicety by Professor John B. Clark. He has demonstrated clearly that the fundamental law of wages is a tendency to equality between the social value created and the social value received by the wage-earner.

As to the problem of the wages of hired labor, the predominant type in modern society, Professor Taussig says: "Hired laborers are dependent on a wages fund . . . which is in the hands of the capitalist class. Their money income (elsewhere shown by him to be the requisite means to acquire real income) is derived from what the capitalists find it profitable to turn over to them."

If this be granted it does not solve the problem. What makes it "profitable to turn over" wages to the laborer? The test of its profitability is directly in the product of that labor. If none is turned over there is no profit, because there is no product. Again there is another point at which it ceases to be profitable to turn over more. Why? Because the product of the additional labor is found to be equal in value only to the wages paid. Capitalist and laborer find themselves in partnership. The highest gain to both depends upon their keeping the machinery of production going till the point is reached

where greater productivity of goods begins to show a lessening value received. The capitalist, then, is dependent on labor and receives his profits from labor in as true a sense as the laborer is dependent on capital and receives his wages from capital. And keeping in mind the trained muscles and practiced skill of the laborers, the accumulated fund, so to speak, of labor power embodied in the workmen, it would be proper and true to explain profits by referring to a "profits-fund" of labor upon which the capitalist was dependent. We might in this way say that the money income of the capitalist class is derived from what the laborers find it advantageous to turn over to them out of this fund. The elasticity or rigidity of this fund of labor power might make an important part of the controversy. The present income of all classes of society, including capitalist-employers, is derived, "emerges," from this accumulated fund of intelligence, foresight and manual skill. In fact practically everything might be asserted concerning this "fund" which Professor Taussig asserts concerning capital as to the dependence of the present upon the past. It would be equally true and would yield equal elucidation of the problem of income. The question of general social income is a question of the joint productivity of capital and labor, and the wages of hired labor form simply one of the special branches of this general inquiry.

One more point. Professor Taussig criticises Hermann's view, that the source of wages is the income of those who buy the laborer's product, by saying that since this reduces itself in large part to the assertion that wages is the source of wages it is reasoning in a vicious circle. The criticism is inconclusive. It is of the very essence of exchange production that the goods produced by different sets of laborers should mutually form the real wages of these different sets of laborers. This is in fact but another form of statement of Professor Taussig's own fundamental proposition concerning the nature of modern production.

Professor Taussig has made a notable contribution to the literature of the wages question. Machine production, steam transportation and the growth of democracy have made wages in a sense the vital centre of theoretic controversy and social agitation throughout this century. Protection, monetary policy, the sphere of government control, and the type of social organization must meet their enduring tests by a reference to the wages of labor. If it be correct to judge from the number of rival wages theories at present finding adherents among economists, both professional and amateur, the final emergence of a true theory must be yet far in the future.

Professor Taussig, by instinct and training a scientist, has made a bold attempt to carry the investigation through the superficial

phenomena to the solid fundamentals of the subject. His work displays an admirably judicial temperament, a clear and persistent grasp of the essential facts, reasoning ingenious and keen. With the modesty of real science he does not claim to have reached finality. He may rightfully claim, nevertheless, to have shown the inadequacy of the historic wages-fund theory and of the chief criticisms of that theory as well. He has demonstrated the historic relativity of these theories. He has set up conspicuously in the light certain essential facts of our present civilization which make a new theory necessary. He has, at the same time, discovered to view certain universal relations of capital to labor which must form elements of the true wages theory, whatever stage of industrial development may be under consideration, whatever may be the economic structure of society. Professedly treating of concrete particulars he has reached universals. Merely scientific in aim, he reveals himself substantially a philosopher.

His method is in line with that of the best work of the younger economists of the present, men trained originally in the rigid logic of the classical economists and then brought under the stimulating influence of the historical school. The result is first negative, a critical destruction of inaccuracies in the older explanations of economic life. This is followed by a bold attempt to construct solid bases for new theories. The new theory must inevitably contain what is true in the old. But to justify itself it must do more than this. If any radical defect appears in Professor Taussig's study it is here; in its failure to find a synthetic unity in the tendencies in those modern wages theories which have discarded the wages-fund theory. In this way only does it seem hopeful to reach any satisfactory explanation of the law of wages. Professor Taussig is too skeptical of the value of these anti-wages-fund theories. He has insisted on a certain true fundamental principle as the basis of the wages-fund theory. His treatment of the theories antagonistic to the wages-fund theory does not show the same attempt to reach the depth of the matter. Not merely in Herrmann, Longe, Thornton, George and Walker, whom he does mention, but in Hobson and Marshall, in Gunton, Wood, Patten and Clark and in Wieser are found explanations of wages which have indisputable truth at their basis and which, with one or two exceptions, rest on the same fundamental principles. Professor Taussig has chosen a different basis for his theory. He is, therefore, likely to be challenged for not having positively shown the futility of these rival theories.

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Made in Germany. By ERNEST EDWIN WILLIAMS. Pp. 175. Price, 2s. 6d. London: William Heinemann, 1896.

"Made in Germany" is the significant title which Mr. Williams has chosen for a statistical study of the present condition of England's industries as compared with those of Germany. In his style the author betrays the journalist and in a certain narrowness of view, the layman in economic investigations, but notwithstanding these drawbacks the facts which he has collected merit serious consideration. His book has created what almost deserves to be called a sensation in certain circles in England.

The thesis of the volume is that England's "unique position as unchallenged mistress of the industrial world is gone, and is not likely to be regained," and that she owes the loss to the superior enterprise of Germany. To what extent it is "gone" is explained by the author in some detail in the first six of the eight chapters of his work. After dwelling upon "the departing glory," he takes up in turn "iron and steel," "ships, hardware and machines," "textiles," "chemicals," and "the lesser trades," and adduces statistics, often startling enough, to show how England has been declining in each one of these industries since the period of the Franco-Prussian war, while Germany has been gaining. After narrating what he dramatically designates "the tale of England's industrial shame," the author concludes with an explanation of "why Germany beats us," and the moral: "What we must do to be saved."

An examination of Mr. Williams' statistics suggests several criticisms which while they do not entirely negative, yet weaken the force of his conclusions.

(1) His most telling figures illustrating the decline in English industries, are in terms of price, instead of in terms of quantity, and thus practically ignore the great decline in the prices of most manufactured commodities which has characterized the last twenty-five years.

(2) By taking 1894 as a typical year, illustrating present conditions, he makes a much more lugubrious picture than could be drawn from a comparison of the figures for 1895, or, better still, 1896, with those for earlier years.

(3) By using percentages of increase or decrease in contrasting the statistics of German industries with those of English, he creates a false impression of the absolute growth in the industrial importance of Germany and the absolute decline, if such there has been, in the industrial importance of England.

(4) His figures apply mainly to minor industries or to minor departments of England's great industries. The one exception to this

statement is found in the department of iron and steel production, and here other causes are at work than these on which Mr. Williams lays most stress.

A more general criticism is that the author fails to distinguish carefully between the different causes operating with reference to different industries. His method is to review all departments of industry by means of a superficial examination of the official statistics of production and exportation. Finding that Germany is advancing in the production of iron and steel and in the production of silk, while England is retreating, he assumes that the same general and far-reaching causes are operative in both industries. "Germany beats us," because of the superiority of the German technical schools, because of the fostering care of the German government shown in its protective tariffs, its sugar bounties, its low freight charges on the state railroads, its subsidies to steamship companies, the superiority of its consular service, etc., etc. It does not seem to occur to him that Germany "beats" England in the production of iron and steel because of the relative exhaustion of England's iron mines and the discovery of cheap processes for dephosphorizing iron ore, which have made Germany's rich deposits of that mineral commercially valuable. In the same way he fails to distinguish between the triumphs which German science has achieved in solving problems of agricultural economy (*e. g.*, in the culture of the sugar beet, the growth of flax), and superiority in manufacturing enterprises. It is long since the best intelligence of England has applied itself to the problems which confront the farmer. In Germany it is still true that the *Gutbesitzer* represents the intellectual aristocracy of the nation. Little wonder then that Germany has outstripped England wherever agricultural difficulties needed to be overcome.

Taking all of these things into account, however, it remains true that Germany is becoming a more and more formidable competitor of England in the world's markets and the explanations which Mr. Williams offers of this fact have an interest for American as well as for English readers.

They may be summed up in two words: thoroughness and adaptability. The German workman is more careful to do his work well than the English, the German manufacturer is more ready to adapt his wares to the wants of consumers in distant lands. The same qualities show themselves in German salesmen, in German officials and even in the German Emperor, whose personal interest in the success of the German exhibition at the World's Fair is well known.

The superiority of Germany is a social rather than an individual superiority, and individualistic England is likely to feel more and

more keenly the pressure of German competition, which is the organized effort of a great nation directed against the unorganized private enterprise of capable individuals.

We in the United States have not yet been troubled seriously by the more far-reaching questions connected with international competition. We have lived much to ourselves behind our high tariff wall, reveling in the bounties of nature and sending of our surplus to poverty stricken Europe. The time is not far distant, however, when we, like Germany, will be drawn into the international struggle and will have to measure our weapons on a neutral field with European competitors.

With this time in view Mr. Williams' moral lecture ought to be attended to by us as carefully as by the English manufacturers and merchants to which "Made in Germany" addresses itself.

There is a broader aspect in which Mr. Williams' book is interesting as a sign of the times. It testifies to the growing uneasiness which Englishmen feel lest their industrial supremacy be slipping from their grasp. This is only one of numerous books which have appeared recently, squarely advocating a return to protectionism and the organization of a great industrial confederacy to include the whole British empire and to adopt German tactics toward the outside world. It will be long before the confidence of the average Englishman in unswerving free trade will be shaken, but already the distinction between "free" trade which ignores the possible policies of foreign competitors and "fair" trade which aims at reciprocal free trade is coming to be recognized in the British Parliament as well as in the British press.

HENRY R. SEAGER.

CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BOOKS PUBLISHED FROM MAY 10 TO OCTOBER 1, 1896.

[In this list are included the titles of only the more important works belonging within the field of Politics, Law, Economics and Sociology.]

I. POLITICS AND LAW.

Representation in Virginia. By JULIAN A. C. CHANDLER. Johns Hopkins University Studies, Fourteenth Series, Nos. VI-VII. Pp. 83. Price, 50c. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896.

Digest of the Law of England with Reference to Conflict of Laws. By A. V. DICEY. With Notes of American Cases by John Bassett Moore. Pp. cvii, 853. Price, \$6.50. Boston: Boston Book Co., 1896.

[This book treats of those rules of private international law, which are recognized by English courts. Besides a second and carefully corrected edition of "The Law of Domicil as a Branch of the Law of England," it contains a complete digest of the law of England with reference to the conflict of laws.]

Éléments de droit constitutionnel. By A. ESMEIN. Pp. 841. Price, 10 *fr.* Paris: L. Larose, 1896.

Histoire financière de l'Assemblée constituante, 1789. By CHARLES GOMEL. Vol. I, Pp. xxxv, 565. Price, 8 *fr.* Paris: Guillaumin et Cie, 1896.

[The present volume will supplement the author's well-known book on the "Financial Causes of the French Revolution." The history of the Constituent Assembly during the year 1789 is followed step by step with a view to locating the responsibility for the financial policy of the period. A second volume will deal with the years 1790 and 1791.]

Appeals from Colonial Courts to the King in Council, with Special Reference to Rhode Island. By HAROLD D. HAZELTINE. Reprinted from Reports of the American Historical Association. Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University. Vol. VII. Pp. 299 to 350. Providence: Preston & Rounds, 1896.

The School of Politics: The American Primary System. By E. HOFER. Pp. 74. Price, 25c. Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co., 1896.

Der Einfluss von Staat und Recht auf die Einteilung des Eigenthums. By FELIX LUDWIG. Theil IV, Heft I, of Entwicklungsgeschichte des Eigenthums. Pp. x, 504. Price, 9 *m.* Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1896.

[The fourth volume of a comprehensive history of private property. The preceding volumes have dealt with the influence of objective conditions, of custom, and

of religion on the development of private property. In the present volume the author examines the economic and political conditions in primitive society in the ancient societies of the Orient, and finally in Greece and Rome with reference to the subject in hand.]

The Origin, Meaning and Application of the Monroe Doctrine. By JOHN BACH MCMASTER. Pp. 53. Price, 30c. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1896.

With the Fathers: Studies in the History of the United States. By JOHN BACH MCMASTER. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896.

The Populist Movement. By FRANK L. McVEY. Publications American Economic Association. Economic Studies, Vol. I, No. 3. Pp. 135 to 209. Price, 50c. New York: Macmillan Co. 1896.
[An excellent summary of the history of the "movement of discontent." The author describes the economic conditions out of which the party has taken its rise. A useful bibliography is appended.]

Ireland, 1494-1868. By WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS. With two Introductory Chapters. Cambridge Historical Series. Pp. viii, 372. Price, \$1.60. Cambridge: University Press, 1896.

The Social Contract or Principles of Political Right. By JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU. Translated with an Historical and Critical Introduction and Notes by Henry J. Tozer, and with a Preface by Bernard Bosanquet. Pp. vii, 247. Price \$1.00. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896.

Handbook to the Labor Law of the United States. By F. JESUP STIMSON. Pp. xxii, 385. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896.

[Reviewed in the current number of the ANNALS. Vol. viii, No 3, p. 540.]

Municipal Government in Michigan and Ohio: A Study in the Relations of City and Commonwealth. By DELOS F. WILCOX. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Columbia University, Vol. V, No. 3. Pp. x, 180. Price, \$1.00. New York: Columbia University, 1896.

II. ECONOMICS.

(a) *Theoretical.*

Ueber die Elemente der politischen Oekonomie. Intensität der Arbeit, Wert und Preis der Waren. By L. VON BUCH. Pp. 240. Erster Teil. Price, 4 m . Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1896.

The Theory of Economic Progress. By JOHN B. CLARK; and The Relation of Changes in the Volume of the Currency to Prosperity. By FRANCIS A. WALKER. American Economic Association,

Economic Studies, Vol. I, No. 1. Pp. 45. Price, 50c. New York: Macmillan Co., 1896.

Outlines of Economic Theory. By HERBERT JOSEPH DAVENPORT. Pp. xii, 381. Price, \$2. New York: Macmillan Co., 1896.

[A new manual of political economy showing considerable originality in arrangement and form of presentation. Likely to become popular as a text-book.]

L'Economie de l'effort. By YVES GUYOT. Pp. x, 320. Price, 4 *fr.* Paris: A. Colin et Cie, 1896.

[An elementary discussion of some of the general principles of political economy, designed to show the weakness of socialism.]

Economics: An Account of the Relations between Private Property and Public Welfare. By ARTHUR TWINING HADLEY. Pp. xi, 496. Price, \$2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896.

[To be reviewed in ANNALS for January, 1897. Vol. ix, No. 1.]

Grundbegriffe und Grundsätze der Volkswirtschaft. By CARL JENTSCH. Eine populäre Volkswirtschaftslehre. Pp. viii, 446. Price, 2.50*m.* Leipzig: F. W. Grunow, 1895.

[A work intended to supply the need felt in Germany for an elementary presentation of economic science for use in the schools. Follows Wagner's "*Grundlegung*" closely on theoretical points.]

Wages and Capital: An Examination of the Wages Fund Doctrine. By Professor F. W. TAUSSIG. Pp. 329. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896.

[Reviewed in the current number of the ANNALS Vol. viii. No. 3, p. 541.]

La science et l'art en économie politique. By RÉNÉ WORMS. Petite encyclopédie sociale, économique et financière. Pp. 131. Price, 2 *fr.* Paris: Giard et Brière, 1896.

[A popular discussion of the scope and methods of political economy.]

(b) *Miscellaneous.*

Wilhelm Roscher und die socialwissenschaftlichen Strömungen der Gegenwart. By MORITZ BRASCH. Reprinted from Author's volume on "Leipziger Philosophen." Pp. 70. Price, 0.70*m.* Leipzig: G. Fock, 1896.

Ueber Auerbenrecht und Grundeigenthum. By L. BRENTANO. Pp. 57. Berlin: O. Häring, 1896.

Briefs for Debate on Current Political, Economic and Social Topics. By W. DuBOIS BROOKINGS and RALPH C. RINGWALT. With an Introduction by Albert Bushnell Hart. Pp. xlvii, 213. Price, \$1.25. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896.

[Contains list of seventy-five topics for public debate, and accompanies each with very valuable suggestions and bibliographical references. Topics concern politics, economics, sociology and miscellaneous subjects.]

Staatswissenschaftliche Arbeiten. Festgaben für Karl Knies zur fünfundsiebzigsten Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages in dankbarer Verehrung dargebracht. I. The Unit of Wealth, by JOHN B. CLARK. II. Die Antichinesen-Bewegung in America, by O. v. BOENIGK. III. The Theory of Betterment, by E. R. A. SELIGMAN. IV. Zum Abschluss des Marxschen Systems, by E. von BÖHM-BAWERK. V. Zum Geschichte der Prämiengeschäfte, by E. LESER. VI. Agrarpolitische Wanderungen im Rheinland, by E. GOTHEN. Pp. v, 338. Berlin: O. Häring, 1896.

A History of Modern Banks of Issue, with an Account of the Economic Crises of the Present Century. By CHARLES A. CONANT. Pp. vii, 595. Price, \$2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896.

[Reviewed in ANNALS for September, 1896. Vol. viii, p. 380.]

Précis d'Histoire du Commerce. By HENRI CONS. Bibliothèque d'enseignement commercial. Vols. I. and II. Pp. xi, 328 and 398. Price, 8 fr. Paris: Berger-Levrault et Cie, 1896.

[Noticed in current number of ANNALS. Vol. viii, No. 3, p. 519.]

Protection and Prosperity: An Account of Tariff Legislation and its Effect in Europe and America. By G. B. CURTISS. With Introductions by William McKinley, Levi P. Morton and T. B. Reed. Pp. xxxii, 864. Price, \$3.75. New York: Pan-American Publishing Co., 1896.

[This elaborate work defends a protective policy historically. It contains 162 statistical tables elucidating every side of the tariff controversy and other useful material, which raises it above the average partisan manual.]

Essais économiques. By NUMA DROZ. Pp. 393. Price, 7.50 fr. Geneva; Eggimann et Cie; Paris: Felix Alcan, 1896.

[Noticed in current ANNALS, Vol. viii, No. 3, p. 520.]

Appreciation and Interest. A Study of the Influence of Monetary Appreciation and Depreciation on the Rate of Interest, with Application to the Bimetallic Controversy and the Theory of Interest. By IRVING FISHER. Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. xi, No. 4. Pp. x, 100. Price, 75c. New York: Macmillan Co., 1896.

The Problem of the Unemployed. An Enquiry and an Economic Policy. By JOHN A. HOBSON. Social Questions of To-Day Series. Pp. xvi, 163. Price, 2s. 6d. London: Methuen & Co., 1896.

[A detailed exposition of the view that unregulated private saving is responsible for the lack of adjustment between producing power and consumptive demand which results in unemployment. The remedy for the latter is found in a reformed distribution of consuming power.]

History of Taxation in Connecticut, 1636-1776. By FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES. Johns Hopkins University Studies. Fourteenth Series, No. viii. Pp. 71. Price, 50c. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896.

The East India Trade of Providence from 1787 to 1807. By GERTRUDE SELWYN KIMBALL. Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University. No. vi. Pp. 34. Price, 50c. Providence: Preston & Rounds, 1896.

Robert Malthus. Drei Schriften über Getreidezölle aus den Jahren 1814 und 1815. By EMANUEL LESER. Brentano und Leser Sammlung älterer und neuerer staatswissenschaftlicher Schriften des In- und Auslandes. No. 6. Pp. 129. Price, 2.60m. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1896.

The Iron and Steel Industries of Belgium and Germany. Report of the Delegation Organized by the British Iron Trade Association. James Patchett, chairman; Edward Trow, vice-chairman; J. Stephen Jeans, secretary. Pp. 74. Price, 5s. London: P. S. King & Son, 1896.

[This report contains a detailed comparison, statistical and descriptive, of the conditions of iron and steel production in Belgium, Germany and Great Britain. Considerable importance is ascribed to the cheaper shipping facilities enjoyed on the Continent, but on the whole the ability of Great Britain to withstand foreign competition is maintained.]

Introduction to Public Finance. By CARL C. PLEHN. Pp. xii, 364. Price, \$1.60. New York: Macmillan Co., 1896.

[This is intended to be an elementary text-book on public finance. It contains fairly good statements, together with brief discussions, of the leading principles of public finance. The book is written from an American standpoint and in the main its illustrations are drawn from our own tax systems.]

History of the Monetary Legislation and of the Currency System of the United States. By Hon. ROBERT E. PRESTON. Embracing Rare and Valuable Documents. To which is added a speech on Our Currency System, by Hon. JAMES N. ECKELS. Pp. 128. Price, cloth, 50c.; paper, 25c. Philadelphia: J. J. McVey, 1896.

[A useful résumé of our currency history, containing in abridged form the principal acts passed and proposals advanced from the colonial period until 1890.]

Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle. Supplement, 4^e fascicule, Balkans-Berlin. Ouvrage commencé par VIVIEN DE SAINT-MARTIN et continué par LOUIS ROUSSELET. Price, 2.50 fr. Paris: Hatchette et Cie, 1896.

[Reviewed in ANNALS for September, 1896. Vol. viii, No. 2, p. 400.]

La Baisse du Taux de l'Interêt. Causes et Conséquences. By GASTON SAUGRAIN. Pp. 142. Price, 5 fr. Paris: L. Larose, 1896.

Select Tracts and Documents Illustrative of English Monetary History, 1626-1730. Comprising works of Sir Robert Cotton, Henry Robinson Sir Richard Temple and J. S., Sir Isaac Newton, John Conduitt, together with extracts from the Domestic State Papers at H. M. Record Office. By WM. A. SHAW, M. A. Pp. xi, 244. London: Clement Wilson, 1896.

An Essay on the Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States. By CHARLES B. SPAHR, Ph. D. Library of Economics and Politics, Vol. xii. Pp. viii, 184. Price, \$1.50. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1896.

[This work discusses in turn the distribution of property, of incomes and of taxes in the United States, making a liberal use of statistics in support of its contentions. The conclusion as regards income is that one per cent of the population receives as income an amount greater than the total earnings of the poorer half of the population.]

The Adjustment of Wages to Efficiency. Three Papers on Gain Sharing; The Premium Plan; A Piece Rate System. By HENRY R. TOWNE, F. A. HALSEY and F. W. TAYLOR, respectively. American Economic Association, Economic Studies, Vol. i, No. 2. Pp. 51 to 129. Price, 50c. New York: Macmillan Co., 1896.

Future Trade in the Far East. By C. C. WAKEFIELD. With Maps, Illustrations, Appendices, Glossary and Index. Pp. xii, 184. London: T. Whittaker & Son, 1896.

[Reviewed in ANNALS for September, 1896. Vol. viii, p. 371.]

A Contribution to a Study of a Constant Standard and Just Measure of Value. By T. N. WHITELAW. Pp. 88. Glasgow: P. Donegan & Co., 1896.

[A comparison showing the superiority of an ideal paper standard over present coin standards or any combination of such standards. The interests of wage-earners are specially considered.]

"Made in Germany." By ERNEST EDWIN WILLIAMS. Pp. vi, 175.

Third edition. Price, 2s. 6d. London: William Heinemann, 1896.

[Reviewed in current ANNALS, Vol. viii, No. 3, pp. 551.]

III. SOCIOLOGY.

(a) *Theoretical.*

The Primary Factors of Organic Evolution. By E. D. COPE, Ph. D. Pp. xvi, 547. Price, \$2.00. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1896.

[This book traces from a Neo-Lamarekian point of view the paleontologic record of organic evolution. This is the field in which present progress is most notable especially in America, and many of the gaps in the record as derived from embryology are being filled and former statements corrected from the knowledge that paleontology is amassing.]

Introduction to Sociology. By ARTHUR FAIRBANKS. Pp. xv, 274. Price, \$2.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896.

[An attempt to furnish a practical working manual for students rather than any systematic reconstruction of the principles of sociology. The several chapters deal with the organic character of society, the physical basis of society, association, the social mind, causes and modes of social activity, the industrial organization of society, the family as a social unit, the state as an organ of social activity, the individual, external account and processes of social development and natural selection in human society.]

Le mouvement idéaliste et la réaction contre la science positiviste. By ALFRED FOUILLÉE. Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine. Pp. lxviii, 352. Second Edition. Price, 7.50 *fr.* Paris: Felix Alcan, 1896.

[A philosophical essay on the idealistic tendencies in French thought and the criticisms of the doctrine of the unknowable in its application in the field of morals and of science.]

Le mouvement positiviste et la conception sociologique du monde. By ALFRED FOUILLÉE. Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine. Pp. 379. Price, 7.50 *fr.* Paris: Felix Alcan, 1896.

[M. Fouillée discusses the objective synthesis of science and the mechanical concept of the world and compares this with the subjective synthesis and the sociological concept.]

La science sociale traditionnelle. By MAURICE HAURIOU. Cours de science sociale. Pp. xii, 432. Price, 7.50 *fr.* Paris: L. Larose, 1896.

[The author examines the traditions of the past in the light of the conclusions of modern social science and tries to indicate the modifications necessary to maintain them intact and make them still operative in their influence on conduct. The first part of the book contains a theory of social progress.]

Les sélections sociales. Cours libre de science politique professé à l'Université de Montpellier, 1888-89. By G. VACHER LAPOUGE. Pp. xii, 503. Price, 10 *fr.* Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1896.

[An attempt to extend the sphere of the Darwinian concept of selection into the realm of social phenomena, and to study the influence of heredity, education, climate, beliefs, etc., in the survival of social groups.]

Bau und Leben des Socialen Körpers. Zweite Auflage. Band I, Allgemeine Sociologie. Band II, Specielle Sociologie. By A. E. F. SCHÄFFLE. Pp.: Vol. I, xiv, 571; Vol. II, vii, 656. Price, Vol. I, 12 marks; Vol. II, 13 marks. Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1896.

[This is the new and condensed edition of Schäffle's great work which students have been expecting for some time. The changes for the most part seem to consist in omissions from the bulky first edition of material not now so relevant to the argument.]

Soziale Schriften. By CHARLES Secrétan. In Auswahl übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit einem Schriftenverzeichnis des Verfassers

versehen von Eduard Platzhoff. Pp. xxxviii, 235. Price, 3.60 *m*.
Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896.

[A German translation of selected passages from the French writings of the late Professor Charles Secrétan, of Lausanne. The volume contains a sketch of his life and work. The selections are for the most part from his "*Etudes sociales*" and "*Mon Eutopie*." This book concludes with a full bibliography of his writings.]

Organisme et Société. By RÉNÉ WORMS. Bibliothèque sociologique internationale. Pp. 412. Price, 8 *fr*. Paris: Giard et Brière, 1896.

[Under a somewhat misleading title, the author gives us in outline a system of sociology based on the biological analogy implied in the title. The sections of the book deal with social anatomy, physiology, pathology, etc.]

(b) *Miscellaneous.*

The Puritan in England and New England. By EZRA HOYT BYINGTON, D.D. With an Introduction by Alexander McKenzie, D.D. Pp. x1, 406. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Roberts Bros., 1896.

[A general history of the Puritan type of man—his thought and influence. In a very readable form the author has given an account of the movement that lies at the basis of social life in New England, and has influenced so largely other parts of the country. The book is likely to particularly interest New England families.]

A Study of Slavery in New Jersey. By HENRY SCOFIELD COOLEY. Johns Hopkins University Studies, Fourteenth Series, Nos. 9 and 10. Pp. 60. Price, 50c. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896.

[This is one of a series of comparative studies of slavery in the several states. The author takes his native state and presents his material in a topical rather than chronological order. The increase and decline of slavery, the government of slaves, and the legal and social position of slaves are the chief divisions.]

Syllabus du cours de sociologie criminelle. Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles. Institut des Hautes Etudes. By ENRICO FERRI. Pp. 24. Price, 1 *fr*. Brussels: V. Ferd. Larcier, 1896.

Recht und Sitte auf den verschiedenen wirtschaftlichen Kulturstufen. By RICHARD HILDEBRAND. Erster Teil. Pp. iv, 189. Price, 5 *m*. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

[The author gives us the first instalment of a history of the evolution of law and custom in which he traces the successive stages of growth among different people, and compares these with their economic condition. The present volume deals with hunting, fishing, pastoral stage, peasants and landed proprietors.]

Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro. By FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN. Publications of American Economic Association. Vol. xi, Nos. 1, 2, 3. Pp. x, 329. Price, cloth, \$2.00; paper, \$1.25. New York: Macmillan Co., 1896.

[A comprehensive monograph dealing with the vital statistics, race amalgamation, social and economic conditions and tendencies of the American negro. The work is rather pessimistic in tone, especially in facing the question of the progress or retrogression of the negro race.]

La pathologie sociale. By PAUL DE LILIENFELD. Avec une Preface de René Worms. Bibliothèque sociologique internationale, No. 2. Pp. xlvii, 332. Price, 8 *fr.* Paris: Giard et Brière, 1896.

[A discussion of social ills and remedies by one who accepts not only in name, but in all possible concreteness the biological analogy of society and organism. We have the maladies of the social body in general, and then of the economical, juridical and political spheres discussed, and then some words about medicine.]

Social Science and Social Science Schemes. By J. MCCLELLAND. Pp. 213. Price, 3s. 6*d.* London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1894.

[A series of essays discussing labor, capital, equality, the land problem, utopias etc.]

Studies in Ancient History: Second Series, Comprising an Inquiry into the Origin of Exogamy. By JOHN FERGUSON MCLENNAN. Edited by his Widow and Arthur Hall. Pp. xiv, 605. Price, \$6.00. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

[The second series of McLennan's historical studies contains some new and additional material in support of his theories of exogamy, endogamy and primitive marriage. It has been published by his literary executors with much difficulty. It does not contain any answer to Westermarck's criticisms.]

Hobbes Leben und Lehre. By FERDINAND TÖNNIES. Frommann's Klassiker der Philosophie, II. Pp. 232. Price, 2 *m.* Stuttgart: Fr. Frommann, 1896.

L'École Saint-Simonienne, son histoire, son influence jusqu'à nos jours. By GEORGES WEILL. Bibliothèque d'histoire contemporaine. Pp. 319. Price, 3.50 *fr.* Paris: Felix Alcan, 1896.

[This is an historical study of the followers of Saint-Simon down to 1864, by the same author who has given us a work on the life and thought of Saint-Simon.]

MISCELLANY.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION.

The twenty-third annual meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction was held at Grand Rapids, Mich., June 4 to June 10, 1896. The president's address, by Albert O. Wright, Esq., of Wisconsin, was on "The New Philanthropy," the distinguishing characteristics of which were declared to be, on the philanthropical side, that it studies causes as well as symptoms, and that it considers classes as well as individuals; on the practical side, that it tries to improve conditions, thus changing the environment of the defective, to build up character as well as to relieve or punish, to find prevention as well as cure. Mr. Wright emphasized especially the necessity of cutting off the entail of hereditary pauperism, crime, insanity and idiocy by keeping defectives in institutions. From this point of view he looked with approval on the plan of holding an immense mass of people in mild imprisonment in state and local institutions. The new philanthropy also claims as its own the work of social settlements, the rapid rise of the study of sociology in the universities, the development of child-saving agencies and the organization of charity.

The Conference held two general sessions daily each, as a rule, in charge of a particular section which provided the presiding officer and the subjects for discussion. Besides this, each section held four or five meetings. In a few instances, joint meetings were held by two sections for the discussion of subjects of joint interest.

Special prominence was given this year to the Charity Organization Section by the presence of Mr. C. S. Loch, General Secretary of the London Charity Organization Society; and to the Section on Social Settlements by the proximity to Hull House, Chicago, which sent excellent representatives. Reinforced by the presence of Professor C. R. Henderson, of the University of Chicago, Professor Graham Taylor, of the Chicago Commons, Dr. Philip W. Ayres, of the Bureau of Charities, and others, the delegation from Chicago was more noteworthy than that from any other single city.

The section on Child-Saving drew perhaps larger audiences than any other. The presentation of the work of the Children's Home Society drew forth some acrimonious discussion concerning the need for any further organization of this work than is provided by the Children's Aid Societies.

Hon. Philip C. Garrett's address on "The Merit System" presented the reverse side of the much discussed Spoils System. Captain Gardiner, who has had charge of the famous potato patch experiment in Detroit, explained it in detail and submitted to a fire of cross-questioning concerning it. Judge Grant criticised severely the ordinary prison system, and in the various sections which dealt with public institutions there was valuable discussion of the practical care of juvenile delinquents, the chronic insane and the feeble minded.

The most important single addresses were the Conference Sermon by Professor Francis G. Peabody, of Harvard University, and the address on the "Scope and Influence of Charity Organization," by Mr. Loch, on Sunday afternoon.

The program in full was as follows:

THURSDAY, JUNE 4.

Opening Session, 7.30 p. m., Hon. HARVEY J. HOLISTER, of Grand Rapids, presiding.

1. Addresses of Welcome.—Governor JOHN T. RICH, for the State of Michigan.

Mayor L. C. STOW, for the city of Grand Rapids.

President JAMES B. ANGELL, University of Michigan, for the educational institutions of Michigan.

2. Responses.—By Hon. ANDREW E. ELMORE, Green Bay, Wis., and Mr. F. B. SANBORN, Concord, Mass.
3. President's Address.—By Mr. ALBERT O. WRIGHT, Madison, Wis.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5.—Section Meetings, 9 to 11 a. m.

Juvenile Reformatories.

1. Paper by Superintendent W. G. FAIRBANKS, Middletown, Conn.: "How may Patriotism be best Taught in a Juvenile Institution?"

Discussion led by Superintendent IRA OTTERSON, Jamesburg, N. J.

2. Conference.—"What Intelligent Measures are being taken to Overcome the use of the Tramp and Criminal Dialect by Juvenile Delinquents?" Roll call of institutions.

Charity Organization.

1. Discussion opened by Superintendent R. W. HEBBERD, Charity Organization Society of New York City: "Co-operation."
2. Paper by Miss LOVE and Mr. FREDERICK ALMY, Buffalo, N. Y.: "The New Plans in Buffalo."

3. Mr. NATHANIEL S. ROSENAU, manager of the United Hebrew Charities of New York City, presented a chart showing the operation of a clearing house.

Chronic Insane Poor.

1. Paper by Dr. HAL C. WYMAN, Detroit, Mich.: "Some Methods of Caring for the Chronic Insane Poor."
2. Discussion led by Hon. Z. K. PANGBORN, Jersey City, N. J., and Dr. R. D. EASTMAN, Topeka, Kan.

General Session, 11 a. m. to 1 p. m.

1. Report of Committee, by the Chairman, Honorable C. E. FAULKNER, Atchison, Kan.
2. Paper by Colonel E. E. CLOUGH, Deadwood, S. D.: "State Soldiers' Homes."
3. Paper by Captain J. H. WOODNORTH, United States Pension Agent, Milwaukee: "Pensions and Soldiers' Homes."
4. Paper by Mrs. L. A. BATES, Aurora, Neb.: "The Work of the Women's Relief Corps."

Section Meetings, 2.30 to 4.30 p. m.

Juvenile Reformatories.

1. Paper by Secretary MARY E. COBB, Philadelphia: "The Proper Relative Importance to be given to Scholastic and Industrial Education."
2. Discussion led by Superintendent LUCY M. SICKELS, Adrian, Mich.
3. Conference.—"Do those who are most Advanced in Studies, when Paroled, make the Best Records?" Roll call of institutions.

Chronic Insane Poor.

1. Paper by Superintendent W. A. GORDON, Winnebago, Wis.: "The Separation of the Acute from the Chronic Insane in our Hospitals."

Child-Saving Work.

Subject: Truant Fathers.

1. Paper by Rev. E. P. SAVAGE, State Superintendent of Minnesota Children's Home Society, St. Paul: "Results of Two Years' Studies."
2. Paper by Superintendent JAMES SMITH, Ohio Humane Society, Cincinnati: "Experience in the City of Cincinnati."

Unveiling of Gilbert Statue, 4.30 p. m.

Unveiling, in East Fulton Street Park, of the statue of the late Thomas D. Gilbert, first president of the Charity Organization Society of Grand Rapids, and President of the U. B. A. Home. Address by President JAMES B. ANGELL, University of Michigan.

General Session, 8 to 10 p. m.

Subject: The Merit System (Civil Service) in Public Institutions.

1. Report of the Committee by Hon. PHILIP C. GARRETT, Philadelphia, Chairman.
2. Paper by Professor C. R. HENDERSON, Chicago, Ill.: "Adaptation of the Merit System for Efficiency."
3. Paper by Professor J. J. BLAISDELL, Beloit, Wis.: "An Examination of Institutions under the Merit System and under the Spoils System."
4. Paper by LUCIUS B. SWIFT: "Dangers of the Spoils System in Public Institutions."

SATURDAY, JUNE 6.—Section Meetings, 9 to 11 a. m.

Juvenile Reformatories.

1. Paper by Superintendent E. CARL BANK, Ione, Cal.: "Should Boys of Tender Age and without Criminal Tendencies be sent to Schools where Older Boys with Criminal Tendencies are Confined."
2. Discussion led by Major R. W. McCLAUGHRV, Pontiac, Ill.
3. Paper by Superintendent JOHN E. ST. JOHN, Lansing, Mich.: "The Objects of Military Training."
4. Discussion led by Superintendent J. H. EASTMAN, Howard, R. I.

Charity Organization.

Subject: Friendly Visiting.

1. Paper by Mrs. L. P. ROWLAND, Grand Rapids: "The Merit System in Public Institutions."
2. Discussion of paper by Superintendent F. H. NIBECKER, Glen Mills, Pa.: "Best Methods for the Introduction and Employment of the Merit System in Institutions."

General Session, 10 a. m. to 1 p. m.

Subject: The Chronic Insane Poor.

1. Report of Committee, by Chairman, SAMUEL BELL, M. D., Newberry, Mich.

2. Paper by Dr. JULES MOREL, Ghent, Belgium: "Observations as an Alienist for Five Years to the Belgium Prisons." Read by F. B. SANBORN.
3. Paper by Superintendent Dr. O. R. LONG, Ionia, Mich.: "Care of the Criminal Insane."
4. Paper by Hon. W. P. LETCHWORTH, Buffalo, N. Y.: "Provision for Epileptics."

Section Meetings, 2.30 to 4.30 p. m.

Juvenile Reformatories.

1. Conference. "What Efforts are Being Put Forth for the Special Benefit of the Chronic Delinquent Child?" Roll call of institutions.

Chronic Insane Poor.

Subject: State vs. County Care.

1. Paper by Hon. JAMES E. HEG, Lake Geneva, Wis.: "County Care under State Supervision."
2. Discussion led by Dr. J. L. HILDRETH, Cambridge, Mass.

Child-Saving Work.

Subject: Child Saving by the Catholic Agencies in the United States.

1. Paper by THOMAS F. RING, of Boston, Mass.

Meeting of the Ladies' Literary Club, at their Club House.

Addresses by Miss JULIA C. LATHROP and others, on the subject of "Social Settlements."

4.30 to 6 p. m.

Reception to the ladies of the Conference by the Ladies' Literary Club.

General Session, 8 to 10 p. m.

Subject: Juvenile Reformatories. Chairman, Superintendent F. H. BRIGGS, Rochester, N. Y.

1. Address by GEORGE W. GOLER, M. D., Manager New York State Industrial School: "The Juvenile Delinquent, the Causes that Produce Him; the Evolution of Modern Methods for his Reformation."

SUNDAY, JUNE 7.—Conference Sermon, 10.30 a. m.

By Professor FRANCIS PEABODY, Harvard University, in the Park Congregational Church.

General Session, 3 p. m.

Mass Meeting in Lockerby Hall. Subject: Charity Organization.

1. Report of Committee, by the Chairman, PHILIP W. AYRES, Chicago, Ill.
2. Address by Mr. C. S. LOCH, General Secretary Charity Organization Society, London, England.
3. Address by Professor C. R. HENDERSON, Chicago, Ill.: "The Scope and Influence of a Charity Organization Society."
4. Address by Miss MARY E. MCDOWELL, Chicago, Ill.: "Friendly Visiting."

General Session, 7.30 p. m.

Mass meeting in Lockerby Hall. Subject: Social Settlements and the Labor Question.

1. Address by Miss JULIA C. LATHROP, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.: "What the Settlement Work Stands for."
2. Address by Dean GEORGE HODGES, Boston, Mass.: "Religion in the Settlement."
3. Address by Mr. JOHN D. FLANIGAN, Grand Rapids, Mich.: "The Ideal of the Trade Union."
4. Address by Mrs. FLORENCE KELLY, Chicago, Ill.: "The Working Child."
5. Address by Professor GRAHAM TAYLOR, Chicago, Ill.: "The Settlement and the Labor Movement."

MONDAY, JUNE 8.—Section Meetings, 9 to 11 a. m.

Juvenile Reformatories.

1. Paper by Superintendent F. H. NIBECKER, Glen Mills, Pa.: "The Effects of Physical Defects upon those who Remain Incurable under the Influences of a Properly Conducted Juvenile Institution."
2. Discussion led by LEWIS W. ROSE, M. D., Rochester, N. Y.
3. Paper by Mr. FREDERICK G. KRAEGE, Waukesha, Wis.: "The Use of Libraries in Reformatory Work."

Charity Organization.

1. Address by Professor HENRY ADAMS, Ann Arbor, Mich.
2. Paper by Captain CORNELIUS GARDNER, Detroit, Mich.: "Able-bodied Poor and Unemployed."

General Session, 11 a. m. to 1 p. m.

Subject: Scientific Study of Social Problems. Chairman Rev. M. McG. DANA, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

1. Paper by Professor CHARLES H. COOLEY, University of Michigan: "Nature vs. Nature in the Making of Social Careers."

Section Meetings, 2.30 to 4.30 p. m.

Child-Saving Work.

Subject: Foundlings.

1. Paper by ANNETTE J. SHAW, M. D., Eau Claire, Wis.: "Methods of Dealing with Mothers and Infants."
2. Paper by KATE WALLER BARRETT, Georgia: "Motherhood as a Means of Regeneration."

Municipal and County Charities.

Subject: Vagrancy.

1. Paper by Mr. A. O. WRIGHT, Madison, Wis.: "Tramps."
2. Paper by Rev. J. W. BRADSHAW, Ann Arbor, Mich.: "The Treatment of Tramps in Small Cities."

Social Settlements.

1. Paper by Dr. W. B. CALDWELL, Northwestern University: "The Scotch and English Settlements."
2. Paper by Mr. JACOB ABT, Chicago, Ill.: "The Settlement and Education."

General Session, 8 to 10 p. m.

Subject: Child-Saving Work.

1. Paper by Miss ALICE J. MOTT, Faribault, Minn.: "Extension of the Field of Usefulness of the Trained Care-taker."
2. Report of the Committee on Child Saving by the chairman, H. W. LEWIS, Washington, D. C.

TUESDAY, JUNE 9.—Section Meetings, 9 to 11 a. m.

Juvenile Reformatories.

1. Paper by Superintendent E. M. CARPENTER, New York City: "The Placing out in Homes and the Supervision of Paroled Children."
2. Discussion led by Superintendent J. W. BROWN, Redwing, Minn.
3. Conference. "What Moral and Religious Instruction is being Given in Reform Schools?" Roll call of institutions.

Charity Organization.

1. Address by Mr. ALEXANDER JOHNSON, Fort Wayne, Ind.: "Charity as a Factor in Social Economy."
2. Paper by Miss SADIE AMERICA: "Work Rooms for Women."
3. Discussion by Professors WILCOX and FOLWELL, and Mr. LOCH, of London.

The American Anti-Tramp Society.

1. Paper by Mrs. A. S. BENJAMIN, Portland, Mich.: "The Saloon and the Tramp."
2. Paper by Mr. CARL AKEN, Milwaukee: "The Return of the Land to the People."
3. Paper by Mr. J. A. CALVERT, Milwaukee, Wis.: "Gospel Rescue Work."

General Session, 11 a. m. to 1 p. m.

1. Report of Committee, by Chairman, Hon. JAMES H. STOUT, Menomonie, Wis.
2. Paper by Mrs. E. E. WILLIAMSON, Elizabeth, N. J.: "The Relation of Municipal and County Charities to the Commonwealth."
3. Paper by Hon. W. W. FOLWELL, LL. D., University of Minnesota: "The Relation of Economics to Sociology."

Section Meetings, 2.30 to 4.30 p. m.

Child-Saving Work.

Subject: Institution Life of Children.

1. Paper by Rev. WALTER DELAFIELD, D. D., Chicago, Ill.: "Effects of Institution Life upon American Childhood."
2. Paper by Mr. LYMAN P. ALDEN, Terre Haute, Ind.: "Practical Details of Institution Management."

Municipal and County Charities.

Subject: Out-Door Relief.

1. Paper by Mr. JAS. F. JACKSON, St. Paul, Minn.: "Out-Door Relief as Administered in St. Paul."
2. Paper by Hon. RICHARD GUENTHER, Oshkosh, Wis.
3. Paper by Mr. H. H. HART, St. Paul, Minn.: "Proposed Legislation to Regulate Inter-State Migration of Paupers."

Social Settlements.

1. Paper by Miss MARY McDOWELL, Chicago University Settlement: "The Settlement and the Administration of Charity."
2. Paper by Mr. JAS. B. REYNOLDS, University Settlement, New York: "The Settlement and Municipal Reform." Read by the Secretary.
3. Paper by Miss KATHERINE B. DAVIS, Philadelphia; read by Dr. E. T. DEVINE.

General Session, 8 to 10 p. m.

Subject: Prison Reform.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10.—Section Meetings, 9 to 11 a. m.

Juvenile Reformatories.

1. Paper by Superintendent T. F. CHAPIN, Westboro, Mass.: "In what Branches should Scholastic Education be given in a Reform School?" Discussion led by Mr. E. P. WENTWORTH, Portland, Maine.
2. Paper by Rev. SAMUEL THATCHER, Meriden, Conn.: "At what Age may Pupils be Admitted to Trade Schools with Benefit either to their General Education or Productive Ability?"
3. Discussion led by Superintendent C. W. AINSWORTH, Plankinton, S. D.

Charity Organization.

Union Meeting with Social Settlement Section; Professor GRAHAM TAYLOR presiding.

The American Anti-Tramp Society.

Address by Mayor H. S. PINGREE, Detroit, Mich.

General Session, 11 a. m to 1 p. m.

Subject: The Feeble Minded.

1. Report of the Committee, by Chairman, ALEXANDER JOHNSON, Fort Wayne, Ind.: "Feeble Mindedness as an Inheritance."
2. Paper by Mr. ERNEST P. BICKNELL, Indianapolis, Ind.: "Permanent Custodial Care."

Section Meetings, 2.30 to 4.30 p. m.

Juvenile Reformatories.

1. Paper by Mrs. W. G. FAIRBANK, Middletown, Conn.: "The Effects of Physical Surroundings in the Character Building of Delinquent Boys and Girls."
2. Discussion of paper led by Superintendent A. W. STILES, Delaware, Ohio.

Child-Saving Work.

1. Paper by Mr. J. J. KELSO, Toronto, Canada: "Revival of the Curfew Law."
2. Paper by Rev. GEO. K. HOOVER, D. D., Chicago, Ill.: "Preventive Work without the Use of an Institution."

Municipal and County Charities.

Subject: Poorhouse Management.

1. Paper by Mrs. M. D. FORBES, Menomonie, Wis.: "Employment in Poorhouses."

2. Paper by Mr. ERNEST BICKNELL, Indianapolis, Ind.: "Poorhouse Sanitation."
3. Paper by Mr. JOSEPH BYERS, Columbus, Ohio: "Poorhouse Discipline."

The American Anti-Tramp Society.

Address by Mr. J. S. COXEY, Massillon, Ohio.

Closing Session, 8 to 10 p. m.

It was decided to hold the next conference at Toronto, Canada. Mr. Alexander Johnson, Superintendent of the Industrial School for Feeble-Minded at Fort Wayne, Ind., was elected president of the conference, and Mr. H. H. Hart, of St. Paul, secretary. President Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, was made chairman of the section on Study of Social Problems in Universities.

EDWARD T. DEVINE.

New York.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

AMERICAN CITIES.

Pennsylvania.—*Cities of the Third Class.* In the May (1896) number of the ANNALS* an account was given of the convention of delegates from cities of the third class, which had been called for the purpose of considering changes in the legislation affecting such cities. At this convention, a committee of the city solicitors was appointed to examine into the legislation and propose amendments. In its report this committee, has proposed three amendments, embodied in three bills. The first provides for the election of a receiver of taxes, to hold office for a period of three years. The act retains the old provision of payment by commissions; section 8 providing that the receiver of taxes is to be entitled to one per centum on all taxes paid to him before any penalty has been incurred, and five per centum on all taxes after such penalty. In other respects the position of this official is to be much the same as in cities of the second class. It is rather to be regretted that the committee did not feel inclined to profit by the experience of the larger cities in abolishing the commission system. It is true that the reasons in support of this system are stronger in the smaller towns, but the fact that it introduces an element of uncertainty into the office ought to outweigh any consideration of immediate economy.

The second proposed amendment is contained in a bill to regulate the civil service in cities of the third class. Section 1 provides that the mayor of each city of the third class shall appoint three persons for a period of three years, who shall constitute a civil service commission. No two members are to be of the same political party, and all commissioners to be removable at the discretion of the mayor. Rules for admission to the municipal civil service are to be prepared by the commission, subject to the approval of councils. The rules thus formulated shall apply to the police and fire departments, other than the police and fire commissioners and chief marshals, or chiefs of police in fire departments, and to all employes in any of the other departments or the city government, except ordinary day laborers. The act provides, however, that the civil service rules are not to be applicable to "officers who are elected by the people, or by city councils, under existing laws," nor to the treasurer, comptroller or city solicitor or their

* Vol. vii., p. 506.

subordinates. This, of course, means that quite a large body of the most important officials who would naturally be subject to civil service requirements, are to be excluded. The act endeavors to prevent the use of political influence by members of the national congress, the state legislature, or of city councils; and to prohibit the levying of contributions from city officials for political purposes. It is furthermore provided that the rules to be framed by the commission must include: first, the classification of employments and offices to be filled; second, the conditions for each employment; and, third, the conditions of promotion to be based on merit, seniority in service, or examination. Taking the act as a whole, it furnishes the basis for a well-developed municipal civil service. As in all such measures, however, the efficiency of the provisions will depend entirely upon the character of the commissions. In such cases it is almost impossible to lay down rules sufficiently rigid to bind a commission unfavorable to civil service reform.

The third bill embodies a series of amendments to the general law relating to cities of the third class. As this bill contains a number of important changes, we shall reserve its discussion for the January number.

New York.—*Improvement of Slum Districts.*—The necessity of adopting more radical measures for the improvement of the worst slum areas is gradually forcing itself upon the community. The work of philanthropic companies and individuals, while productive of a great amount of good during the past ten years, has been wholly inadequate to reach the root of the evil. That the organized action of the community in some form would ultimately be necessary has been apparent to all who have been following the movement for sanitary dwellings for the poor. Several acts have been passed by the state legislature looking to this end, but the more important have been held to be unconstitutional, owing to the many restrictions and safeguards placed about the exercise of the right of eminent domain.

As a result of the recent report of the Tenement House Commission,* an act was passed authorizing the board of health to condemn and order the tearing down of any building, if, in the opinion of the board, it is in a condition detrimental to the health of the occupants or others in the vicinity. The same power was given in cases where a building is so placed as to obstruct ventilation in an adjoining building, and where repairs will not place the structure in habitable condition.

* See ANNALS, September, 1896, Vol. viii., p. 409.

Acting under the powers conferred by this law the board of health has recently condemned fifteen tenements as unfit for human habitation. As to some of these the objection rested upon the lack of possibility of ventilation as well as the general unsanitary conditions. The owners of the property will probably bring the question before the courts to test the constitutionality of the measure. However, the increasing density of population in these districts and the awakening sense of the community to the dangers involved to the general health and social welfare of the city must necessarily result in the recognition of the right of the public authorities to step in either under the power of eminent domain or what is more probable—under the general police power.

*Political Situation.**—The absence of local political excitement has given to the city administration an opportunity to establish itself more firmly than hitherto as a reform administration. The departments have settled down to work in a manner which must give satisfaction to the friends of good government. Recent appointments made by Mayor Strong, to fill vacancies in important commissions, have been made without reference to the political considerations which avowedly influenced his earlier appointments. The appointees are men of ability and integrity, and may be trusted to do their duty fearlessly and honestly. The general effect has been to elevate the standard of the administration. It is reasonable to believe that the effect will be to dispel the distrust of reform which had begun to take hold of the public mind. If the standard thus set up is maintained until the end of the present administration the task of establishing permanent good government for the city will be vastly simplified.

Those who were instrumental in effecting the defeat of Tammany Hall in 1894 are already looking forward to the great municipal election in November, 1897. At that time the constitutional amendments separating local from other elections will be fully operative, and the citizens will be called upon to act at the polls solely with reference to the interests of the city. The necessity for early preparation for that election is fully appreciated, and in all probability the first steps of a great reform municipal campaign will be taken soon after the national election in November. These steps can be taken without definite knowledge as to the results of the labors of the commission now engaged in preparing a charter for the Greater New York. The sub-committee of that commission, appointed to make a preliminary draft of a charter, has nearly completed its work, and the draft will be presented to the full commission within a few weeks. After the final draft has been adopted by the commission it will be presented to the

*Communication of James W. Pryor, Esq., Secretary of City Reform Club.

legislature, which will have power to enact it into law with such changes as the legislature may see fit to make. A brief discussion of the chief points of the proposed charter may be deferred until the commission has received the report of its committee.

During the summer the Good Government Clubs have been engaged in effective work of a non-political character. In the early spring the Council of Good Government Clubs secured as general agent Mr. Jacob A. Riis, well known for his strenuous efforts to improve the condition under which the great body of New York's citizens live. By persistent effort, and with the aid of the political force represented by the clubs, he has secured the attention, and in many cases the co-operation, of the authorities. The result has been to secure a number of minor reforms. Larger matters have been undertaken, as well, with gratifying success. The work of condemning rear tenement houses, spoken of in the last number of the ANNALS,* was begun only after the clubs had brought persistent pressure to bear upon the authorities. Mr. Riis made a special investigation, and produced facts as to the condition of many of these houses which could not be ignored. Nearly a hundred rear tenements have now been condemned.

During six or seven weeks of the summer, counsel representing the clubs was in daily attendance at the district courts. These courts, scattered throughout the city, have jurisdiction of landlord and tenant cases and of most of the petty litigations in which the poor and more defenceless members of the community are interested. The results of this investigation have been embodied in a report, which has been placed in the hands of the Greater New York charter commission.

Public Education.—One of the grave abuses of the educational system of the city has been the commitment of truant children to institutions designed primarily for the confinement of criminals. The board of education has been reluctant to proceed under a new law giving it the power to establish special truant schools. To the pressure brought to bear by the Good Government Clubs, the board refused to yield. At length, however, the clubs enlisted the state superintendent of instruction, and under the threat from him that the appropriation of state money for the board of education of the city would be withheld unless the truant schools provided for by law were established, the board at length decided to take steps to open such schools.

Providence.—In June of the present year a municipal league was formed in Providence upon the same basis as the other associations of that character throughout the country. The main objects, as embodied

* Vol. viii., p. 409.

in the declaration of principles, are to secure the separation of municipal affairs from state and national politics; the conduct of the business of the city on business principles, and to keep before the citizens the necessity of continuous interest in municipal topics.

Omaha.*—After repeated investigations and protracted checking of books by experts, it has been definitely determined that the shortage in the city treasury will amount to something over \$115,000. Ex-Treasurer Bolln himself was brought to trial last spring on the charge of embezzlement. The first trial resulted in a disagreement. The second trial resulted promptly in conviction, but the sentence was suspended pending an appeal to the supreme court.

The treasurer's bondsmen, after dilatory proceedings lasting fifteen months, presented to the council in September a compromise proposition inviting settlement of the city's claim of over \$100,000 for \$18,000. The proposition was naturally rejected, and it is expected that suit will soon be pressed against the sureties for recovery of the misappropriated money on the bond.

The election this fall affects the city only in the matter of the choice of councilmen. Here, however, a peculiar complication has arisen. Under an ordinance passed by the council, one of the councilmen who was appointed to fill a vacancy created by the death of a councilman-at-large, contends that his term is the same as would have been that of the deceased official instead of extending only to the next general election. There seems to be a conflict on this point between the statute and the ordinance. The mayor says his election proclamation will call for the choice of the nine ward councilmen only. The party conventions, on the other hand, threaten to nominate a tenth man to fill the vacancy. The question will in all probability come before the courts for judicial interpretation.

FOREIGN CITIES.

London.—The quarterly meeting of the London Municipal Society which was held on the evening of the twenty-seventh of June, may serve as an indication of the growth of civic spirit and of a unified municipal sentiment which promises the most excellent results in the near future. The Municipal Society representing one municipal party and the London Reform Union representing the other, have done much to acquaint the citizens of the metropolis with their own institutions. The work of the former has been of an educational character, the method of work being to distribute pamphlet literature bearing on the various phases of city life. Politically the associations represent the moderate and progressive parties, respectively, but their

* Communication of Victor Rosewater, Ph.D., Omaha.

educational work has often been of a general rather than of a party character. The Reform Union, which represents much the more advanced Liberal sentiment, has been conducting a series of municipal excursions in which large numbers of citizens have taken part and which have thus acquainted many, who had formerly no knowledge of the condition of city institutions, with the work and aims of the county council. Associations with similar ends in view are rapidly increasing in London and are giving to the metropolis an intensity of civic life which it has not known during the century.

The annual address of the chairman of the London County Council gives a résumé of the work of the council during the year ending June 30, 1896. The subject which has occupied the most important place in the deliberations of the council, has been the water supply and the relation of the council to the various water companies. During the summer the East End districts suffered greatly from a water famine and it was charged that the water company had failed to make adequate provision for the needs of the population. The council took advantage of the public feeling in the matter and advocated the purchase of all water rights by the council. The bill was introduced into Parliament and was vigorously pushed by the council. Naturally, the companies offered violent opposition to their expropriation. Parliament was not prepared, however, to immediately grant the necessary power; though it is probable that during the coming year the council may be more successful in their effort to obtain direct control of the water supply. In his annual address, Sir Arthur Arnold comments upon the advisability of such a step and expresses the belief that through arbitration, terms of purchase, satisfactory to the council as well as to the companies, might be agreed upon.

Glasgow.—*Housing of the Working Classes.* On June 11 the city of Glasgow celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the passage of the Glasgow Improvement Trust Act, which opened a new epoch in the history of the city. The operation of this act and the results obtained have given to the world a striking instance of the possibilities of reconstruction of slum districts, when a bold and enterprising policy is combined with business capacity, far-seeing methods and careful administration. When in 1864 a number of philanthropic citizens formed an association for the purpose of effecting some changes in the unfortunate condition of the slum population, they little knew of the difficulties which their efforts would encounter. The necessity of paying exorbitant prices for such property and the impossibility of buying tracts of land owing to the limited resources, soon convinced them of the utter hopelessness

of permanent improvement through private initiative. In this respect their experience did not stand alone. Almost all of the larger English and many of the American cities have similar failures to record. It was this fact that led Parliament to extend greatly the powers of municipalities in order to meet these needs. It was natural that Glasgow should take the lead as the conditions there were probably worse than in any of the cities of Great Britain. The lack of effective supervision and regulation at a time when the city was growing most rapidly was the main cause of these unfortunate conditions. They cannot be better described than in the words of Sir James Watson, who spoke of the district in the following terms:

"From each side of the Gallowgate, High Street, Saltmarket, Trongate, etc., there are narrow lanes or closes running like so many rents or fissures backward to the extent of two, or sometimes three hundred feet in which tenements of three or four stories stand behind each other, generally built so close on each side that the women can either shake hands or scold each other, as they often do, from the opposite windows. When clothes are put out from such windows to dry, as is usually done by means of sticks, they generally touch each other. The breadth of these lanes is, in most instances, from three to four feet, the expense of the ground having at first induced the proprietor to build upon every available inch of it. Throughout the whole of these districts the population is densely crowded. In many of the lanes and closes there are residing in each not fewer than five, six and even seven hundred souls, and in one close we observed thirty-eight families occupying one common stair. In the Tontine Close there are nearly eight hundred of the most vicious of our population crowded together, forming one immense hot-bed of debauchery and crime."

In order to deal with this problem in the manner required, it was necessary to apply to Parliament for special power to take unsanitary property in large areas by compulsory purchase.*

The plan at first met with great opposition from the citizens who objected to the heavy tax-rate which it involved. The town council held to its purpose, however, and in 1867 levied a special rate of sixpence on the pound to be applied exclusively to this object. From 1867 until the present time the work of expropriation, demolition and reconstruction has been going on. The tax rate for new purchases and constructions has been steadily diminishing owing to advantageous sales and profit from rentals on city property. During

* For a full description of the terms of the Act, and the earlier history of the Improvement Trust, see "Municipal Government in Great Britain," by Albert Shaw. New York: Century Co., 1894.

the present year it has been merely nominal—a farthing on the pound, and will entirely disappear in the budget of 1896. At the present time the city owns over 1000 dwellings—each complex of rooms constituting a dwelling—housing over 6000 people. In addition a large number of model lodging houses have been constructed by the municipality and have served to raise greatly the standard of that class of institutions throughout the city.

Owing to the high price of the property expropriated in the centre of the city, it has not been possible to reconstruct the district on a plan to give ample accommodations to the working classes. The rents of the new constructions have been rather higher than this class is willing to pay—at any rate in Scotland.* Four shillings per week for two rooms does not seem high for American standards, but it must be borne in mind that the wages of the Scotch working-man are lower than those of the American and furthermore that the former is not willing to pay as large a percentage of income in rental as the latter. The Improvement Trust Board has been subjected to much criticism because of its failure to meet the needs of the working classes. It must be said, however, that under the peculiar conditions, the property has been utilized in the best possible way and the worst of the slum districts eradicated.

Now that this work is approaching completion, the city proposes to attack the other problem—to provide suitable and sanitary dwellings for the working classes. At a meeting of the town council on June 18, Bailie Chisholm, the chairman of the Improvement Trust Board, made the formal proposition for power to prepare plans and apply to Parliament for further powers to expropriate property for the express purpose of providing dwellings for the working classes. The motion was carried with but three dissenting voices. In the speech supporting the motion, Mr. Chisholm showed the necessity of such houses, the inability or lack of inclination of private builders to supply them at a suitable price and the advisability of undertaking this work directly by the municipality. This means a very wide extension of municipal powers, but in view of the excellent credit of the city—which is able to borrow at two and one-half per cent—and the successful construction of dwellings under the Act of 1866, there seems to be every

* The average rental of the municipal tenements is as follows:

	Per Annum.
Single room apartments,	\$38 00
One room and kitchen,	53 00
Two rooms and kitchen,	91 00
Three rooms and kitchen,	130 75
Four rooms and kitchen,	212 50

probability of financial success, whereas the social results obtainable will not even admit of question.

The most recent work of the board has been the erection of a Family Home, which is already proving itself a great blessing to one of the most deserving elements in the population, viz., widowers or widows who are compelled to go out to daily work, but have no persons with whom to leave their children. The home is intended to meet a very evident need of the working classes, but is in no sense to be regarded as a philanthropic undertaking. While having its many social advantages in view the Improvement Trust has planned to obtain the ordinary commercial return on the investment. The large and commodious building contains 165 bedrooms, a number of general common rooms, nurseries, etc. Bathrooms and lavatories are well distributed throughout the building; also small kitchens to prepare food for infants. The recreation rooms for the children is not an unimportant feature of the establishment. A number of nurses take charge of the children during the entire day, so that many who were formerly compelled to remain locked in one small room, enjoy themselves in the open air throughout the day. With all this the charges are comparatively low. The tariff of rates, which include washing, light, heat and care of children is as follows:*

For mother, 62½ cents, with 1 child, 16½ cents, or 79 cents per week; with 2 children, 33 cents, or 95½ cents per week; with 3 children, 37½ cents, or \$1.10 per week, and 12½ cents for each additional child.

For father, 87½ cents, with 1 child, 16½ cents, or \$1.04 per week; with 2 children 33½ cents, or \$1.21 per week; with 3 children, 50 cents, or \$1.37½ per week, and 16 cents for each additional child.

Charges for board are: Adults, breakfast, 5 cents, dinner, 8 cents; tea, 6 cents, or 19 cents per day.

It is thus possible for a widow with three children to live very comfortably for \$3.38 per week, and a widower with same number of children for \$3.75 per week.

One of the difficulties with which the management feels that it may have to contend, is the inclination on the part of some of the lower classes to abandon their children. This necessitates the exercise of a certain amount of discrimination in admitting boarders to the institution. As a means of offering healthy surroundings to the children of the poor, especially the class generally most neglected, the family home is doing an incalculable amount of good.

*Basis of calculation is twenty-five cents to the shilling.

Municipal Street Railway System.—The annual report of the street railway department has just been published, and shows a most satisfactory condition of this municipal enterprise. It will be remembered that when, in 1894, the franchise of the street railway company expired, the entire system was taken over by the city. The company had expected the city to purchase the entire rolling stock, which would have been done had the company pledged itself not to enter into competition with the city through the running of omnibuses. As the company refused to do this, the city council determined to reject all offers for the purchase of the cars and horses and to order an entirely new rolling stock. The period ending May 31, 1896, closes the first complete fiscal year of municipal operation of the street railway system. The gross revenue has been about \$1,700,000, the expenditures about \$1,250,000, leaving a net profit of \$45,000. In the expenses of operation are included renewals, alterations, new buildings and the like. The fares have been considerably reduced during the period of municipal operation. In addition to the two-cent fares over all the lines during the hours 6 to 7 a. m. and 5 to 6 p. m., intended for workingmen, the regular fares have been graded from one to six cents according to distances. The scale is as follows:

One cent . . . . .	.58	miles.
Two cents	1.52	"
Three cents	2.25	"
Four cents	3.27	"
Five cents	4.21	"
Six cents	5.37	"

At the present time the city is considering the advisability of adopting electricity as a motive power, but as there is considerable feeling against an overhead trolley system, no definite conclusion has been reached. The department has, furthermore, been very greatly hampered by the fact that, in order to make any extension of lines, application for special powers must be made to Parliament. The effect of this is to greatly retard the development of a rapid transit system. The present lack of such a system has been one of the most fruitful causes of congestion of population in most of the Scotch towns.

Drainage System.—The city has been successful in obtaining power from Parliament to greatly extend the system of sewage purification, so successfully applied to one section of the town. It is probable that the city would have had sufficient power to deal with this question under one of the comprehensive public health acts, but having become accustomed to obtaining special acts from Parliament, there seems to be a very general unwillingness, characteristic of most of the

cities of Scotland, to act under these general laws. The feeling seems to be that more comprehensive powers may be obtained by a special act of Parliament. The experience of Glasgow with the sewage purification works, since the beginning of operation in May, 1894, has been of a kind to place beyond doubt the efficacy of this method of dealing with the city's sewage. The precipitation process, with sulphate of alumina and lime as precipitants and sand and charcoal filtration for purification, is employed. The water as discharged into the Clyde after undergoing this process is perfectly clear—free from all odor, and, it is said, palatable as drinking water. The sale of the solid waste will, in time, serve to make the works self-supporting. The gain in health and comfort to the city has been very great. The present works can deal with 10,000,000 gallons of sewage per day, which is less than 20 per cent of that of the entire city. The area at present drained to the purification works covers 3465 acres, with a population of nearly 90,000. The cost of the purification works was about \$525,000. The remaining portions of the city still drain directly into the Clyde, making of it in places an open sewer.

Gas Report. The annual report of the municipal gas department shows the eminently satisfactory condition of this branch of the municipal administration. The report covers the period from May 31, 1894, to June 1, 1895. The total income was \$3,150,000; the total expenditure, \$2,400,000. Some \$350,000 was charged to wear and tear, leaving a net profit, after paying all interest charges, of about \$40,000. The fact that the coal used costs about \$2.75 per ton, while the price of gas is but sixty cents per thousand cubic feet, accounts for this comparatively small profit. Glasgow, as most of the other municipalities of Great Britain, is establishing a series of water gas plants. The plan is to mix the water gas with coal gas. The advantage claimed for this system is that a very much inferior quality of coal can be used, and the coal gas product enriched with water gas. Furthermore, the water gas system will permit of a far more rapid increase in product without any considerable addition to the number of retorts. During the period covered by the report, the municipality has rented over 12,000 gas stoves. The low price of gas has induced many families to abandon the coal stove for all ordinary cooking purposes. Gas motors for small workshops are also used to a considerable extent.

Water Supply. The new and largest of the system of reservoirs constructed by the municipality was opened in June of the present year. The two great reservoirs now in use contain sufficient water to supply the city for twenty-four days. The new reservoir has a water surface of 86¼ acres, and will hold 700,000,000 gallons of

water. The total cost of the reservoir, including land, has been \$1,500,000.

Manchester.—*Municipal Cold-Storage Plant.* The influence of the municipality in developing the commercial resources of the community, and, at the same time, contributing to the cheapening of the food supply, is strikingly illustrated in several of the institutions which have recently been established in Manchester. The completion of the ship canal has made the city a seaport town; the largest freight steamers can now reach the docks of the canal with little difficulty. The great import trade of frozen meats and other perishable goods, which has become so important a factor in the English imports, necessitated the erection of cold-storage plants on a large scale. The municipality decided to undertake this work, and, between June, 1893, and January, 1895, constructed one of the most complete establishments of its kind in the world. The warehouse is within easy access of the canal docks and is directly connected with the municipal slaughter-houses. In various portions of the building the different temperatures, ranging from that required for chilling meats to the lowest temperature necessary to preserve them in frozen condition, are maintained. Everything is so constructed that frozen meats may be transferred from vessels with the least possible delay. The first, second and third floors will each accommodate about 25,000 carcasses of sheep. The facilities for handling goods are such that between five and six thousand sheep can be received or delivered per hour. Another advantage of considerable importance is the facility thus offered to butchers and dealers in domestic meat to keep the same in good condition. It has also greatly facilitated the work of inspection. The great increase in the frozen meat trade which this warehouse has fostered, has considerably reduced the price of meat in the city.

Sheffield.—The experience of Huddersfield and Glasgow in the municipalization of the street railway system, has encouraged other cities of Great Britain to adopt the same policy. Inasmuch as the original franchises have all been granted for a limited period, the possibility of municipal operation without the expensive method of expropriation, is greatly increased. In fact, most of the English cities have from the very outset adopted the plan of constructing the street railway lines and leasing them to companies for a period of from fifteen to twenty-one years. In July of the present year the period of lease of the Sheffield street railway company, expired. The development of the service under the management of this private corporation had been extremely unsatisfactory; the rates of fare had remained relatively high; extensions in the service were not made in any direct

proportion to the actual growing needs of the community. The entire city, covering an area of about 19,000 acres, had but nine and one-third miles of track. For some time previous, negotiations, into which the company was anxious to enter for an extension of the franchise, had been definitely broken off by the resolution of the city council to take over this service. Application was made to Parliament for power to operate the street railway system, and in May of the present year this power was obtained. The city bought the rolling-stock of the company, and on the tenth of July municipal management was inaugurated. The authorities decided immediately upon a number of important changes and improvements. In the first place, considerable extension of the lines is to be made which will probably result in relieving the extreme congestion in some of the central districts. The question of the change of motive power from horse to electricity will also be taken into consideration in order to afford a means of more rapid transit.

The most important changes, however, will have reference to the system of fares and the relation of the municipality to the railway employees. As regards the former, it is the intention to so reduce the fares as to offer a ride over a considerable distance for two cents, gradually increasing the amount according to the distance. The hours of labor of both drivers and conductors are to be considerably decreased. Under the management of the company, the men were compelled to work between ninety and one hundred hours per week; a sixteen-hour day being by no means an unusual occurrence. The city proposes to introduce the ten-hour day upon all lines without any considerable reduction of wages. It is true that the daily wage of drivers and conductors in the English cities does not approach the amount paid to American street railway employees; twenty shillings per week is regarded as a very fair average. In any general estimate of the success of municipal management and operation in England, this element of the improvement in labor conditions must occupy an important place. In all the cities where such a change has been made, the position of the employees has been greatly improved.

Edinburgh.—*Extension of City Limits.*—Within recent years many of the cities of Great Britain, notably Glasgow and Manchester, have brought surrounding suburban districts within the limits of the city. At the present time Edinburgh contemplates a great extension of its municipal boundaries. In a report presented by the town clerk to the town council, the general outline of the scheme, together with the advantages to be expected therefrom, are set forth. The most important extension will be northward and eastward to include the ports of Leith and Portobello. One of the main reasons for this

extension is to enable the city authorities to exercise strict control over the construction of new buildings beyond the present limits of the city. The identity of interest of the three towns has been repeatedly shown when questions of public improvement were discussed. In many important cases unity of administration exists at the present time. The authority of the water trust, the gas commission, and the sewage and purification commission, extends over the entire area. While unification will undoubtedly mean an increase in the tax-rate of the suburban districts, this will be fully compensated by the increased efficiency of the municipal services, both in quantity and quality.

Paris.—*Census.*—The census of 1896, as that of 1891, shows a very slight increase in the population of France. The larger cities, however, are absorbing far more than this total increase. The total population in 1891 was 38,095,150; in 1896, 38,228,969, an increase of 133,819. Of the eighty-seven departments, sixty-three show an actual decrease in population, whereas twenty-four show an increase. Of these latter, those containing the larger cities stand at the top of the list. In the Department of the Seine the increase has been 197,008; in the Nord, 72,627; in the Bouches-du-Rhône, 46,368.

Architectural Commission.—The new prefect of the Seine has added another to the series of permanent commissions which have contributed so largely to the efficiency of the administration of Paris. A permanent architectural commission has been established to act as an advisory board to the executives of the various departments in matters of street and building construction. A number of the greatest French architects and artists have been appointed to membership on this commission. It is this element of permanency of tenure of the heads of departments which is the key to the French municipal administration. No matter what the changes in the municipal council, there is always a trained head to each department, who, through long service and assured tenure, is able to plan and carry out large public works under his personal supervision. The council and its committees are dependent upon such officials for guidance and information. The present commission will constitute a guarantee that every matter which requires architectural or other artistic skill will be submitted to the best talent of France.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

Labor Question.—*Dangerous Trades Committee Report in Great Britain.* The committee appointed by the Home Secretary to inquire into, and report upon, "Certain Miscellaneous Dangerous Trades," made a report in July, which is highly commended in England. The committee was composed of Mr. H. J. Tennant, M. P.; Miss M. E. Abraham, Superintending Inspector of Factories; Dr. Thomas Oliver, Physician to the Royal Infirmary, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Mr. H. P. Smith, R. N., Inspector of Factories. The committee was directed by the Secretary of State to inquire into the conditions of work affecting the health of operatives in twenty-two industries, with a view to determine whether special rules should be made under the provisions of Section 8 of the Factory and Workshops Act, 1891, for the protection of persons employed in these industries. The present report, designated as "Interim Report,"* deals with only a few of these trades, namely, bronzing in lithographic works; paper staining, coloring and enameling; India-rubber works; use of inflammable paints; dry cleaning and aerated waters. Over 134 works in England, Scotland and Ireland were visited by the committee, and written evidence was obtained from 153 persons. The committee chose those trades first which they deemed to be greatly in need of definite regulations. They have made a number of recommendations, but it is doubtful whether the legal limitations of the section of the Act referred to, will permit all of them to be enforced. These are the recommendations in reference to the use of locomotives in factories, and to the use of inflammable paints.

The recommendations of the committee were made with a due regard for the position of the trade with which they deal, both in reference to the state of the labor market and to the amount of foreign competition, and always with a view to avoiding any unnecessary hampering of the manufacturer, while protecting employes wherever it is obviously necessary. Each of the industries concerned is reviewed briefly in this report, in order to familiarize the reader with the conditions and processes in operation. The dangers peculiar to the industry are then pointed out, and finally recommendations are made. The recommendations are as follows:

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR BRONZING IN LITHOGRAPHIC WORKS.

"1 In the opinion of the committee no young person, male or female, should be employed in bronzing or 'dusting off.'

* C.-8149. Home Office. Dangerous Trades Committee. Interim Report. 1896. London. Price, 3½d.

"2. Overalls and head-covering should be supplied by the employer, of such a color as to show the bronze. These should be washed at least once a week.

"3. All persons desiring respirators should be supplied with them by the employer; they should be washable, and changed not less than three times a week.

"4. A place should be provided for the workers in which to change and leave their clothes.

"5. No food should be eaten by anyone, whether employed or not in bronzing or 'dusting off' in the room in which bronzing or 'dusting off' has been carried on during that day.

"6. Cleanliness being extremely important, they recommend that sufficient lavatory and bath accommodation be supplied for the workers employed, with hot and cold water, soap, towels and nail brushes; that each person engaged in the room in which bronzing or 'dusting off' is carried on should wash his or her hands before taking a meal, and take a bath at least once a week.

"7. The committee have considered the possibility of requiring that all bronzing and 'dusting off' should be carried on in a separate room or place partitioned off from all the other operations incidental to printing or lithography. They have concluded, however, that it might prejudice the manufacturers to do more than to require that the processes of printing in size and of bronzing and 'dusting off' should be performed in a separate room. They accordingly confine themselves to this recommendation.

"8. They further recommend, on the almost unanimous testimony of those examined, that each person employed in this room or partitioned place should be supplied twice a day, say at 11 a. m. and 4.30 p. m., with half a pint of milk, *i. e.*, a pint a day for each worker, and that the milk, and not its price in money, should be supplied; for they have found in certain places, where the money to buy milk has been given to the workers, that it has been utilized for other and less useful purposes.

"9. All persons employed should be examined once a month by the Certifying Surgeon for the district, who shall have power to order temporary or total suspension.

"10. A register should be kept showing the date and result of his visit, and any requirement made by him.

"11. They finally recommend that all cases of illness attributable to working in bronze should be reported by the Certifying Surgeon to Her Majesty's Inspector of Factories for the district."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PAPER STAINING, COLORING AND
ENAMELING.

- "1. No child or young person of either sex should be employed.
- "2. No food should be eaten in the room in which these processes are carried on.
- "3. Adequate washing appliances and baths should be supplied to the workers, with hot and cold water, towels, soap and nail-brushes.
- "4. The occupiers of such factories should take measures to secure that every worker wash his or her hands and face before meals, and before leaving the works.
- "5. The occupiers should take measures to secure that every worker should take a bath once a week.
- "6. All persons desiring respirators should be supplied with them by the employer; they should be washable, and changed not less than three times a week.
- "7. Overalls and head covering should be supplied by the occupier of such a color as to show the dusty material. These should be washed at least once a week.
- "8. All persons employed in bronze or 'dusting off' bronze should be supplied twice a day, say at 11 a. m. and 4.30 p. m., with half a pint of milk, *i. e.*, a pint a day for each worker; and that the milk, and not its price in money, should be supplied.
- "9. All persons employed in these processes should be examined once a month by the Certifying Surgeon for the district, who shall have power to order temporary or total suspension.
- "10. A register should be kept showing the date and result of his visit, and any requirement made by him.
- "11. All cases of illness, attributable to working in any of these processes, should be reported by the Certifying Surgeon to Her Majesty's Inspector of Factories for the district.
- "12. In all places where the temperature in winter reaches 75° F., or in summer 90° F., and in all places where the above-mentioned dusty processes are carried on, the committee recommend that there should be a fan or other mechanical means of artificial ventilation.
- "13. All work, so far as possible, should be prohibited in rooms or stoves where paper is dried, which should be separated from the machine or other work rooms."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE USE OF STEAM LOCOMOTIVES IN
FACTORIES.

- "1. Coupling sticks should be provided and used wherever practicable. (There are conditions under which they cannot be used, and

in such cases the committee would urge that automatic couplings should be adopted.)

"2. On each side of a set of rails there should be a footway three feet wide between the rails and any fixed structure.

"3. No heaps of rubbish or any material should be deposited within three feet of the rails.

"4. All gantries should be provided with hand-rails, and the space between such hand-rails and the railway line should be not less than four feet; the gantries should be properly constructed and kept in proper repair.

"5. At the ends of all gantries there should be a 'stop block,' *i. e.*, a fixed structure.

"6. All firemen or second firemen should be provided with a 'chuck' or 'scotch' to place under the wheels of the wagon or engine when in repose on a gradient, and this article should be made of some durable or indestructible material.

"7. All level crossings where the workmen have to pass to and from their work at meal times, or at changes of shift, should, subject to the discretion of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Factories, be provided with bridges or subways; and where such a level crossing exists without a bridge or subway, a man should be kept constantly on the lookout to warn pedestrians of danger.

"8. Drivers should not be allowed to move their engines about during meal times.

"9. No man should be engaged as fireman under the age of seventeen years.

"10. No man who has not passed a certificated test should be allowed to become an engine-driver, such test to demonstrate clearly that he is, by training and experience, fitted to undertake these difficult and responsible duties.

"11. Adequate time should be given to all engine-drivers to clean and wash out their engines; the periods to vary according to the nature of the water used in the boilers, and to be prescribed by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Factories.

"12. When wagons or trucks are undergoing repair, a danger signal should be attached to the end of such wagon or train of wagons.

"13. The use of long chains attaching the wagons or bogeys to the locomotive should, where the nature of the work permits, be discontinued.

"14. Where the use of 'props' is necessary, they should be of strong timber, and hooped with iron to prevent their splitting.

"15. For the purposes of special rules on this subject the word locomotive should include all traveling cranes moved by power.

"16. Between one hour after sunset and one hour before sunrise and during foggy weather, a red lamp should be exhibited both in front of the engine and behind the last truck or wagon.

"17. No locomotive when traversing a level crossing should exceed the speed of four miles an hour.

"18. Drivers, when approaching level crossings, should whistle effectively."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INDIA-RUBBER WORKS.

"1. For 'spreading' rooms which are adequately supplied with cowls or hoods and fans, sufficient means of ventilation may be considered to have been provided; but in all such rooms not so provided special mechanical ventilation should be supplied.

"2. In all 'making-up' rooms the cubic space should be not less than 500 cubic feet to each worker; there should also be an air-propeller or other special means of ventilation approved by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Factories. Where artificial light, other than electric light, is used, the proportion should be 600 cubic feet to each worker.

"3. No young person under sixteen years of age should be employed in 'mixing,' 'spreading,' or 'making-up' rooms.

"4. All cans, boxes, or vessels containing naphtha or 'solution,' in whatever part of the factory they may be, should be provided with lids, and, when not in use, kept covered over.

"5. In rooms where vulcanization by means of carbon bisulphide is carried on, no young person should be employed, and no person should be employed for more than five hours a day, or for more than two and a half hours at a time without an interval of at least one hour.

"6. In vulcanizing waterproof cloth by the carbon bisulphide process, the trough containing this liquid should be self-feeding and covered over. When the cloth has received the vulcanizing compound, it should be conveyed to and from the drying chamber by means of an automatic machine. No person should be allowed to enter the drying room in the ordinary course of work.

"7. In the cold vulcanizing of mechanical, surgical, and small articles, all 'dipping' should be done in enclosed cupboards or boxes provided with tubes and a fan, so arranged that the suction shall draw the fumes away from, and not across, or over the face of the workers.

"8. In all rooms where waterproof cloth is vulcanized by means of carbon bisulphide the machine should be covered over and provided with a downward suction fan for carrying off the fumes.

"9. No food should be eaten in any part of the factory in which either naphtha or carbon bisulphide is used.

"10. In all india-rubber factories where more than twenty persons are employed a suitable dining-room should be provided.

"11. All persons employed in departments where carbon bisulphide is used, and all young persons and women employed where naphtha is used should be examined once a month by the Certifying Surgeon for the district, who shall have power to order temporary or total suspension.

"12. A register should be kept showing the date and result of his visit, and any requirement made by him.

"13. The committee finally recommend that all cases of illness attributable to working in naphtha or carbon bisulphide should be reported by the Certifying Surgeon to Her Majesty's Inspector of Factories for the district."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE USE OF INFLAMMABLE PAINTS.

"1. The committee recommend that no confined space on board a ship, nor any place, to and from which the workers must pass through a man-hole, which place is not in direct communication with the open air, should be painted with a spirit composition, or with a paint, the flashing point of which, in Abel's apparatus, is below 100° F.

"2. No such paint should be used by a workman carrying a naked light, or upon any surface between which and a naked light there is no protective medium.

"3. No man working with such a paint should be employed upon it for more than five hours a day, or for longer than two and a half hours at a time, without a break of at least one hour. This recommendation should be clearly understood not to curtail or limit the number or period of those temporary cessations from work which are now found to be necessary.

"4. No young person should be permitted to work with such a paint, or in a place where it is being used.

"5. Where less than three men are employed in the use of an inflammable paint, they should receive a visit from the foreman or other responsible person at intervals of not more than one hour."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DRY CLEANING.

"1. The committee recommend that all machines, tanks, vessels for rinsing, or hydro-extractors should be provided with a balanced lid or cover, which should be closed but not fastened down during the operation of cleaning or rinsing. They should be so constructed that upon the occurrence of an explosion or a fire, they will, after being forced open, fall down again by their own weight. The committee are aware that in the process of rinsing it is not often practicable to keep the

vessel covered over. In such cases there should be attached to the ceiling, pillar, or beam above the rinser, a cover or door of iron. This should be so constructed and adjusted that, in case of fire, by pulling a string or touching a catch it will instantly fall down upon the vessel, and cut off the supply of air from the burning spirit. In practice, advantage has been derived from having the string or catch at some distance from the extinguishing cover.

"2. The soiled spirit from all washing and rinsing machines and hydro-extractors should, whenever practicable, be run off to the settlers or distilling apparatus in closed pipes.

"3. Sand should be kept in abundance close to all places in which benzine or naphtha is used.

"4. Blankets should also be kept in readiness in case of fire.

"5. Men working in the processes in which spirit is used should wear woollen shirts and clothing.

"6. All rooms above the ground floor in which any of the processes of dry cleaning, involving the use of spirit, are carried on, should be provided with an outside emergency staircase.

"7. All dry cleaning factories should be provided with hydrants, hoses, and an efficient water supply.

"8. Wherever possible incandescent electric light should be used. Each incandescent light should be enclosed not only in the small glass globe which usually surrounds it, but also in an outer, air-tight envelope of glass. In cases where electric light cannot be procured, the rooms in which mineral spirit is used should be lit from the outside, the light being separated from such a room by a thick air-tight partition of glass.

"9. Ventilation and air-space in these processes are of paramount importance. In all places, rooms, or shops, in which spirit is used, there should not be less than 500 cubic feet of space to each worker. There should also be ventilators both near the floor and the ceiling of such rooms.

"10. All young persons and women should be examined once per month by the Certifying Surgeon for the district, who shall have power to order temporary or total suspension.

"11. A register should be kept of the date and result of his visit, and any requirement made by him.

"12. No food should be eaten in a place or room in which benzine, naphtha, or volatile spirit has been used, or in which goods saturated with such spirit have been placed during that day.

"13. Where more than twenty people are employed, the occupier should provide a dining-room for the work-people."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AERATED WATERS.

"1. All bottlers, wirers, sighters and labelers should be provided with face-guards, masks, or veils of wire-gauze, which they should wear while at work.

"2. All bottlers, sighters and labelers should wear full-length gauntlets upon both arms.

"3. All wirers should wear the full-length gauntlet upon one arm, and the shorter armlet upon the other.

"4. All machines for bottling should be so fenced in that at no period of the operation of filling or corking should it be possible for a fragment of a bursting bottle to strike a labeler, wirer, or sighter. That is to say, these three classes of work-people should carry on their occupation either quite away from the machine, or else in a situation screened off by wire gauze from the bottles in any of their positions on the filling machine.

"5. Round the filling machines and washing tanks there should be a raised wooden grating, upon which the workers may stand.

"6. All floors should be properly drained into the open."

If all the above recommendations are embodied in legislation, it will mean that the government is willing to go much further than it has hitherto done in its supervision of workingmen's interests. It must not be forgotten, however, that such powers as the Dangerous Trades Committee in England possesses, may be the cause of evil as well as good, and no legislation of this character ought to be undertaken blindly upon the recommendation of any one committee. There is already an intimation that this committee has been, or will be, used to further class and factional interests among the laboring people themselves. For example, in some cases organized labor has tried to gain an advantage over unorganized, and men have tried to displace women in certain industries through appeals to a committee of this kind for restrictions that would work to their interest, and, at the same time, do much harm to innocent parties.

Mobility of Labor.*—It is interesting to obtain any light upon the different questions concerning the mobility of labor under either normal or abnormal conditions. An important phase of the problem is the proportion of laborers who permanently lose their positions by reason of being involved in a strike or lock-out. From figures contained in the third annual report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, on "Strikes and Lock-outs," it may be inferred that about one-thirteenth of the men involved in

* Contributed by Professor W. F. Willcox, Cornell University.

a strike do not return to work when it is over. Of this number (one-thirteenth) four-fifths are supplanted by new men and the places of the remainder are left unfilled. In the case of lock-outs nearly one-ninth of the men do not return to work, and of this number, three-fourths are supplanted by new men, and the others lose their places through a reduction in the force. The figures from which this inference is drawn, may be found on pages thirteen and fourteen of the report indicated, and the argument is as follows:

Of 22,304 establishments involved in strikes, it is stated that after the strikes there were 1,635,047 employes, of whom 103,038 were new hands; therefore, 1,532,009 old employes must have been at work after the strike. And since there were 1,660,835 employes before the strike, 128,826 must have lost their places, or, in other words, 7.8 per cent of the whole force. There were 103,038 new employes, so the difference, or 25,788, must be due to a reduction in the force. By a similar line of argument we find that 18,499 employes of the 175,270 involved in lock-outs did not return to work. This gives us 10.6 per cent of the total number involved. Of those who did not return to work, 13,976 were replaced by new men, and the positions of 4523 remained unfilled.

We regret that the recently issued volume on "Strikes and Lock-outs," for the period 1887 to 1894, does not report the number of employes after the strikes or lock-outs, and, therefore, the preceding argument cannot be tested by its figures.

Association for the Protection of Tenants in Frankfurt a. M.*

—The landlords in Germany are pretty generally organized for purposes of mutual aid in dealing with the tenant problem, and for the purpose of blacklisting undesirable tenants. The organization takes the form of local unions, and in addition to these there is a central organization for all Germany, known as the *Zentralverband der Haus- und Städtischen Grundbesitzervereine Deutschlands*. These organizations have certainly been helpful to the landlords, and in some ways have helped the tenants as well. It is natural to expect, however, that a partisan organization would give rise to a similar movement on behalf of the tenants. A union of tenants has been organized in Frankfurt recently, and is, therefore, still in the experimental stage. Its objects are set forth as follows:

First.—The establishment of a Bureau of Information concerning dwellings.

Second.—A board for legal assistance in matters concerning tenants' rights.

* Information contributed by Miss Emily Greene Balch, Berlin.

Third.—A bureau for medical advice on all questions pertaining to sanitation.

Fourth.—The furnishing of correct blank forms for leases.

Fifth.—Public agitation and detailed reports to government authorities in support of measures for the general welfare of tenants.

Certainly the second, third and fifth of these objects, if carried out with any degree of success, will meet a real need, and cause the unions to spread rapidly in other parts of Germany and in foreign countries.

Musée Social of Paris.—It is interesting to note that the activity displayed by the *Musée Social* has already justified Mr. Willoughby's prediction regarding its probable utility to students in social science. Mr. Willoughby has outlined in the *ANNAIS** the scheme of its organization. The past year has produced many results. The special library is in a flourishing condition. One technical consultation enabled a labor organization to be formed on vastly more helpful lines than could have been the case had it started as its predecessors with little or no technical knowledge of present needs and past experience. The delegations or "missions" sent to England and Germany last year to study the trade unions and the Agrarian question respectively have made their preliminary reports, which were published in the bulletins of the *Musée Social*, and the full reports are now ready for publication in book form. At the date of this writing another delegation, of which M. Paul de Rousiers is head and composed of Messrs. Vigouroux, Janet and Carbonnel, is in America studying various phases of the labor question. Other delegations are at present at work or will be sent to Italy to study the People's Banks (*banques populaires*) and to Germany to continue the study of the labor conditions in that country, especially in Westphalia.

Insurance Against Non-Employment in Cologne.—Insurance against non-employment is in the most elementary stage even in Switzerland where it originated. Some features of the Cologne experiment, as reported by the English Consul, are worthy of note.† Alderman Schmalbein and a few citizens organized a society called the City of Cologne Insurance Society for the Unemployed in Winter (*Stadtkölnischer Versicherungsverein gegen Arbeitslosigkeit*) to meet the need arising from lack of work in building and allied trades in the winter. Its statutes provide that it shall operate in connection with another society, known as the Cologne General Labor Registry‡

* Vol. vii., p. 58, January, 1896.

† Foreign Office. 1896. Miscellaneous Series. No. 399. Report on the Society for Insurance Against Want of Employment in Winter and the General Labor Registry at Cologne. June, 1896. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode. [C. 7920-20.] Price, three half pence.

during the period from December 15 to March 15. Funds come from four sources:—subscriptions of members, contributions of the insured, contribution of the city of Cologne, and voluntary donations from societies, clubs, employes and interested persons. Membership, which does not entitle to insurance, is acquired by annual payment of five marks. Workmen, who do not wish to insure, but to show their interest in the objects of the society, may become members by the annual payment of three marks, which sum may be paid in monthly instalments of twenty-five pfennigs. Rights of membership are not acquired until after payment of a full year's subscription. Corporations, clubs and individuals may become honorary members on a single payment of any sum not less than 300 marks, or they may be elected such by the general meeting on account of valuable services rendered the society. The society is governed by the general meeting, composed of ordinary and honorary members, convened yearly, and by a board. The board consists of the Mayor of Cologne, a representative (the chairman at the time) of the Cologne General Labor Registry and eighteen members, of whom six are delegated by the Committee of Insured and are workmen and twelve are elected by the general meeting (half of these must be employers, and the other half neither employers nor workmen). Of the twelve members of the executive board which the general meeting elects, four retire each year, two of each of the classes named, but they are eligible for re-election. The executive board selects from among its members the officers of the society. Insurances are effected only for the fiscal year and by the cashier of the society in accordance with prescribed conditions of insurance. The board can modify these conditions or refuse to make or cease making insurance contracts, but before doing so, it must consult the committee of the insured. This is a committee of at least six persons or one representative for every fifty persons insured, chosen annually by ballot of those insured.

In the Insurance Society, workmen who are at least eighteen years of age, and have had their domicile in Cologne for at least two years, and are not incapacitated from working, can insure under these conditions:

SECTION 1. The person insured is bound to pay his weekly subscription regularly.

SEC. 2. On joining the society he receives a special premium-book. This book contains the statutes of the fund, the conditions of insurance, and the necessary space for affixing the insurance stamps.

SEC. 3. Payment of the subscription is made by purchasing insurance stamps at twenty-five pfennigs for the week, and affixing them in the premium book.

SEC. 4. The stamps of the insurance fund against want of employment in the community of Cologne can be bought :

- a. At the office of the Insurance Fund.
- b. At the office of the General Labor Registry.
- c. From those employers who receive announcement of membership.

SEC. 5. At the places under *a* and *b*, section 4, the stamps can be bought on weekdays during the office hours to be fixed later on.

On Sundays the places under *a* and *b* are opened from 11 a. m. to 12 m. for the purchase of stamps and for checking the premium-books.

Any changes in this arrangement are made known in the *Stadt-Anzeiger*, in the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, and in the *Kölner Tageblatt*.

SEC. 6. Every two months, at the latest, the check-books must be presented at the office of the cashier for examination and in order that the stamps may be canceled. An exception is made to this rule when the insurance subscriptions are paid yearly or every six months in advance.

In the first half of December all premium-books must be presented to the cashier in order to be inspected, and that the stamps may be cancelled. In case the necessary stamps are not affixed or cancelled all insurance rights are forfeited. In special cases of need this regulation may be waived on motion of the board.

SEC. 7. Those members who are insured, who have regularly paid their insurance subscriptions, and have completely fulfilled all their obligations towards the society in other respects, are specially considered as far as possible at the General Labor Registry which is in connection with the society, having work procured for them, and are entitled in case they cannot get any employment during the time elapsing from December 15 to March 15 to draw daily allowance from the insurance fund, in so much and as long as no work is given to them, but only for a maximum length of time of eight weeks. No one is entitled to draw a daily allowance until on the fifth work-day after December 15, and in any case only after being insured in the insurance fund for eight months.

SEC. 8. The daily allowance for the first twenty work days on which no work can be obtained, amounts to :

1. For a married unemployed workman or a widower, in case he has to provide for one or more children, two marks.
2. For an unmarried, unemployed workman one mark and twenty pfennings. For the rest of the time the daily allowance is fixed at one-half of these sums.

The daily allowance cannot be drawn until five work-days have elapsed after the workman has given notice that he cannot obtain

work, and until this fact has been verified, without prejudice to the regulations at the end of Section 7.

SEC. 9. The daily allowances are paid on Thursday of each week.

SEC. 10. Those workmen who have given notice of being without employment must, when requested by the cashier, appear twice daily at the place designated by him. If the workman is then offered work he is obliged to accept it. The person insured cannot merely claim employment in his especial trade or calling.

SEC. 11. The person insured has no claim:

- a.* If he has not paid up his subscription in full.
- b.* If he has neglected to have his payments entered in the manner prescribed in Section 6.
- c.* If he was already without work at the time of his contracting the insurance.
- d.* If he has lost his employment by illness or old age or otherwise, as long as he has claims against sick-funds or from the insurance against accident, sickness or old age.
- e.* If he refuses work, without reason, that is offered him.
- f.* If he leaves Cologne.

The committee of the insured decides whether one of these cases of loss of claim occurs or not. An appeal against this decision can be made by the person insured to the board of the society. Legal steps cannot be taken in the matter.

SEC. 12. A person can join the insurance fund free of cost. If a person insured withdraws from the society, he loses thereby all claims to the insurance fund. If a person insured dies before he is entitled to draw an allowance, or if he becomes permanently unfit for work before this time, he or his widow or heir shall on demand be refunded the subscription paid in the current business year.

SEC. 13. Every one who is insured must give notice to the cashier when he is out of work.

SEC. 14. The rights accruing from the insurance contract are not transferable.

SEC. 15. The cashier and the other employes are not entitled to make insurance contracts under other conditions than those stated above.

Private subscriptions to the guarantee fund to start this work amounted to nearly \$10,000, and its promoters confidently expect to secure an annual contribution on the part of the city. The success in operating this work largely depends on the efficiency of the General Labor Registry, which works hand in hand with it. Some account of this organization and of the Swiss experiments will be given in these NOTES in the January number of the ANNALS.

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ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used: *pap.*, principal paper by the person named; *com.*, briefer communication by the person named; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named; *r.*, review by the person named; *mis.*, miscellany by the person named.

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